MAR 28 1969

JOURNAL
OF
BIBLICAL
LITERATURE

EDITED BY
MAX L. MARGOLIS
WILLIAM H. COBB Wm. H. P. HATCH
COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF
BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

LIBRARY OF
UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
J862
B582 74,670

VOLUME XXXIII / XXXIV
1914 / 15

BOSTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE
AND EXEGESIS
14 Beacon Street, Room 207
1914

PRINTED BY W. DRUGULIN. LEIPZIG (GERMANY).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

BARTON, G. A. Albert J. Edmunds and the Buddhistic and Christian Gospels 244

— The Exegesis of ἐνιαυτούς in Galatians 4 10 and its Bearing on the Date of the Epistle 118

— The Hermeneutic Canon "Interpret Historically" in the Light of Modern Research 56

BERRY, G. R. The Titles of the Psalms 198

DOBSCHÜTZ, E. VON, Christianity and Hellenism 245

EASTON, B. S. The Sermon on the Mount 228

HARDING, F. C. The Oracle against Edom 213

HAUPT, P. Heb. *lĕḥî*, cheek, and *lôᵃ*, jaw 290

— Samson and the Ass's Jaw 296

— The Grain-mowing Month 298

— Heb. *argamān* and *tekêleth* 298

— The Inauguration of the Second Temple 161

JASTROW, Morris, The "Nazir" Legislation 266

MARGOLIS, Max L., τετροπωμενους Joshua 11 6 286

MEEK, T. J. The Sabbath in The Old Testament 201

MITCHELL, H. G. והיה of the Past 48

MONTGOMERY, J. A. 1, Tartaḳ 78

— 2. The Wailing of Hadad-Rimmon 78

— 3. Tarwaḥ, Sachau's Elephantine Papyrus 7 . . . 80

— An Assyrian Illustration to the Book of Jubilees . 157

PETERS, J. P. A Hebrew Folksong 158

— The Cock in the Old Testament 152

— The Wind of God 81

PRATT, W. S. Studies in the Diction of the Psalter. III . . 1

— Studies in the Diction of the Psalter. IV 127

PRINCE, J. D. Note on Vashti 87

SANDERS, H. A. A New Collation of Ms 22 of the Gospels . . 91

SCHMIDT, N. Yahwe Elohim 25

SEIPLE, W. G. The Seventy-Second Psalm 170

Proceedings, 1913 i

Financial Reports vii

List of Members ix

List of Subscribing Libraries xvii

Constitution and By-Laws xix

United Theological Seminary Library

R 28 1969

JOURNAL
OF
BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Volume XXXIII Part I 1914

Studies in the Diction of the Psalter

Third Article

WALDO S. PRATT
HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE line of investigation that we are pursuing now brings us to certain questions arising from the fact that in one section of the Psalter (42-83) the prevailing divine name is אלהים (or אל), whereas elsewhere it is יהוה. The Elohistic section (E) includes the first "Korah" group (K^1), the second "David" group (D^2), the whole "Asaph" group (A), and four other poems (66, 67, 71, 72). With these should be counted 108 (made up of parts of 57 and 60), which retains an almost consistent Elohism in the midst of the strong Yahwism of Bk. V. Two of the poems in E exist in both Elohistic and Yahwistic redactions (53 = 14, 70 = 40b), and there are many such doublets of single passages. It is possible that there are some poems outside of E that are lexically affiliated with it, though without pronounced Elohism. It is also possible that not all the poems now within E are there by equal right. We may well ask whether objective lexical tests, like those already used in these Studies, shed light on these possibilities or on the characteristic features of E as a group.

Within E, Elohism appears in every poem, but is relatively slight in 49, 72, 79, 81. There is no passage with sustained Yahwism except 83:17-19, which closes the section; but touches of Yahwism occur in all but 17 of the 42 poems (43, 44, 45, 49, 51, 52, 53, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 72, 82 — all in Bk. II except the last).

Outside of E, Yahwism appears in every poem except 114, but is relatively slight in 36, 38, 39, 90, 91, 101, 105, 119, 136, 137, 139, 141. Passages that seem Elohistic include 19a, 36a, 90a, 102c, with 7:11-12; 84:8, 10 (v. 9 may be interpolated); 139:17-24 (exc. v. 21); 144:9-11. Further details about these peculiarities are given below.

Applying the method of vocabulary analysis previously used in these Studies, and remembering that E constitutes 29% of the whole Psalter, we find that 64 of the "common" words show a marked *preference* for E, that is, have an abnormal proportion there of all their occurrences (36% or more). Additional test-lists might be used, such as one of about 75 "moderately rare" words, or a much larger one of "very rare" words. On the whole, however, these latter do little more than reinforce the conclusions derived from the "common" words.

The "common" words that show a preference for E (having more than 35% of their total occurrences there) are as follows:

Test-List Derived from Elohistic Poems.

אב	53%	הר	48%	מוט v.	38%	עַם	41%
אביון	39	זה, זאת	42	מָוֶת	36	פֶּה	36
אדני	45	זמר	41	מים	40	צאן	63
אהל	44	חָיָה	37	מָלַךְ	39	צבא	57
אור v.	38	חָמָה	47	מן	38	צוה	40
אזן	40	חָרֵב	56	מרום	38	צור n.	40
אכל	47	חרפה	56	נָהָר	40	צר	38
אל	44	יָחַד	37	נחה	50	קָרֵב	56
אלהים	67	יעקב	44	נָצַח	61	שום	47
אנוש	37	ירא v.	48	סָפַר	49	שוב	41
אף adv.	42	ישראל	42	עבר	36	שָׂכַן	39
אש	39	כלה	36	עוד	46	שלח	36
בוא	36	כמו	52	עז	46	שלם	41
ברית	38	כן adv.	49	עיר	50	שָׁמַע	38
בָּשָׂר	38	לשון	40	עָלָה	48	שפט	41
דם	48	מה	38	עליון	50	תמיד	43

Nine of these words were in the L test-list (אזן, בשר, זה, זמר, ירא, ישראל, מלך, עם, שמע), which is less than would be expected, considering that 22% of the verses used for the L list are in E. Fourteen of the words were in the D test-list (אזן, אנוש, בשר, דם, חרב, יחד, לשון, מוט, מות, פה, קרב, שכן, שלם, שמע), which also is less than would be expected, considering that all of D^2 is in E.

The above 64 words occur in all nearly 2,500 times in the Psalter, which is about 13% of the total text.

If the above list were somewhat extended, the next words to be included would be איב, גבורה, הִנֵּה, ים, כנור, כָּסָה, כף, מרמה, פָּנָה, תהלה, תפלה.

Before examining the specific usages of these test-words, we note that their distribution in the Psalter is very uneven. The following table shows the proportion of their total occurrences relative to the text-length of the several poems:

%	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
26	—	47	81	—	—
25	—	43	—	—	—
24	—	—	—	—	114
23	—	46	78	—	—
22	—	—	74	—	—
21	—	48, 66. 67, 68	—	—	—
20	—	59	80	—	—
19	—	—	82	—	—
18	7, 24	42, 50, 58	76, 79, 84	93	—
17	—	44, 45, 61	—	96	—
16	14	56, 63	85	98, 99	133
15	—	49, 53, 72	87	104. 105	144
14	18, 29, 39	71	73, 75, 77	95	120, 148
13	3, 30	52, 55, 65	89	—	125
12	13, 16, 21, 27	54, 62	—	90, 94, 100, 102	124, 126, 135
11	5, 8, 10, 15, 22	64, 70	—	—	116, 132, 138, 149
10	20	69	88	97	109, 110, 118, 146, 147
9	2, 23, 26	57, 60	83	92, 106	108. 111, 122, 128, 140, 141
8	9, 17, 19, 33, 38, 40	51	86	—	107, 121, 130, 136, 139
7	6, 28, 31, 34, 35, 36	—	—	103	112, 127. 143
6	4, 37	—	—	91, 101	115
5	1, 11, 12, 25, 41	—	—	—	113, 119, 123, 137, 145
4	—	—	—	—	129, 150
3	—	—	—	—	131
2	32	—	—	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	142
0	—	—	—	—	117, 134

Within E, K^1 averages 20%, A 18%, but D^2 only 13%.

Outside of E, a very notable case is 114, which outranks most of the E poems. This is the only poem in non-E that contains no Yahwism. All the lexical evidence indicates that it should be counted as one of the E series, though I am not aware that its affiliation with that series has ever been noticed.

At the end of Bk. III note that 84, 85, 87, 89 range fairly high, while 83, 86, 88 rank with the lower poems in D^2.

Among many particular points, observe that all the alphabetic poems are much below the average, together with several that are lexically associated with them, like 1, 19b, 33, 103, &c.

It is instructive to compare this table with a similar one in the second of these Studies. On the whole, it is clear that poems that are strong in E words are usually weak in D words, and *vice versa*.

Deferring the discussion of the particular usages of the test-words to a later point, we subjoin a statement of the main facts about Elohism, beginning with those that are well known.

"Elohism" designates the use of אלהים (or אל) in connections where יהוה not only might have been used with propriety, but may have stood originally. It implies either that the writer was led to deviate from common usage, or that the original text has been editorially altered. A reverse use of יהוה (or יה) for אלהים may be called "Yahwism".

In considering these two pairs of terms, we need to remember that, while יה is doubtless equivalent to יהוה, אל may or may not be equivalent to אלהים. אל is apparently the more primitive term, with originally only a generic force (like "divinity" or "deity"), but in association with אלהים it often passes over into a proper name. In the Psalter, both words are used either generically or specifically, though with somewhat different tendencies.

Strictly generic usages of אלהים and אל, whether absolute or with qualifiers, fall outside the problem of Elohism, since יהוה cannot be thus used. The same is true of their application to heathen deities or to any class of superhuman beings that lack full deification.

In the Psalter there are about 150 cases where these words appear with qualifiers and are therefore generic. Further generic uses include "Yahweh is God," &c., 18 : 32 אלוה (II Sam. אל); 86 : 10; 90 : 2 אל; 100 : 3; 118 : 27 אל; "there is no God", 10 : 4; 14 : 1 = 53 : 2; "mountains of God", 36 : 7 אל; (cedars) 80 : 11 אל; (river) 65 : 10; with perhaps others, like "ye that forget God", 50 : 22 אלוה; 9 : 18, &c.

False deities or superhuman beings are indicated in 8 : 6; 29 : 1 אלים; 44 : 21 אל; 81 : 10 אל bis; 82 : 1 אל (perhaps generic, like "mountains of God" above); 82 : 6; 86 : 8; 89 : 7 אלים; 95 : 3; 96 : 4, 5; 97 : 7, 9; 135 : 5; 136 : 2; 138 : 1.

Setting these aside, there remain about 250 cases in which אלהים or אל occurs absolutely and therefore specifically, all but about 30 of them being in E. Though not all of these occurrences in E have equal textual support, the total is impressive and provokes inquiry, especially as outside of E the prevailing usage is Yahwistic, and also as within E some cases suggest that a Yahwistic original has been modified.

Outside of E Elohism appears with אלהים in 5:11; 7:11, 12; 14:2, 5; 25:22; 36:2, 8; 84:8, 10; 86:14; 87:3; [108, 6 times]; 139:19; 144:9; and with אל in 10:11, 12; 16:1; 17:6; 18:31; 19:2; 106:14, 21; 107:11; 139:17, 23; 149:6; 150:1.

Within E, relatively to text-length, A has less Elohism than K^1 or D^2.

Strikingly suggestive of derivation from a Yahwistic original are certain couplet terms like "God, my God", as in 43:4; 45:8; 48:15; 50:7; 51:16; 59:18; 67:7; 68:9; 71:12, and, with אל, in 42:3; 63:2; 68:21; 82:1 (though these latter are not so clear). Since such couplets occur only in Bk. II (exc. the vague 82:1), Briggs infers that A was originally Elohistic, while K^1 and D^2 were Yahwistic. Slight parallels to these couplets occur in Ezra 6:22; Judith 13:11; and with אל in Gen. 33:20; Num. 16:22; Deut. 7:9.

A Yahwistic original is also suggested by certain phrases, like "God's sanctuary" in 73:17; "house" in 42:5; 52:10; 55:15 (many parallels elsewhere, however, especially in Chr.); "altar" in 43:4; "sacrifices" in 51:19; "covenant" in 78:10 (parallels elsewhere); "anger" in 78:31 (cf. Num. 22:22); "lovingkindness" in 52:3, 10 (cf. II Sam. 9:3); "appear before God" in 42:3 (cf. 84:8); "fear God" in 55:20; 66:16 (parallels elsewhere); &c. Note that some of these are in A.

If, as seems highly probable, there is in E a studied and abnormal Elohism, we may well suspect that some of the cases where אלהים or אל occurs with qualifiers (like "our God" or even "God of Jacob") may represent an original יהוה. The identification of such cases, however, if they exist, cannot be certain. They are most likely where the Elohistic name stands apart from other names, or where some turn in the expression recalls common Yahwistic phrases.

Taking cases with pronominal suffixes, note that "my God" in E occurs *apart* 7 times (59:2, 11; 68:25 אל; 71:4, 12, 22; 83:14) as against 9 times in non-E; that "our God" occurs thus in E twice (50:3; 66:8) as against 4 times in non-E; and that "thy God" is thus found in 68:29 (received text), but not in non-E. Remembering that in text-length E stands to non-E as about three to seven, it is plain that these forms are rather more frequent that would be expected.

"God of Israel", occurring only in E and there only in 59, 68, 69, stands apart in 68:36 אל. "God of Jacob", found in K and A, but not in D^2, stands apart in 75:10; 76:7; 81:5, but never so in non-E. "God of Abraham" occurs only in 47:10, in parallel with אלהים. "God of Hosts", not found except in 59, 80, 84, 89, is always appended to יהוה except in two cases in 80, where יהוה may have dropped out. The almost entire absence of these forms from non-E is notable.

Following out this same line of observation, we note that in E other divine names are specially frequent, such as אדני and עליון, usually in connections where יהוה may have stood originally. These, too, may therefore indicate a desire to avoid Yahwism just as does the excessive use of אלהים.

The distribution of אדני is peculiar and interesting. Of its 53 occurrences, 24 are in E (in non-E, it occurs 22 times in D^1 and D^3, 14 times in D^2, and 7 times in 2, 89, 90, 130). In E it stands apart in 44:24; 51:17; 54:6; 55:10; 57:10; 59:12; 62:13; 66:18; 68:12, 18, 20, 23, 27, 33; 73:20; 77:3, 8; 78:65; 79:12—19 times, of which but 1 is in K, while 12 are in D^2. In non-E it occurs thus in 2:4; 22:31; 35:17; 37:13; 38:10, 23; 39:8; 40:17; 86:3, 4, 5, 8, 9 12, 15; 89:50, 51; 90:1; 110:5—again 19 times, of which 7 are in D^1 and 8 in D^3. (This enumeration is taken from the received text, which may be doubted in several cases.) It is evident that D has a marked predilection for this term. It is joined with יהוה 5 times in E, 8 times in non-E, but of these 13 cases only 7 are in D—a normal proportion. (Further notes on אדני are given at a later point.)

עליון is much rarer, and is differently distributed. It occurs apart in 46:5; 50:14; 57:3; 73:11; 77:11; 78:17, 35, 56; 82:6; but in non-E only in 9:3; 87:5; 107:11—in D only twice out of 12 cases. It is joined with יהוה 2 times in E, 6 times in non-E.

שדי occurs apart only in 68:15. In 91:1 it is in parallel with עליון.

The only other names in E are "Holy One of Israel" in 71:22; 78:41 (both parallel with אלהים), and "Shepherd of Israel" in 80:2. The former occurs also in 89:19 (parallel with יהוה); on the latter cf. 23:1.

Over against these instances in which Yahwistic phraseology seems to be avoided in E stand some forty cases in which יהוה or יה appears. If, as is usually assumed, the Elohism of E is due to some reason that made these terms inexpedient or objectionable, why should they be found at all? Do they remain by an editorial oversight, or do they show that Yahwistic interpolations have crept in? Or is some other explanation possible? These questions have always given trouble.

יהוה or יה occurs in 42:9; 46:8, 9, 12; 47:3, 6; 48:2, 9; 50:1; 54:8; 55:17, 23; 56:11; 58:7; 59:4, 6, 9; 64:11; 68:5 יה, 17, 19 יה, 21; 69:7, 14, 17, 32, 34; 70:2, 6; 71:1, 5, 16; 73:28; 74:18; 75:9; 76:12; 77:12 יה; 78:4, 21; 79:5; 80:5, 20; 81:11, 16; 83:17, 19 (יה elsewhere occurs only in 89:9 and in Bks. IV-V.)

It is extremely curious that within E are several cases where sub-

stantially the same phrase occurs in both Yahwistic and Elohistic forms, namely, 81:11 = 50:7, "I am Yahweh (God), thy God"; 46:9 = 66:5, "Come, behold (and see) the works of Yahweh (God)"; 64:11 = 63:12, "The righteous (the king) shall rejoice in Yahweh (God)"; 56:11, "In Yahweh (God), I will praise His word"; besides others that are less obvious.

The preceding paragraphs aim to summarize facts that are often discussed, though not always comprehensively stated. We now turn to certain other facts that seem hardly to have attracted attention, but which probably have importance.

Among the Yahwistic passages in E are about fifteen in which there seems to be some degree of *antithesis* between אלהים and יהוה (or אדני) within the verse, besides other cases where such antithesis appears between adjacent verses. A few similar cases may be cited outside of E. The antithesis is purely rhetorical, simply a variation of verbal form, not an essential antithesis of ideas. It therefore is of precisely the same class as the numerous cases scattered over the whole Psalter where prominent terms in the parallelisms are varied without any significant change of thought. Indeed, in view of the frequency of such rhetorical antithesis we may well wonder that there are not more cases where the divine names are thus varied. And when these names are so varied we are prepared to recognize the practice as normal to Psalter poetry rather than exceptional. In support of this normality of the practice (as concerns divine names) considerable evidence is available outside the Psalter. If, then, these antithetic verses are normal or typical in form, they probably have special critical importance.

Within E, the clearest cases of antithesis verses are these: יהוה-אלהים, 47:6; 55:17; 56:11; 58:7; 68:21; 70:2, 6; 73:28; אדני-אלהים, 54:6; 68:18, 27, 33; אלהים-יהוה, 69:14; אלהים-ארני, 68:20; 114:7. Outside of E we have only the few and somewhat uncertain cases of 18:31 יהוה-אל; 35:22 אדני-יהוה; 130:3 אדני-יה.

As samples of antithesis between adjacent verses we may cite, within E, 62:12-13 אדני-אלהים; 69:31-32, 33, 34 both יהוה-אלהים; 71:16-17 אלהים-אדני יהוה; 75:8-9 יהוה-אלהים; and, outside, 16:1-2 יהוה-אל; 130:1-2 אדני-יהוה; 139:19-21 יהוה-אלוה. There are many others.

It is not necessary to cite illustrations of the widespread use in the Psalter of the rhetorical antithesis of terms (without contrast of meaning) in dealing with other concepts, since they abound everywhere and

are usually obvious. We may simply remark that commentators sometimes are misled into drawing distinctions between pairs of words that probably were meant to be practically synonymous or to blend into a comprehensive conception larger than that suggested by either alone.

More pertinent is it to call attention to the fact that outside of the Psalter there are over 150 cases in which אלהים and יהוה are set in close antithesis as if with studied intention—this without reckoning any passages in the Hexateuch, where such antitheses are usually considered to have resulted from the fusing of two or more separate documents. In Jdg. there are at least 12 cases, in Sam. about 25, in Kgs. about 20, in Is. about 5, in Ezk. 4, in Hos. and Am. 3, in Mic., Jon. and Zech. each 2, in Mal. 5, in Job and Prov. 5 or more, in Lam. 1, in Ezra and Neh. about 10, in Chr. about 65.

The usage of the Chronicler is specially interesting. He evidently has a predilection for Elohism which shows itself in alterations of certain materials taken from Sam. or Kgs., so that where the latter contain no antithesis of divine names it is introduced. Examples are found in I Chr. 13:10, 14; 14:10; 16:1-2; 17:3-4, 17; 21:15; II Chr. 1:8-9; 3:1-3; 4:16-19; 5:1, 14; 6:17-18; 7:4-5; 10:15; 11:2; 23:3-4; 24:12-13; 33:4-7; 34:8-9, 26-27, 31-32. But this is not all. In passages that are peculiar to Chr. the same antithesis occurs often, showing that it is not merely the tentative and partial change of a Yahwistic text by a redactor who would be completely Elohistic if he dared, but that a mixed usage was normal to his mind. Examples are I Chr. 15:14-15; 22:1-2, 19; 23:28; 28:3-4, 12; 29:7-8; II Chr. 1:4-5; 13:14-15; 15:1-2; 18:31; 19:2-3; 20:29; 22:7; 24:7, 16-18, 20; 26:5; 29:35-36; 30:12; 31:11-13, 20-21; 36:13, 16, 18. Opinions may differ much about the exact valuation of all these, but the number of cases is enough to justify holding that a mixed usage was strikingly natural to the Chronicler. Here is a phenomenon that seems to differ from the contrasted Elohism and Yahwism of the Hexateuchal narratives, or the strong Elohism of Ecc. as compared with the strong Yahwism of Jer.

Consideration of these instances of antithesis leads us to ask whether all cases in the present Psalter text where either אלהים or יהוה is *duplicated* in parallel within the verse are not to some degree suspicious. Exact rhetorical duplication or repetition of terms in parallelisms is certainly unusual, if not abnormal, in the Psalter, except where the parallelism is distinctly synthetic or cumulative. Hence, in E, verses that now have a duplicated אלהים suggest originals with יהוה-אלהים (or the reverse) rather than a duplicated יהוה. And hence also, outside of E, verses with a duplicated יהוה suggest that they, too,

have been Yahwistically modified from mixed or antithetic originals. In seeking to recover the originals in both cases we naturally use existing antithetic verses as models, since we suppose them to be vestiges of the normal type.

Bringing in this possibility decidedly affects the discussion of Elohism, since it sets it in contrast with an analogous Yahwism in many poems outside of E. If the hypothesis has value, Elohism in E is not simply a strange aberration from the almost unbroken Yahwism found, for instance, in Bk. I, but rather a companion treatment to what is there applied to mixed or antithetic verses. We thus have *two* contrasted editorial practices to consider instead of one. It is possible that this may really simplify the question.

Duplicated Elohism occurs in 42 : 3; 43 : 4 אל-א״ם; 46 : 6; 47 : 9; 51 : 19; 52 : 10; 53 : 6; 55 : 20? א״ם-אל; 56 : 5; 60 : 12; 62 : 8, 12; 68 : 9; 71 : 19; 77 : 2, 14; 83 : 2 אל-א״ם. Not all of these are of clear importance.

Duplicated Yahwism occurs in 4 : 4; 6 : 3, 10; 7 : 9, 18; 11 : 4; 19 : 8, 9, 10; 24 : 8; 26 : 1; 27 : 1, 4, 14; 29 : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11; 30 : 9, 11; 31 : 24; 40 : 14; 84 : 12; 89 : 7; 93 : 1; 96 : 1, 7; 99 : 9; 103 : 22; 104 : 1, 31; 113 : 1; 115 : 11; 116 : 4; 118 : 16, 25, 26; 121 : 5; 127 : 1; 129 : 8; 130 : 7; 134 : 1; 135 : 1, 13, 19, 20; 138 : 5, 8; 140 : 6; 142 : 1; 146 : 8. In several of these the parallelism is cumulative or synthetic, necessitating the duplication, but in most of them an original אלהים for one of the names is quite conceivable.

Since the second list is so much larger than the first, and since cases of antithesis remaining in non-E are very few, we infer that the Yahwizing tendency was more intense and thorough than the other.

Where the two divine names are used antithetically and yet without contrast of meaning we must suppose that the two were regarded as practically interchangeable. Even where one name is used almost constantly we have no ground for holding that the other name was not recognized as equivalent. All that we observe is that in antitheses the variety of two names is desired for rhetorical reasons, and where this variety is avoided the omitted name is not forgotten or denied.

Yet there are essential differences between the two divine names. The abundant use of אלהים in a generic sense that is impossible for יהוה proves this. When the difference is felt, אלהים is the more abstract, יהוה the more concrete. The former

expresses the large sense of deity or divinity (like אל), with its supreme and sweeping attributes, while the latter expresses what is on the whole a more tangible embodiment of the divine feelings and activities, those with which anthropomorphic terms are more germane. אלהים, in short, is apt to be general and universal, יהוה particular and personal. But whenever the two terms are used interchangeably their differences are naturally more or less obliterated.

It is an extremely delicate question how far the differences between the names are emphasized in the Psalter. Certain passages may be cited in which they seem to be in mind. But the phenomena on the whole imply that the differences are lost sight of in the sense of the identity of Israel's peculiar god, Yahweh, with all that could be affirmed of Deity in the abstract. The majority of the poems express this sense of identity under the rhetorical form of Yahwism, but a considerable section of them express it under the form of Elohism. These facts only serve to confirm the supposition that one name could be substituted for the other without loss of meaning—as is patent in every case where the two names are used in parallel. The supposition becomes still stronger if behind both the Elohism and the Yahwism of the present text lies a varied usage of both names together.

Among the verses with antithesis of names the large majority have אלהים first, and most of them imply little difference of sense between the two names. In a few cases, however, the Yahwistic member is slightly more concrete or special (especially 55 : 17; 68 : 18, 20; 73 : 28; and, where the antithesis is between adjacent verses, 16 : 1-2; 69 : 31-32, 33-34; 75 : 8-9; 139 : 19-21).

If duplication in the present text represents an original antithesis, note that almost all the cases of Elohistic duplication more readily imply the order יהוה-אלהים than the reverse, while in the cases of Yahwistic duplication the implied order is either uncertain or אלהים-יהוה. In the Yahwistic examples there are many instances of cumulation, where אלהים is excluded, and, in general, as we move forward in the Books it becomes harder to imagine an Elohistic original, even for one member of the verse. In Bk. V we seem to have come to a time when it was no longer natural to use אלהים absolutely.

Interesting details appear from a minute comparison of such doublets as 14 = 53, 40b = 70, &c.

Some interesting light upon the subject before us is derived from the usage of extracanonical books like Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and the Psalms of Solomon. For the first of these we now have a partial Hebrew text, and back of them all lies the Hebrew mind, if not the Hebrew tongue. The range of period represented between the first and the last is probably more than a century, and at its close brings us far on toward the Christian Era.

The evidence of these books does not support the theory that in the latest Judaism Elohism replaced Yahwism. But it does strengthen the view that as time proceeded there was much interchange of names, all being usually understood in the general sense of "God" in the N. T. The variations of usage, as in the Psalter, seem to have been due to conditions, the nature of which can hardly be affirmed with exactitude. But the preservation of these texts, with all their variations, implies that the differences were not felt to be objectionable. This reinforces the view that the differences are somehow connected with different classes of writers or shades of thought rather than with widely separated periods or places.

In what we have of the Hebrew text of Ecclus. the prevailing divine names are אל and יהוה (each about 40 times), while אלהים is much less frequent (about 15 times). The distribution of אלהים also, is peculiar, being confined (in the absolute sense) to ch. 10, with 3 : 20; 9 : 16; 40 : 26-27; 42 : 15, 17; 45 : 1-2; and it rarely occurs in the neighborhood of either of the others (only in 3 : 18-20; 42 : 15-17). עליון and אל עליון occur 12 times, never near אלהים. Several other epithets are found, of which the chief is עושה (4 times); ארון is found once (once also, in the margin). In general, אל and יהוה do not occur much together, but note the juxtapositions in 4 : 13-14; 11 : 21-22; 12 : 2-6; 15 : 9-13; 35 : 14-16; 42 : 15-17; 43 : 9-12; 46 : 3-16; 48 : 3-5; 50 : 21-22. Among these latter are several good examples of antithesis.

In the Greek text of Ecclus. *κύριος* is used lavishly (over 200 times), representing (in passages of which the Heb. is extant) all the three leading terms in Heb., and even appearing where no name is used in the Heb. *ὕψιστος* is also common (over 30 times), often in antithesis to *κύριος*, while *θεός* is decidedly rare (not in antithesis with *ὕψιστος*). Evidently, then, this version avoids *θεός*, and apparently often substitutes *ὕψιστος* for it.

In Wisd., on the other hand, *θεός* occurs absolutely about 40 times,

while κύριος occurs only about 25 times, and ὕψιστος but twice. There are several clear antitheses between θεός and κύριος.

In Pss. Sol., again, κύριος occurs about 110 times, and θεός about 85 times; the latter also occurs over 20 times with modifiers—a usage rare in Ecclus. and Wisd. Many close antitheses may be noted. Other divine names do not appear. In many ways the usages of this collection correspond to what we may imagine was the normal style of the Psalter before it underwent either an Elohistic or a Yahwistic editing.[1]

At this point mention may be made of a hypothesis about the antithetic use of the two names that seems to the writer to have some suggestiveness. This hypothesis starts with the assumption that, on the whole, the most natural name to be used by Hebrew writers was יהוה, since that was the name of "their" God, whose rule and cult marked them off from other peoples. But, as is seen in the Hexateuchal narratives, this usage was not the only one, though it was the one most closely associated with the national consciousness whose center was Jerusalem. Side by side with it was the use of אלהים, apparently in the northern kingdom. As the growth of literature went on, however, there was an increasing tendency to make the Yahwistic nomenclature at least dominant, if not exclusive. This is conspicuous in the earlier and greater prophets, as well as in Deuteronomy. Thus the national usage became emphatically Yahwistic.

It was the glory of Israel that its conception of God was something higher and purer than that of its neighbors. Beginning, perhaps, as only allegiance to a tribal deity, or, at least, nucleating itself about that allegiance, it steadily rose to genuine monotheism, to a sense of one, supreme Creator and Ruler whose domain was worldwide and whose nature was absolutely transcendent. The Hebrews believed that this God had revealed Himself to them under the name and in the person of Yahweh, and thus through them was being made known to all men, so that, in process of time, the religion that had been local and racial would become universal. In all this, in spite of the crudity of some of the subsumptions under it, we see those among the

[1] On Ecclus., see manuals of Smend; and on Pss. Sol., see Ryle and James.

Hebrew seers whose vision was keenest reaching out towards the sublime and daring claim of Christianity.

Now, in the literary expression of this developing theology, we may reasonably suppose that there would be frequent traces of the more or less conscious need of fully identifying what is felt about Yahweh and what is said about him or addressed to him with all that could rightly be connected with the larger, but more abstract, concept of which he was the expression and embodiment. This could be done most simply and naturally by using the term אלהים in such close conjunction with יהוה that the two should be recognized as equivalent and interchangeable. Especially would this mixed or twofold usage tend to discourage any tendency to slip back into some limited conception that would merely make Hebrew religion one among the many religions of the world, with no more claim to universal acknowledgment than happened to be secured by Hebrew political supremacy.

As one striking illustration of this literary practice we may note the several instances in which the expression "Yahweh, He is God", or the like, occurs, namely, Deut. 4:35; 7:9; 10:17; 29:11-12; Jos. 2:11; 22:34; II Sam. 7:28; I Kgs. 18:39 (bis); II Kgs. 19:15; I Ch. 17:22, 26; II Ch. 33:13; Is. 43:12; 45:18; Hos. 11:9.

Parallel with these are many passages with names like שדי (much used in Job, apparently in place of יהוה) and עליון. Both of these terms, like אלהים and אל, when used absolutely, avoid that close association with Israel that is inevitable with יהוה.

It will be seen, of course, that this line of speculation has a bearing upon the particular problem before us. The Psalter poetry is just the place where there would be likely to be instances of the literary expression of such a belief, sometimes deliberate and intentional, sometimes almost unconscious and merely instinctive. Particularly would this be so if this poetry were mostly the prŏduct of the periods when the full sense of the wide meaning of Israel's message to the world was taking possession of its thought. The normal thing, then, would be to find in this poetry a rather constant joining of the two divine names, in an antithetic parallelism that is really emphatically synonymous. Normally, too, אלהים would stand first, as expressing the broader and more inclusive concept, and יהוה would

follow, as making the expression concrete and vivid. This is precisely what is found in the majority of the verses in which the two names are conjoined in parallel.

It is worth noting that this placing of אלהים first in the Psalter phrases is not fully matched elsewhere. Out of about 60 specially clear cases of antithesis of the names, rather more than half have יהוה first. One hesitates to draw an inference from this; as far as it goes, it suggests that the poems are later than the prose texts.

But the number of verses with antithesis in the Psalter is small. In almost all parts of the collection are found verses with duplication instead of antithesis, sometimes of יהוה, sometimes of אלהים. Under the hypothesis here adopted it is presumed that most of these duplications represent an original antithesis, the order of names in which is not always certain (and perhaps is not material). If this be so, it follows that in the present redaction of the Psalter we have not only the striking phenomenon of Elohism in one, centrally placed section, but also the equally striking phenomenon of Yahwism in the larger sections before and after. On this hypothesis, we conjecture a period of free composition first, when instinctively the two names were both used and often combined in parallel, this being followed, in one case, by another period or influence, when existing texts were Elohistically modified to some extent, and, in the other, existing texts were Yahwistically modified to an even greater extent. Why these modifications were made, and which of them came first, are further questions. The important point in this part of the hypothesis is that it suggests that there is as much demand for investigation in Bk. I, for example, as in Bks. II-III.

As regards the Elohistic section, attention has already been called to some specific cases in which it seems likely that a Yahwistic expression has been Elohistically remodeled. We next inquire whether in the Yahwistic sections there is any sign that Elohistic expressions have similarly been Yahwistically remodeled. Here we have not so sure criteria as in the first instance. There, naturally, much is made of expressions like "God, my God", which probably represents "Yahweh, my God". Here, however, we have the compound name "Yahweh Adonai", which doubtless represents "Yahweh Elohim" (68:21; 109:21; 140:8; 141:8; also 8:2, 10; not found outside the Psalter), and the striking phrase "Thou hast said to Yahweh, Thou art Lord" (16:2),

which doubtless represents "Thou art God" (as in the many passages noted on p. 13), and also several cases in which "Lord" is in parallel with "Yahweh", implying, by the hypothesis here followed, that it represents "God" by antithesis. These tend to create a presumption that, while in Elohistic poems אדני stands for יהוה, in Yahwistic poems it stands for אלהים. In neither case can we be sure that it always thus stands, but only that it is more likely to do so than not.

Interesting analogies to the above appear in connection with עליון, which seems to be used in two ways—for יהוה in 46:5; 50:14; 73:11; 77:11; 78:17; 107:11 (all but the last in the Elohistic section), but for אלהים in 9:3; 18:14; 21:8; 83:19; 87:5; 91:9; 92:2; 97:9. In this last list two cases are of peculiar interest. 97:9 adds itself to the list of cases where the assertion "Yahweh, Thou art God" appears. And 83:19 stands in the coda attached to the whole Elohistic section by which there is imposed upon E a Yahwistic reference or sanction, and the coda brings with it from its Yahwistic atmosphere the characteristic use of "Most High" for "God".

Regarding other cases, where neither parallelism nor coupled expressions help us, there is room for much difference of opinion. All we can say is that, as an antecedent יהוה is conceivable in many cases in 42-83 where it is no longer present, so elsewhere an antecedent אלהים is equally conceivable.

If there is force in the reasons for believing that outside of E in the Psalter there are signs of a somewhat extreme Yahwism, and if, as is usually conceded, there is an extreme Elohism within E, then the question presents itself as to the relation in time between the two tendencies thus represented. This relation, as concerns these poems, needs only to be studied as it appears in the Psalter. Whether what can be there discovered has any connection with similar tendencies outside need not at first be considered.

Three theories may be set up. The two tendencies may be contemporaneous, or practically so, being caused by differences of circumstances or by prejudices on the part of two distinct classes of writers. Or the Elohizing tendency may have preceded. Or the Yahwizing tendency may have preceded. The main question is probably between the second and third of these views, since there does not seem to be any special reason for emphasizing the first.

In the commentaries it is not uncommon to associate the Elohism of the Psalter with that growing hesitation to the use

of יהוה which finally, in the latest Judaism, made the latter the "ineffable" name. Baethgen, for example, goes so far afield as to refer to the practice in *Vespasian's* time of limiting its use to the High Priest once a year! But, we may ask, what is the use of introducing such references unless we are prepared to apply them by saying that the Elohistic section of the Psalter is its latest part? No doubt, within E are found the two or three poems that many commentators believe to be most clearly Maccabaean. But whatever judgment about date rests upon Elohism must be applied to *all* the Elohistic poems as a group. When viewed thus, as a group, it is hard to believe that they are not editorially *earlier* than the Yahwistic poems in general.

It is perhaps enough to consider the fact that E comes to us imbedded in a collection which otherwise is so strongly Yahwistic as to seem extreme in this regard. If E is very late, how can its location and literary surroundings be explained? And if it represents a time when the use of יהוה was interdicted, how can the occurrence of the forbidden name within it be explained?

There is more plausibility in such guesses as that of Lagarde (that Elohism may be a mark of songs intended for a special class, like the Levites), or that of Briggs (that it marks poems meant for use in Mesopotamia, rather than Palestine). Yet neither of these is supported by any convincing arguments.

Full weight must be given to any facts in the poems themselves that shed light upon their chronological relation to the rest of the Psalter. In particular, we must examine E to see if there are signs that it has been reworked under Yahwistic influence. If there are such signs, then the Elohism of E is earlier than the Yahwism of the redactors. Reference has already been made to this subject in our second article. Further details may here be added.

It is clear that the concluding verses of 83, the last poem in the Elohistic section, are emphatically Yahwistic. יהוה occurs in vv. 17, 19, and עליון in v. 19 appears to be equivalent to אלהים, as elsewhere in Yahwistic poems. But it is not clear at what point the superposed conclusion begins. It certainly covers vv. 17-19. It may possibly run back as far as v. 14, though I think this unlikely. Similarly, Yahwistic final verses are appended to 64, 73, 76 and probably 62. Final

verses that are disconnected with what precedes, though not explicitly Yahwistic, are appended to 45, 51, 52, 54 (v. 8), 55 (v. 23), 79; and the refrains of 42-43, 46, 57, 80 may all of them be accretions. The opening of 71 seems like a direct quotation from 31. All of these phenomena favor the theory of an editing subsequent to the time of composition.

In all, there are about 75 cases in which יהוה, אדני or עליון appear in the existing text. In about 45 of these there is no obvious antithesis of names, and among them are several antiphons (48 : 2; 51 : 17; 54 : 8; 69 : 17; perhaps 69 : 31-37), with so marked an interpolation as 42 : 9. The whole of 70 may be adapted from 40. Perhaps other instances of possible emendation or interpolation should be cited, but they are not specially clear.

There remains the chance that some interpolated matter has been accommodated to its context, so as to be difficult of identification by lexical methods.

Under the hypothesis here advocated, we suppose that all the poems in Bks. I-III were originally characterized by fairly abundant verses with antithesis of אלהים and יהוה, the union of the two names being for variety of expression and comprehensiveness of allusion, not for differentiation or contrast of idea. We suppose that the poems which now constitute E were collected at a relatively early time, and that later they were subjected to a redaction that made them in the main Elohistic, but that the occasion of the redaction did not require the elimination of all Yahwism. We suppose, in harmony with the argument of our second article, that the group which we have called D^2 was either later than the groups K^1 and A, though prior to the Elohistic redaction, or expressed the sentiments of a different class, so that it suggested to subsequent editors the use of the name "David" as a collection title. We suppose that most of the poems now included in D^1 belong to a much later period than E and represent different circumstances, and that they in their turn underwent a redaction that made them abnormally Yahwistic—the motive of the redactors being complementary to and the reverse of that of the earlier Elohistic redactors. We suppose that in connection with this redaction Bks. I-III assumed substantially their present scope and order, D^1 being set first because representing the general mood of the editor's own time, and E being somewhat modified by Yahwistic

interpolations and addenda. We further suppose that the whole result of these processes was finally influenced by the liturgical style and spirit of Bks. IV-V, which were also Yahwistic in form. It is not impossible that it was this liturgical influence that imposed the extreme Yahwism upon Bk. I, though it is then hard to see why it did not remove the Elohism from Bks. II-III.

Whether or not there is value in this line of speculation, the problem remains as to the reason for the extreme emphasis upon Elohism at one point and upon Yahwism at another. The writer's view is naturally influenced by his belief that Yahwism is as much of a phenomenon in the present text as Elohism. If it is, whatever reasons are urged for one must be consistent with the reasons for the other. The two assumed "redactions" stand in some degree of opposition. But we can hardly presume that the Elohizers denied Yahweh, or that the Yahwizers failed to identify Yahweh with Elohim. Have we any clue to the reasons why they chose to magnify two different nomenclatures?

Several critics have supposed that the Elohism was due to a geographical and political situation where the name Yahweh needed to be suppressed because offensive to outsiders, as, perhaps, in the Captivity. This theory is attractive, especially as several of the E poems are readily connected with the Exile period. But the theory has difficulty as well. It almost obliges us to hold that every touch of Yahwism in E is an interpolation —which is not easy to be sure of. And it fails completely if we assume that the original texts were more or less Yahwistic. The present Elohism is superposed upon something that it was thought best to alter. That earlier text could not have been adapted to conditions in which reference to the national deity by his special name was interdicted. And why, when this Elohistic section was gathered up with strongly Yahwistic material, and itself subjected to some Yahwistic interpolation, was its extreme Elohism not removed?

It is better to suppose that the two styles represent two successive periods when the editorial control of existing materials was in the hands of two distinct classes, enough opposed in practice so that the poems were treated in different ways, but

not so opposed as to preclude the amalgamation of their respective collections into one. As to motive, we suppose that the Elohistic redaction was governed by a desire to avoid the danger that Yahweh would be taken to be simply Israel's god, *unus inter pares* with other national deities, and to exalt him as God Absolute; while the Yahwistic redaction was governed by a complementary desire to claim that the God of Israel, whose name is Yahweh, is such a unique expression of divinity that he rises above all other national gods, and, indeed, that it is through the knowledge of him that the knowledge of the Absolute God becomes possible. The two points of view are really close together, but they might represent quite diverse processes and habits of thought. Though so far differentiated as to lead to a special literary style, they might not be so antagonistic as to annihilate each other.

A theory of this kind, of course, may be so stated as to involve attributing to the editors some fantastic subtlety of thought. But are we not warranted in detecting at more than one point in the Old Testament the working of some such distinction as that here emphasized? On one side are teachers who, in their zeal for their national deity, would exalt Yahweh fanatically and intolerantly, even to the point of substituting his name for the vaguer Elohim. On the other side are those who used the development of religion around the name and person of Yahweh as a means of reaching a more generalized sense of the Absolute of which Yahweh was a concrete manifestation, and who therefore might choose to replace the name Yahweh by some larger term. Illustrations of this latter tendency are found in Job and Ecclesiastes, while the former became the practice of the priestly class in later Judaism. Yet the two were not wholly exclusive of each other, as the make-up of several parts of the Old Testament shows.

It would seem as if help might come for the solving of the historical problem through a strict analysis of the lexical material of E, as indicated, for example, by the test-list given at the opening of this article, since in previous articles such analyses have pointed to important characteristics in the groups of poems or passages under consideration. But in this case the results

are not very plain or striking. The natural inference is that there is no special unity of occasion or sentiment in the E poems. This is perhaps what is to be expected, since, by hypothesis, E is a collection that became Elohistic, and thus differentiated as a collection, under other circumstances than those of composition, and probably much later.

One or two peculiarities, however, deserve mention. There is in E, as a group, a considerable national consciousness, a sense of Israel as a people with a history, an individuality and a mission. Incidentally, this brings with it some implication of a knowledge of historical records. Rhetorically, too, E is notable for the number of its references to natural objects and phenomena, having a variety and vividness much greater than, for instance, in the D poems generally. The usage of E, also, with regard to many single words, including some of little more than grammatical force, is peculiar enough to attract attention. All these points serve to mark E off from most of the rest of the Psalter, or at least to differentiate Bks. II-III from the other Books.

In considering these data it is important to keep them dissociated from the fact of Elohism, since, presumably, Elohism was not a quality of these poems in their original form.

There can be little doubt that there is no great lexical difference between E and most of the poems that follow in Bk. III (except 86, which belongs to D, and perhaps 88, which is also somewhat affiliated with D). Furthermore, of course, it is to be remembered that all of the poems now included in E may not have stood there from the same period. The theory here being worked out involves supposing that E was gradually built up out of separate groups of poems, indications of which appear in the varying titles. But the Elohistic redaction, of course, took place before the formation of the present "Book" divisions.

In measuring the emphasis of words or usages in E it should be remembered that E constitutes less than one-third of the whole Psalter, so that, if more than 35% of a word's total occurrences are in E, the fact is notable.

Of words pertaining to Israel as a nation the following are striking: עם, of Israel, 27 times in E, 39 times in non-E (41%). Of these, 22 imply that the nation is God's, which carries with it the probability that אלהים represents an original יהוה in 47:10; 50:3, 7; 53:7 (cf.

14:7); 60:3; 68:8, 36; 72:1; 77:14; 78:59, 65; 79:12; 83:2. Of other nations, usually plural, 21/25 (46%).[1] In both these senses עם is more than twice as emphatic in E as in D. Of the frequent synonyms of עמים (of aliens), גוים has 35% in E against 26% in D, and לאמים has 50% in E against 36% in D. All these terms are far below normal in D.

ישראל, 26/33 (44%). Among these are 5 cases where there is an explicit or implied antithesis with Judah—not found elsewhere. "God of Israel" and "Shepherd of Israel" are peculiar to E, and "Holy One of Israel" is found elsewhere only in 89. An original יהוה seems to be implied in 68:9, 27, 35; 71:22?; 73:1?; 76:2; 78:41, 59, in addition to the passages noted above.

יעקב, 17/17 (50%). "God of Jacob" has 64% in E, but "Mighty One of Jacob" is peculiar to 132. An original יהוה is implied in 44:5; 59:14; 81:2. "Israel" has only 29% in D, and "Jacob" only 14% —both far below normal.

Here is a suitable place to note that E contains a large majority of the proper names found in the Psalter, most of them not elsewhere. Besides the singular references in 60, 68, 83, note that six of the tribes are named, Judah (also in 97), Zebulon, Naphtali, Ephraim, Manasseh (the two also collectively as "Joseph"), and Benjamin. Several leading geographical features are also mentioned, such as Hermon, Lebanon, the Jordan valley, Gilead, Bashan, Shiloh, &c. Outside peoples, like the Philistines, Edomites, and Tyrians, and distant countries, like Egypt, Ophir, Assyria, and Tarshish, receive here almost the only attention. All this class of usages is completely different from what is characteristic of D, though 60 and 68 nominally rank as D poems.

צאן, applied to Israel, 5/2 (71%), in non-E only in 95, 100.

צבא, whether applied to Israel or indefinite, is peculiar to E.

אב, plur., of "the fathers" or "the ancients", 8/6 (57%).

ספר, of "passing on" traditions from one generation to another, 5/1 (83%).

נחה, of God's leadership of His people, is peculiar to E.

מלך, messianic, 10/5 (67%).

עיר, of Jerusalem, &c., 9/3 (75%); הר, of Zion, 14/7 (67%).

אהל, of the Tabernacle, is peculiar to E; but of the Temple, rare in E (only 20%).

The plural number referring to the writers, is frequent in the poems that seem to be most characteristic of E, just as the singular is frequent in D.

Although the usage of E with words that pertain to God or His acts has no obvious unity or special significance, some data may be

[1] To save space, the number of occurrences in E and non-E are indicated, as in our second article, by the form 21/25.

given as illustrating the point that the E poems have much lexical individuality.

Among small usages that are peculiar to E, note אזן, of God's act (77 : 2), חרפה, directed toward God (74 : 22; 79 : 12), עמי, in direct address (50 : 7; 81 : 9, 12, 14). The following show fully twice the normal percentage: עלה, of God's exaltation, 3/1; שכן, of His earthly manifestation, 4/2; כלה, Piel, punitively, 5/3. Decidedly above normal are these: אזן, imv. to God, 3/8; חמה, God's, 4/5; ירא, Niph., of God or His deeds, 8/8 (not in Bk. I); עז, objectively of God, 11/12; צוה, of His authority, 6/9; צור, as an epithet or metaphor for Him, 7/11; שום, of His act, 10/13; שוב, do., 17/22; שלם, do., 1/1; שפט, do., 10/13.

As illustrating still further the fact that E has noticeable lexical peculiarities, we may instance the following points, selected from the test-lists of "common" words:

A number of terms for physical objects in a literal sense are chiefly found in E, such as צאן, 2/0; צור, 4/1; חמה, of venom, 2/1; נהר, both literal and figurative, 6/4 (but of the cosmogonic "floods", 0/5); אהל, of ordinary habitation, 5/4; מים, of the sea, 7.5; דם, 7/7, &c. So, among terms for describing evil sentiments or acts, are מרום, of pride, 3/0; ספר, of "declaring" evil, 4/0; שלח, of malice, 3/0; חרב, of enmity, slander, death, 7/4; צר, 15/14; אנוש, bad, 5/4; פה and לשון, of evil speech, 19/25; רם, of violence, 3/4, &c. To these may be added אזן and שמע, imv., to men, 7/1; מוט, of things, 6/5; ירא, in general, 8/8; ברית, of a league, 2/0, &c. We might also note peculiarities in the use of adverbs and the like, such as כן, כמו, מה, עוד, נצח, &c.

When we compare the many details such as these with parallel details in the D poems, we are almost forced to believe that E and D, taken as wholes, represent distinct literary outputs—and this in spite of the fact that D^2 is counted in both series. The evidence also shows that E is much more varied in topic and more fresh in expression, besides having more obvious relation to outside literary sources. We may not claim that these facts demonstrate its earlier date, but they favor that hypothesis. The case is strengthened when we take into account the implications from the use of the divine names, remembering that that use shows that the E poems have passed through more than one redaction. If there be force in this line of argument, it is in Bks. II-III, rather than in Bk. I, that we are to look for the historical nucleus of the Psalter. This may be urged without precluding the possibility that outside of E there may be isolated poems or passages of as early date, which have been included in collections that are, as wholes, relatively late.

The lexical differences between D and E, regarded as two general types, are so numerous and striking that one is tempted to speculate whether in some way they represent two great streams of expression that arose under different circumstances and were only combined at last with some difficulty. The problem is still further complicated by the fact, emphasized in our first article, that there is still a third stream, which we have called L, with peculiarities and implications of its own.

Curious results arise from comparing the proportions of D, E, and L words in the several poems as indicated by the graded tables given in our three articles hitherto. In some cases all three elements are below the normal average (60, 83, 88, 91, 119, 121, 127-129, 137, 139), implying the presence of other factors. In a few cases the three elements are nearly equal (14 = 53, 30, 71). And in 14 cases two elements are nearly equal (DE, 39, 49, 63, 94, 133, DL, 9, 28, 92, 97, 112, EL, 8, 61, 89, 96). Setting all these aside, there remain over 120 poems in which one element more or less predominates, viz:

Bk. I. D, 1, 3-7, 10-13, 15-17, 19, 21-23, 25-27, 31-32, 34-38, 40-41; E, 18, 29; L, 2, 20, 24, 33.

Bk. II. D, 51, 54-55, 62, 64, 69-70; E, 42-48, 50, 56, 58-59, 65-68, 72; L, 52, 57.

Bk. III. D, none; E, 73-74, 76-82, 84-85, 87; L, 75, 86.

Bk. IV. D, 101; E, 90, 93, 95, 98, 102, 104-105; L, 99-100, 103, 106.

Bk. V. D, 109-110, 120, 122-123, 125, 140-143; E, 114, 116, 124, 126, 132, 144; L, 107-108, 111, 113, 115, 117-118, 130-131, 134-136, 138, 145-150.

Summary: D, 47 (29 in I, 10 in V); E, 43 (16 in II, 12 in III, 7 in IV); L, 31 (19 in V).

With these notes before us that emphasize the differences of E as a group from the rest of the Psalter, especially from the "David" poems, and recalling the data already given about some lexical usages in apocryphal books, we are tempted to inquire whether any relation can be detected between the phenomena now before us and facts in the history of the latest period of Judaism. The so-called Psalms of Solomon, for example, are supposed to represent the party of the Pharisees—a party whose faults were mostly perversions of much that was estimable. Between these late poems and the D poems of the Psalter, especially those of Bk. I, there is considerable similarity in tone and sentiment. In both series we find expressions of the in-

dignant reaction of "the godly" against the derision and loftiness of "the ungodly", with appeals for vindication by divine justice. But the similarities yield little of historic inference except the possibility that the situation behind the D poems may have been somewhat preparatory for the rise of the Pharisees, so that their tone and style were adopted by the latter for themselves, just as these poems have served again and again for both Jews and Christians ever since when strictness of opinion or observance brought suffering for conscience' sake.

This line of speculation sheds no light upon the question of Elohism and Yahwism. The Psalms of Solomon, if the Greek text at all represents a Hebrew usage in the background, exhibit the mixture of divine names that we have contended was the normal type. And under our hypothesis the D poems (and the E poems as well) originally exemplified this mixed usage.

Neither can this speculation be made to shed light upon the source of the non-D poems. That is, these poems cannot be attributed to the forerunners of the Sadducees, for example, simply because they show contrasts with poems that are perhaps connected with the rise of the Pharisees. The differences between D and non-D have in general a different quality, and suggest inferences of another sort altogether.

But another aspect of the matter may have some importance. The Pharisees came to be the party of the synagogue. Their party and the importance of the synagogue as an institution developed hand in hand. Hence it is not extreme to conjecture that the influence which set the poems that we have called D^1 at the head of the Psalter was the influence of the synagogue rather than that of the Temple. Pharisaism was an expression of the spirit of conservatism and orthodoxy. The synagogue was both the fruit of the same spirit and the soil in which that spirit grew. And that which is most characteristic of the D poems is easily recognized as the voice of this spirit on the defensive. Concerning the problem thus suggested something further will be said in our fourth article.

Yahwe Elohim

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

IN Gen. 2 4-3 24 the double name Jahwe Elohim occurs twenty times. It is also found in Ex. 9 30; II Sam. 7 22, 25; Jonah 4 6; Pss. 72 18, 84 9, 12; I Chron. 17 16, 17b, 28 20, 29 1; II Chron. 1 9, 6 41 twice, 42, 26 18. Whether it was used originally in any of these passages may be seriously questioned. There seems to be strong evidence that G had only ο Θεος, without a preceding Κυριος, in Gen. 2 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 19, 21, 22, 3 13, 14, 22, while the secondary character of Κυριος in 2 15, 16, 18, 3 1, 8ab, 9, 21, 23 is highly probable. MSS. that have preserved, more or less completely, the asterisks of Origen show that he introduced Κυριος, with this sign, before ο Θεος in 2 4, 5, 7, 8, 3 22, and there are indications that the same process was followed by him in 2 9, 19, 21, 22, 3 13, 14.

Grabe, in his edition of A, marked Κυριος in 2 4, 5, 8 with the asterisk, and in 2 21, 3 13, 22 with the sign ⩤ showing that other indications were relied upon than the hexaplaric MSS. and direct patristic testimony. Κυριος in 3 22 should have the asterisk; but Holmes X was not known until 1715 when Montfaucon's *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* appeared, and Grabe published his text in 1707. For Gen. 1 1-46 28, missing in B, the editors of the Sixtine used Holmes 19 which has only ο Θεος in 2 5, 7, 8, 9, 19, 21, 22, 3 22 (and also 3 11 where MT. has no name), and Κυριος ο Θεος in 2 4, 15, 16, 18, 3 1, 8ab, 9, 13, 14, 21, 23. This is an excellent MS. closely akin to B and it was reprinted from the Sixtine by Holmes; but Swete preferred an uncial and, since ℵ is also wanting, printed A which has only ο Θεος in 2 5, 7, 9, 19, 21. Brooke and McLean repeated the same text in the *editio major*, adding their more extensive critical apparatus.

The Complutensian has ο Θεος in 2 4, 7, 19, 21, 3 13, and neither Κυριος nor ο Θεος in 3 22. It is based on Holmes 108. Among the deviations from this MS. in Lagarde's attempted restoration of the Lucianic recension is ο Θεος in 3 22 which he found in Holmes 19, 44.[1] The Aldine, based on Holmes 68,[2] has ο Θεος in 2 5, 7, 8, 9, 19, 3 9, 13, 22 (and also 3 11), and so, of course, Lonicer's edition of 1526. Holmes 82 and, according to Brooke and McLean, also the accurate and important Cod. Liguriensis (Holmes 52) have only ο Θεος in 3 14; this was also the reading of Irenaeus, if his Celtic translator can be trusted.

The Old Latin apparently had only *Deus* in 2 4, 5, 7, 8, 9. 19, 21; in the other passages Sabatier prints *Dominus Deus*. But in 3 14 Cyprian read only *Deus* (Holmes, and Burkitt in the larger Cambridge edition), and the translator of Irenaeus into Latin may have been influenced by the Vetus Latina. Sabatier's quotations from later Latin fathers show how uncertain *Dominus* is in many cases. The Buhairic seems to have had *phnut* in 2 5, 7, 9, 19, 21, 3 8b, 13 (but not 3 11), and *čoeis phnut* in 2 4, 8, 15, 16, 18, 22, 3 1, 8a, 9, 14, 21, 22, 23, while the Sa'idic omitted *čoeis* in 2 16, and had it in 2 19. The Palestinian Aramaic had only אלהא at least in 2 4, 8, 3 9, 13, 22. The Ethiopic has *'egzī'a beḥēr* everywhere (also in 3 11); and the Arabic version of Saadia has everywhere אללה. It is not easy to say why the former, using apparently a Greek text of the type presented by Holmes 19, 68, did not mark the distinction of names by employing *'egzī'a 'amlāk* or *'egzī'a beḥēr 'amlāk* (cf. e. g. *Jub.* 2 1) for Κυριος ο Θεος. Saadia probably thought it inelegant to use a term like اللّٰه الهيم, employed by the translator of the Samaritan text.[3] Neither is important for text-critical purposes.

In the Greek text presented by MSS., translations, and quotations from early writers, ο Θεος is the constant element. Only in 2 22 the Aldine, 31, 83, 121, Georg., have Κυριος without

[1] Cp. *Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griechischen Übersetzung des AT.*, 1882, p. 36.

[2] Cp. Delitzsch, *Fortgesetzte Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Complutensischen Polyglotte*, 1886, p. 24.

[3] The Paris and London Polyglots print اللّٰه everywhere in Genesis except in 6 5 where they have الرب, but there also Saadia seems to have written אללה, according to the edition of Derenbourg.

ο Θεος, and Origen once omits both names and once ο Θεος, rendering it doubtful whether in his text the subject was expressed at all. We know that Origen added Κυριος, probably from Theodotion, in at least five places and put an asterisk before it. Since he no doubt used a Hebrew text that was substantially identical with our *kethibh*, there is a strong presumption in favor of the view that he introduced it wherever MT. has יהוה. The fact that one hexaplaric MS. has the asterisk in places where it is not found in another, shows how indifferently these marks were copied even when an attempt was made to give them. Some copyists clearly omitted the words marked by Origen as not belonging to G., others preserved them without the asterisk, and others still reproduced the sign only in the case of words and phrases that seemed important. Where the most MSS., and among them the best, have only ο Θεος, we may be reasonably sure that a preceding Κυριος with an asterisk in Origen's G. column has been left out. This applies to more than half of the twenty instances. As regards the others, it is probable, in spite of the vacillating tradition, that some of them had exhibited the double name long before Origen wrote his Hexapla.

It is indeed impossible to prove this from the Old Latin version. A Latin translation made from G. no doubt existed before Origen. But how it looked in the first part of Genesis we have scarcely any means of knowing. Jerome complained in the *Praefatio in Quatuor Evangelia* dedicated to Damasus: "Si enim exemplaribus fides est exhibenda, respondeant, quibus? tot enim sunt exemplaria, quot codices."[4] Even if we could read Gen. 2-3 in one of these "exemplaria," we should, therefore, be in considerable doubt. But Sabatier was unable to use any MSS. in Genesis, and depended wholly upon quotations, chiefly from Augustine, Jerome and Ambrose: "Primo quidem omnes Pentateuchi libros . . . . nonnisi ex collectis veterum Patrum lectionibus conficere licuit . . . . Liber Geneseos integer utcunque est recuperatus et confectus maxime ex Augustini, Hieronymi et Ambrosii libris."[5] Nor are we much better off

[4] Migne, *Patrologia Latina* XXIX, S. Hier. X, p. 526.

[5] *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae*, 1751, Praefatio, p. lxx.

to day so far as these chapters are concerned. For they are not found either in Cod. Lugdunensis, Cod. Wirceburgensis, Cod. Ottobonianus, or Cod. Monacensis. The absence of *Dominus* in 3 14 as quoted by Cyprian and the Latin translator of Irenaeus is therefore of some importance. Yet far-reaching conclusions cannot be based on such an isolated instance. The later writers may be suspected of having used copies corrected from Greek MSS. influenced by Origen's text.

But Philo's quotations decidedly give the impression that in respect of the two names the text he used did not differ essentially from Origen's in this particular section. He has occasion to quote almost every verse in his Allegorical Commentary, and gives ο Θεος in 2 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 19, 21, 3 13, Κυριος ο Θεος in 2 15, 16, 18, 3 1, 8a, 9, 14, 23,[6] and elsewhere[7] ο Θεος in 3 22. It is true that we cannot be absolutely sure about these quotations. Cohn has called attention to the probability that the copyists were occasionally influenced by the wording in their Bibles, and in his reply to Nestle's criticism[8] rightly maintains that "hier kommen nicht nur gewöhnliche Corruptelen vor, die den Abschreibern zur Last fallen, sondern auch absichtliche Änderungen, die von gelehrten Lesern und Korrektoren auf Grund anderweitiger Kenntnis der betreffenden Bibelstellen vorgenommen worden sind."[9] There is a curious example, showing how easily a translator or copyist may be thus influenced by the form of a familiar Bible passage, in *Leg. alleg.* I, 56 (ed. Cohn) where the Armenian text has Κυριος ο Θεος against ο Θεος of the Greek MSS. Now this is precisely what the Armenian version of the Bible has against all the Greek MSS. in this place. In view of the fact that all our MSS. of Philo apparently go back to an archetype in the library at Caesarea, the remarkable agreement with what seems to be Origen's text of G looks somewhat suspicious. It also deserves attention that the agreement is especially pronounced between the present text of Philo and Holmes 19, 108.

[6] The passages in *Leg. alleg.* are clearly indicated and may be easily found in the editions of Mangey, Richter, Cohn, and Bréhier; and the quotations in other works of Philo, as a rule, agree with those in *Leg. alleg.*

[7] *De confusione linguarum*, ed. Wendland, 169.

[8] *Philologus*, 1900, p. 250.

[9] *Philologus*, 1900, p. 522.

Philo's comment, however, on the double name, giving what he supposed to be the reason for its employment, shows beyond the possibility of a doubt that it existed in his text of G, and also seems to indicate that in this chapter it appeared for the first time in connection with the placing of man in the garden of Eden, i. e. in 2 15.[10] That, nevertheless, his text did not always agree with either our MSS. of G. or MT. is seen in *De confusione linguarum*, 169 (ed. Wendland) where Κυριος ο Θεος is used in a quotation of Gen. 1 26. Philo's copy of G. manifestly had the double name, but probably not as often as our text of Philo would suggest. Too much stress must not be laid on the form in which Gen. 2 7 is quoted by Josephus,[11] yet ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς λαβών has the appearance of being an accurate reproduction of the text he used.

Now it is not easy to believe that, three centuries before Philo, the earliest translator of the Pentateuch into Greek chose Gen. 2 15 as the proper place for the introduction of Κυριος before ο Θεος for the first time in the narrative, and subsequently alternated between ο Θεος and the double name, either because his Hebrew text demanded it, or arbitrarily in spite of a textual condition like that of MT. The probability is decidedly in favor of the assumption that G. found אלהים everywhere in the Hebrew text and everywhere rendered it with ο Θεος. This is strongly suggested by the fact that Κυριος ο Θεος is not limited in the Pentateuch to Gen. 2 4-3 24. It is used by Philo in Gen. 1 26; the original of the Buhairic version seems to have had it in Gen. 1 24; it is well supported in our MSS. in Gen. 4 6, 9, 13, 15 twice, 26, 4 3, 5, 8, 12, 13, 7 1, 5, 16, 8 15, 21 twice, 11 5, 6, 8, 27 20; Ex. 4 11, 34 6; Deut. 29 3, and often found in more or less extensive groups of MSS. where MT. has only יהוה or אלהים. Philo's unique reading in Gen. 1 26 is possibly supported by a variant in the Ignatian Epistle to the Antiochenes. Holmes

[10] *Leg. alleg.* I, 95 (ed. Cohn): Ἡ δὲ παραίνεσις γίνεται δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλήσεων καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, "ἐνετείλατο" γὰρ "Κύριος ὁ Θεός" ἵνα, εἰ μὲν πείθοιτο ταῖς παραινέσεσιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐεργεσιῶν ἀξιωθείη, εἰ δὲ ἀφηνιάζοι, ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ὡς δεσπότου καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος σκορακίζοιτο. Bréhier omits καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, probably through an oversight.

[11] *Antiq. Jud.* I, 34 (ed. Niese).

says: "Κυριος ο Θεος Ignat. MS. Ep. ad Antioch." But where is this MS.? Lightfoot and Hilgenfeld both print ο Θεος and fail to indicate any other reading. It is significant that, in the stories of Cain and Abel, the Giants, the Deluge, and the Tower, where Κυριος ο Θεος is used, ο Θεος is, as a rule, better supported than Κυριος. Even in Gen. 9 26 Holmes VI, 57 omit Κυριος,[12] and this probably represents the original.[13] Though the double name in Gen. 27 20 is sustained by many good MSS. of G. and by Philo,[14] "Yahwe thy God" (MT.) has also excellent support in MSS. of G., and is more probable. In Ex. 4 11, where a very large number of MSS. have Κυριος before ο Θεος, the context suggests that ο Θεος is the addition. The second יהוה in Ex. 36 6 is lacking in Kennicott 171 and many MSS. of G., and ο Θεος does not present אלהים but אל. MT. has only יהוה in Deut. 29 3; ο Θεος ημων. was the original addition, as many MSS. show, though ημων has disappeared from some copies.[15]

If this Κυριος before ο Θεος could have found its way into Philo's text frequently and into Origen's, as it would seem, more than twenty times in other parts of the Pentateuch where the Hebrew to all appearances did not have a יהוה before אלהים, there is no reason to question that it could have drifted into nine places out of twenty-four where the divinity was referred to in the story of the Garden of Eden, without any special warrant for it in the Hebrew text of these nine passages. The Jews of Alexandria no doubt employed in their synagogue service the name Κυριος ο Θεος as a translation of אדני יהוה or יהוה אלהים, both of which would be pronounced אדני אלהים. This would account for its appearance occasionally for emphasis

[12] So also Philo. *De sobrietate*, 51 (ed. Wendland), according to Ms. L. which formed the basis of the *editio princeps* by Turnebus.

[13] Cp. my article on "The Blessing of Japhet," to appear in this JOURNAL.

[14] *Quod deus sit immutabilis*, 92 (ed. Wendland).

[15] Similarly, the original Hebrew text in Deut. 14 1 no doubt had a suffix, whether it was אלהיכם, as MT., or אלהיך, or אלהינו, though Philo once seems to have left it out and written only Κυριος ο Θεος in *De confusione linguarum*, 145 (ed. Wendland). In *De sacrificantibus*, 318 (ed. Cohn) he added ημων (AH.) or υμων (R.).

or variation. It is quite likely that the introduction of Κυριος before ο Θεος, in Gen. 1-3 as well as in the rest of the Pentateuch, belongs to the history of the inner development of G.

The possibility should indeed be borne in mind that the same tendency may have led to the use of the name Yahwe Elohim in the Hebrew text before the translation was made in the same haphazard manner as in G. There are many instances recorded by Kennicott and De Rossi where one set of MSS. has יהוה, another אלהים, one אדני, another יהוה, some cases where one name has clearly crowded out the other, and some where they have fused into a double name. Cod. De Rossi 754 has evidently preserved the original reading in Gen. 16 11: כי שמע אל עניך; "ita enim habetur vera interpretatio nominis Ismaelis," as De Rossi rightly remarks;[16] the longer form אלהים is found in De Rossi 669;[17] "יהוה ad marginem restitutum est," but scarcely "ipsa primi scriptoris manu." In Ex. 6 2, where MSS. and versions differ as to אלהים or יהוה, De Rossi 262 has יהוה אלהים. Yet the remarkable absence of יהוה אלהים practically everywhere in the Masoretic text of the Pentateuch outside of Gen. 2-3, contrasted with the frequent occurrence of Κυριος ο Θεος in our MSS. of G., and the systematic manner in which יהוה אלהים is employed in this section of MT., compared with the late appearance and irregular use of Κυριος ο Θεος in the corresponding part of the translation, give the unmistakable impression that G. had before him a recension of the Hebrew text in which the double name did not occur in the Pentateuch.

On the other hand, the Samaritan Pentateuch agrees with MT., and so does the Samaritan Targum with its יהוה אלהים. The Arabic version of Sam., unlike Saadia, makes a distinction between الله which stands for יהוה and الله الهيم which represents יהוה אלהים.[18] Symmachus followed Sam.; Aquila,

[16] *Variae lectiones V. T.*, 1784, I, 15.

[17] The Arabic versions should not have been quoted by De Rossi as supporting this variant, since they use الله for יהוה also.

[18] A codex in my possession, giving in parallel columns the Sam. text and the Arabic version, has sometimes اللّٰه written with fatḥa and tashdid, and الٰهيم with fatḥa and kasra.

Theodotion, the Jewish Targums, the Peshiṭa[19] and Jerome followed our *kethibh.*

It is very generally assumed that the son of Joiada who had married a daughter of Sanballat, when he was banished from Jerusalem,[20] took with him a copy of the Pentateuch edited by Ezra and went to his father-in-law who made him the first high-priest of the Samaritan sect, and that, because of the enmity between Jews and Samaritans, the copies of his MS. and their descendants never were compared with Jewish MSS. or revised so as to agree with them. Nehemiah does not connect the son of Joiada with the founding of the Samaritan cult-community. But Josephus[21] relates how a certain Manasse, son of Johanan, put by the elders of Jerusalem to the alternative of divorcing his wife, Nicaso, daughter of Sanballat, or renouncing the priesthood, was persuaded by promises to forego his right to approach the altar in Jerusalem, and ultimately made priest of the temple built on Mount Gerizim by Sanballat with the permission of Alexander. Josephus probably knew when the Gerizim temple was built, and who the first high-priest was, as well as he knew when the temple in Leontopolis was built and the name of its first high-priest.

If there was only one Sanballat, the contemporary of Nehemiah, Josephus apparently did not know, as we now do through the Elephantine papyri, that his sons were grown up men and John high-priest eighty years before Alexander. If there were two Sanballats, both of them must have married daughters of theirs to members of the Judaean high-priestly family viz. to the unnamed son of Joiada-Jehudah and to Manasse, the son of Johanan, respectively, which is not altogether impossible, but somewhat less probable. There is no evidence in Josephus for the modern notion that Manasse fled from Jerusalem with a copy of the Torah, as the Chronicler supposed Ezra to have left Susa with the Law of God in his hand. This law may have been taken over later when the exigencies of the

[19] The Peshiṭa differs from MT. only in having ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ also in 3 24; so the Polyglots, Lee, the Urmia ed. and Cod. Ambrosianus.

[20] *Neh.* 13 28.

[21] *Antt. Jud.* XI, 302-347 (ed. Niese).

new temple demanded it, as Stade[22] and others have maintained. Montgomery[23] has called attention to the probability of rather friendly relations between the younger branch of the Zadokite priesthood at Shechem and the older line in Jerusalem. A comparison of the Samaritan and Jewish Targums must convince any one that they reflect to a certain extent a common halakhic tradition. Even the Pentateuch itself shows signs of a revision not confined to the Samaritan text. It is impossible to prove that the Samaritan Pentateuch has remained the same since it was brought to Shechem, or that it represents an earlier type than that used by G. in the third century B.C.

The conclusion to which the evidence points is that there existed at that time two different recensions of the Hebrew text, one exhibiting nowhere in the Pentateuch the double name, and another identical in this respect with MT. The age of the latter can perhaps be established approximately by the discrimination it shows in the use of the name Yahwe. It seems to be in the Achaemenian period that men began to avoid placing this name upon the lips of foreigners, of those not supposed to be worshippers of Yahwe, or of Jews in addressing such persons. In earlier times a distinction of this sort is not felt to be necessary. Yahwe is used by the Philistine kings Abimelech, Gen. 26 28, and Achish, I Sam. 29 6, the Aramaean Laban, Gen. 31 49, the Pharaoh of Egypt, Ex. 5 2, 8 8, 28, 10 10, 11, 16, 17, and his servants, Ex. 10 7, the Midianite Jethro, Ex. 18 10, 11, Balaam, the Edomite prophet, Num. 22 8, 18, 23 3, 26, 24 13, the Amalekite who slew Saul, II Sam. 1 16, Hiram, the king of Tyre, I Kings 5 7, and the Assyrian Rabshakeh, II Kings 18 30, 32, 35. The angel in Zech. 3 2 exclaims: "Yahwe rebuke thee, O Satan!" In the prose story of Job Yahwe is used, while it is carefully avoided in our present dialogues; even Satan says "Yahwe," according to G. Trg. in 1 9, and Job's wife in 2 9.

[22] *Biblische Theologie d. A.T.*, 1905, p. 355: "Den sich von Mose herleitenden, in seinen Vorstadien bereits zur Zeit ihrer Entstehung gültigen Pentateuch, hat sie wie die Hoffnung auf den Messias später von der Gemeinde auf Zion entlehnt."

[23] *The Samaritans*, 1907, pp. 71 ff.

But Yahwe is avoided in the letter of Tattenai to Darius, Ezra 5 7-17, the decrees of Cyrus, 6 3-5, and Darius, 6 6-12, the firman given by Artaxerxes to Ezra, 7 11-26, and probably also in the proclamation of Cyrus in Ezra 1 2-4 (II Chron. 36 23) where MSS. of MT. and of the early versions suggest that יהוה is a later addition. The same applies to the decrees of Nebuchadnezzar in Dan. 3 28-29, 4 1-37, and of Darius the Mede, Dan. 6 25-27. In Jonah a clear distinction is made between the sailors who, having heard from the prophet the name of his god, 1 9, beseech Yahwe to deliver them, 1 14, and become Yahwe-worshippers, 1 16, and the king of Nineveh and his nobles who, having heard nothing else than that a prophet had predicted the destruction of the city after forty days, can only use the term Elohim in their proclamation, 3 7-9. A similar care was probably taken originally in the case of The Sayings of Agur ben Yakeh; τὶς με ορα (G.) in Prov. 30 9 suggests מי יחזה for מי יהוה. Scruples of this kind may have prevented the insertion of Jahwe before Elohim in the words of the serpent and the answer of the woman, Gen. 3 1b-5, as early as the Persian period. There is not the slightest evidence, however, in the texts representing this recension, of Yahwe having been originally used in the conversation and subsequently removed. The hand that first introduced the double name manifestly hesitated to put it on the lips of the serpent.

Another consideration leads to the same result. The recension represented by MT. and Sam. cannot have existed before the union of the two stories of creation, since in this case it would be impossible to account for the recension represented by G. For the same reason it cannot have been created when the two were united. It is likely to be a development within the substantially completed text of the Pentateuch. But this can scarcely be later than the fifth century. To suppose that אלהים, the constant element in the textual tradition, is the addition, and יהוה, doubtfully supported in the majority of instances, once existed everywhere, is to lose touch with, and run counter to, our present witnesses to the text, and to deprive ourselves of the ability to explain its changes. The absence of אלהים in some of Kennicott's MSS., as in 2 9 (K. 9), 15 (K. 5), 18 (K. 191),

21 (K. 69, 252), 22 (K. 89), 3 14 (K. 103), 23 (K. 80), and of יהוה, as in 2 18 (K. 89), 3 22 (K. 152), as well as the presence of יהוה in 3 1b (K. 132), clearly due to the negligence of scribes, can have no significance. When Kittel observes: "aut יהוה aut אלהים . . . additamentum redactoris esse videtur,"[24] the second alternative is not suggested by the textual apparatus, but by a critical theory.

In Ex. 9 30 MT. is supported by Pesh., Trg., Jerome, Holmes 58, Arm., probably Sam. which has אדני יהוה, and Sam. Trg. with its מראי יהוה; but B. 29, 130 have τον Κυριον, Syr.-Hex. marks ܐܠܗܐ with an asterisk, the Arabic translation of Sam., at least in my MS., has only ٱللّٰه, which generally stands for יהוה, and Saadia likewise has אללה, while A has τον Θεον. The אדני יהוה of Sam. shows that both אדני יהוה and יהוה אלהים were pronounced at one time אדני אלהים among the Samaritans as well as among the Jews. In the context both Pharaoh and Moses use the name Yahwe, and there is no reason to suppose that Elohim is original.

More difficult is the decision in II Sam. 7 22, 25. Kennicott quotes a large number of MSS. that have אדני יהוה in both verses, and some that have אדני אלהים in vs. 22. G. seems to have had Κυριε μου Κυριε which clearly points to אדני יהוה. This term appears in six other places in David's prayer, vss. 18-29. The Chronicler copied his words (I, 17, 16-27), and a comparison of the two texts is instructive. Wellhausen says, referring to vs. 22: "יהוה אלהים steht in der Chronik überall für אדני יהוה unseres Textes; hier und v. 25 ist es auch in diesen letzteren eingedrungen wie I Sam, 6 11, 17 טחרים,"[25] and Driver translates this statement without comment or explanation.[26] Yet neither does יהוה אלהים occur everywhere in the Chronicler's copy of David's words where the Samuel text has אדני יהוה, nor can it be shown that in all the nine passages where יהוה אלהים occurs in the Chronicles it represents אדני יהוה, if that is the meaning, nor is it apparent wherein the similarity consists between the

[24] *Biblia Hebraica*, ad loc.

[25] *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, 1871, p. 173.

[26] *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, 1890, p. 213; repeated, without change, in the 2nd ed., 1913, p. 277.

addition of glosses in I Sam. 6 11, 17 and the change from one divine name to another in these vss. In II Sam. 7 18-29 אדני יהוה is found six times, vss. 18, 19ab, 20, 28, 29; to these correspond in I Chron. 17 16-27 יהוה אלהים, vs. 16. אלהים vs. 17a, יהוה אלהים, 17b, יהוה alone, vss. 19, 26, 27. For יהוה אלהים, II Sam. 22, 25, Chron. has only יהוה, I, 17 20, 23; for יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל and יהוה צבאות אלהים על ישראל, II Sam. 7 26, 27, I Chron. 17 24, 25 have יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל אלהים לישראל and אלהי, and both II Sam. 7 24 and Chron. 17 22 have יהוה. G. seems to have read אדני יהוה in eight instances in his Hebrew text of Samuel. If the Chronicler had found the same text, it is difficult to see why he should have omitted אדני in six out of eight cases. He probably read יהוה everywhere; אדני was subsequently added everywhere in these passages of the Samuel text, and because of the pronunciation אדני אלהים was changed in two places to יהוה אלהים. A later copyist of Chron., remembering the emphatic double name, אדני יהוה, that meanwhile had found its way into the passage in Samuel, may have introduced it in a couple of instances, with the same consequence that it ultimately changed into יהוה אלהים.

The author of Jonah used the name Yahwe except where the circumstances seemed to him to demand Elohim. Thus in 1 6, before the mariners have learned to know Yahwe, they naturally employ the term Elohim. In 3 3 עיר גדלה לאלהים is an idiom. The Ninevites could not be said to believe in Yahwe of whom they had never heard, hence Elohim in 3 5 and in the proclamation, 3 7-9. In 3 10, however, it is probable that Yahwe was originally used, and Kenn. 109 has יהוה in 3 10b. MT. is no doubt right in giving only יהוה in 4 3 against Δεσποτα Κυριε of G., which goes back to an expansion into אדני יהוה, natural in direct address. Five of Kennicott's MSS. read אדני יהוה in 4 6. This may have been changed under the influence of the pronunciation אדני אלהים into Jahwe Elohim, rendered Κυριος ο Θεος, *Dominus Deus*, *čoeis phnut*, מריא אלהא, الرب الله, and curiously enough, not *'egzi'a beḥer 'amlāk*, as in 1 9, 2 2, 3, 4 2, but simply *'egzi'a beḥēr*. There can be little doubt that the author wrote only יהוה.' But the double name continues in G. and the versions dependent on it in vss. 7, 8, 9, and this is

probably to be regarded as a sign that the text originally had the name Yahwe, which is the reading of Kenn. 30, 294 in vs. 9. When G. is considered, it becomes evident that יהוה was originally used everywhere in ch. 4, and that אלהים was a later addition. A recourse to the influence of Gen. 2-3, hesitatingly proposed by Marti,[27] is unnecessary.

In Ps. 72 18 אלהים is not read by Kenn. 250, 309, 497, De Rossi 31, 380, G., Copt., Eth., Aquila, Sym., Theod., Quinta, Sexta, Pesh., Jerome, Ar. In Ps. 84 9 אדני יהוה צבאות, Kenn. 117, is more probable than יהוה אלהים צבאות or יהוה אלהי צבאות, but the original no doubt had only יהוה צבאות, as Kenn. 92. Similarly, in 84 12 the original יהוה seems to have been expanded into אדני יהוה, Kenn. 245 (afterwards changed into יהוה אלהים) or into יהוה צבאות אלהים, Kenn. 40.

In I Chron. 28 20 G's Κυριος ο Θεος μου shows that the original was יהוה אלהי, and not יהוה אלהים אלהי; אדני seems to have been first introduced before יהוה, Kenn. 89, and then אדני יהוה changed to יהוה אלהים; the emphasized contrast in I Chron. 29 1 between man and God renders לאלהים, Kenn. 118, τω Θεω, Holmes 56, more probable than ליהוה אלהים. II Chron. 1 9 probably had יהוה אלהי, as I Kings 3 7. II Chron. 6 41ab, 42 are copied from Ps. 132 8, 9, 10. Only יהוה is used in the psalm, and only once, vs. 8, Kenn. 101 has only יהוה in II Chron. 6 41a; in 41b, 42 the divine name has clearly been added by some copyist. The Hebrew text which the Syriac translator had before him in II Chron. 26 18 seems to have read: לא לך מלך עזיהו המקום הזה ואף לא לך להקטיר על מזבח הקטרת; the latter part of the vs. is an explanatory gloss.

The result of these investigations is that in the thirty-six passages where MT. has the double name, אלהים alone seems to have been used originally in 21 instances, viz. the 20 in Gen. 2-3 and I Chron. 29 1; יהוה alone 10 times, viz. Ex. 9 30, II Sam. 7 22, 25, Jonah 4 6, Pss. 72 18, 84 9, 12, I Chron. 17 16, 17b, II Chron. 6 41a; יהוה אלהי twice, viz. I Chron. 28 20, II Chron. 1 9; and no name at all 3 times, viz. II Chron. 6 41b, 42, 26 18.

It should be added that Astruc looked upon יהוה אלהים as the characteristic name used by the Hebrews for the "Eternal

[27] *Das Dodekapropheton*, 1904, p. 256.

God" and supposed that it was employed in Gen. 9 26. He explains: "Peut estre que l'Auteur du Mémoire B., après avoir donné à Dieu, dans le verset precedent, le nom de *Jehovah-Elohim, l'Eternel-Dieu,* c'est à dire, le nom que les Hebreux lui donnoient, en parlant de Sem, dont la posterité conserva la vraie Religion, a cru ne devoir lui donner que le nom *d'Elohim, Dieu,* c'est à dire, le nom que les incirconcis lui donnoient, en parlant, dans le verset suivant, de Japhet, dont la posterité se livra à l'idolatrie."[28] In spite of the negative conclusions reached above, it is quite certain that at one time Yahwe Elohim was used by the Jews. But in this place the earliest text assuredly had either Yahwe or Elohim, and most probably Elohim.

The fact that Yahwe Elohim has frequently taken the place of Adonai Yahwe because of the common pronunciation Adonai Elohim has naturally led to the suspicion that Adonai Yahwe may occasionally have displaced an original Yahwe Elohim. In his critical edition of Ezekiel, Cornill substituted יהוה אלהים for אדני יהוה in 43 19, 44 9, 12, 15, 27, 45 9ab, 46, 1, 16, 47 13, 23, 48 29. His reasons are that in these passages B. has Κυριος ο Θεος, while elsewhere in the book it employs, as a rule, Κυριος Κυριος for אדני יהוה; that Αδωναι Κυριος is of hexaplaric origin, since Αδωναι alone is translated Κυριος; and that it would be natural for Ezekiel to use, in his description of the new Jerusalem, a divine name he had found in the account of the earthly paradise. But these arguments are scarcely convincing. The frequent occurrence of Αδωναι Κυριος in early MSS. seems to show that אדני יהוה was translated at least in two ways. While in some Christian circles at the end of the fourth century Κυριος Κυριος was common, others used Αδωναι Κυριος; and the latter is less likely to have originated among Christians than among Alexandrian Jews. In 18 25, 29, 33 17, 20, many MSS. read יהוה. Both Kennicott and De Rossi must be consulted. The latter does not mention the MSS. having this variant in 18 25, 29. Hence Rothstein does not cite them, while he calls attention to those in 33 17, 20.[29] Later scribes would naturally

[28] *Conjectures sur la Genèse*, 1753, p. 346.

[29] In Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, *ad loc.*

be affected by the form which a common proverb, like that quoted in the four passages, assumed on the lips of the people of their own day. There is no suggestion whatsoever that the author of the sketch of the new theocracy had in mind the description of the Garden of Eden, and there is no obvious relation between the two.

Owing to the pronunciation אדני אלהים, an אדני יהוה would very easily turn into a יהוה אלהים. It is only necessary to remember that copies were made at dictation. This would account for יהוה אלהים being written where the original had אדני יהוה. A comparison of MT. and G. in Isaiah and the Minor Prophets tends to show that Κυριος ο Θεος not only appeared where H., in all probability, had אדני יהוה, but also frequently was an expansion of a simple Κυριος within G. There is no reason to suppose that the Hebrew text ever had יהוה אלהים in Isa. 41 17, 21, 42 5, 6, 8, 13. 21, 43 1, 3, 10, 12, 14, 15, 44 2, 45 1, 5, 6, 7, 51 20 22. Yet in all these passages G. seems to have had Κυριος ο Θεος; at least our best MSS. give that reading. On the assumption that every Κυριος ο Θεος stands for יהוה אלהים, this name would, in spite of the questionable Κυριος Κυριος in 49 22, 50 45, 5, be as characteristic of the so-called Deutero-Isaiah as Cornill thinks it is of Ezek. 40-48. MT. gives the impression that Amos frequently employed the term Adonai Yahwe. But in 8 out of 20 instances G. has only Κυριος, viz. 1 8, 4 2, 5, 6 8b, 7 4ab, 5, 6a; twice, viz. 3 13, 9 5, Κυριος ο Θεος παντοκρατωρ seems to represent יהוה אלהי צבאות, used elsewhere 6 times, rather than אדני יהוה הצבאות; 5 times אדני יהוה is rendered Κυριος ο Θεος, viz. 3 7, 8, 11, 7 1, 9 8, and 5 times it is rendered Κυριος Κυριος, viz. 5 3, 6 2, 8 1, 3, 9. In the last ten cases יהוה אלהים or only יהוה occurs sporadically in the MSS. It cannot be proved that Amos ever used יהוה אלהים. For emphasis he occasionally seems to have said יהוה אלהי צבאות, or אדני יהוה. Obadiah 1, Micah 1 2 and Zeph. 1 7 also exhibit the double name Adonai Yahwe; and among the variants is יהוה אלהים; but יהוה אדני, יהוה צבאות, and only יהוה likewise occur, leaving room for doubt whether anything more than Yahwe was used in the original.

The case of Ezekiel is really not very different from that of

Amos. According to Cornill MT. has אדני יהוה 228 times and B. Κυριος Κυριος 58 times and Αδωναι Κυριος twice in 1-39. In 40-48 B. has Κυριος ο Θεος 15 times; other MSS. have Κυριος ο Θεος in the first part of the book as well as in the second, and Κυριος Κυριος in the second as well as in the first, or carry Αδωναι Κυριος through both parts; but rarely is there a MSS. that gives a double name where B. does not have one. Consequently G. does not seem to have found אדני יהוה in about 150 places where MT. has this name. But it is by no means certain that the original G. had 75 instances of a double name in his text; the same tendency to expand some solemn formulas existed before his time; and the pen of many a ready writer is no doubt responsible for most of the constantly reiterated claims to inspiration in this book. Where a double name was originally used for emphasis, it is likely to have been אדני יהוה, the preference for Κυριος ο Θεος by one of the MSS. of G. in one section of the book cannot be regarded, in the light of usage elsewhere, as evidence of an original יהוה אלהים in these chapters. In Dan. 9 3, 4 Codex Chisianus has Κυριος ο Θεος; Theodotion had an additional μου in vs. 4 and, according to many MSS., also in vs. 3. MT. has אדני אלהים in vs. 3 and יהוה אלהי in vs. 4; for אדני האלהים many MSS. have יהוה אלהים; but it is probable that יהוה אלהי was used originally in both vss. Probably no double name was intended in the Prayer of Azariah, Dan. 3 45 where συ ει Κ. ο Θ. μονος (Chisianus) or συ ει μονος Κ. ο Θ. (Theod.) may be a translation of אתה יהוה אלהים אחד and meant as a variation on the Shema. As for Tobit 13 11 το ονομα Κυριου του Θεου B. may be a rendering of שמא די מריא אלהא in the Aramaic, but το ονομα το αγιον σου (א) probably represents more closely this original text.[30]

In view of all the facts that must be considered it is quite impossible to determine by the Biblical records alone the age of the double name Yahwe Elohim. But we are now fortunate enough to possess documents that seem to indicate its existence at least as early as the fifth century B.C. In the Elephantine papyri the divine name יהו אלהא occurs, without any further modification, seven times, viz. Pap. I 24, 26, II 24, 25, XI 1,

[30] Cp. J. Rendel Harris, *JAm. Th*, III, 1899, pp. 541 ff.

XVIII, Col. 2, 1, XXXVI 4. Sachau[31] translates it "der Gott Yaho." That is, of course, a possible translation, and it may seem to be supported by the אלהא with חנוב, Pap. I 5, and after חרמביתאל, Pap. XXVII 7. In the first of these passages, however, the sentence כמריא זי חנוב אלהא זי ביב, "the priests of Ḥnub, the god who is in Yeb," is construed in precisely the same manner as אגורא זי יהו אלהא זי ביב, "the temple of Yaho, the god who is in Yeb," Pap. I 6 (II 7); and in the second, the last letter of the word following אלהא which is imperfectly preserved may be ב, so that it would read על חרמביתאל אלהא ביב, "before Harem-Bethel, the god who is in Yeb," or חרמביתאל אלהא is formed on the analogy of יהו אלהא. It is true that the Teima inscription, *CIS*, II, 114, has לצלם אלהא, the Carpentras inscription, *CIS*, II, 141, has אוסירי אלהא, the Nabataean inscriptions, *CIS*, II, 160, 199, 442, have דושרא אלהא. But there is no indication of this usage among Jews or Samaritans, and these colonists are likely to have brought with them from their home the characteristic names of their gods. In the petition to Bagoas it may be supposed that אלהא was added to remind the Persian governor that Yaho was a god, though the context made it abundantly plain and the fact must have been known to him. But when Ma'uzijah, of Abydos, evidently a Jew, writes to "Jedonijah, Urijah and the priests of Yaho Elaha," Pap. XI 1; a Jewish fisherman in Syene, addressing Mahsijah in Elephantine, swears by Yaho Elaha as to what he will do with his dried fish, Pap. XXXVI 4; or a list is drawn up including "the names of the army of the Jews who gave money to Yaho Elaha," Pap. XVIII, Col. 2, 1, there can be no need in these cases of identifying Yaho as a god. The name יהו אלהא corresponds exactly to the Syriac ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ, except that, of course, ܡܪܝܐ (=אדני) represents יהוה. Both stand for Yahwe Elohim.

While it is possible that the custom of employing this double name was introduced by later arrivals in the course of the fifth century, it is more probable that the original "Jewish army" brought it to Elephantine. Concerning the time when this military colony was placed in Yeb we only know that it already

[31] *Aramäische Papyri und Ostraka*, 1911, *passim*.

possessed its temple before the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 B.C. It has been plausibly conjectured that it consisted of some of "those who had been sent against the king of the Ethiopians to battle with Psammetichus," according to Aristeas,[32] and Aristeas unquestionably refers to Psammetichus II (594-588) whose Ethiopian expedition is mentioned in the king's own inscription at Karnak[33] and by Herodotus[34] and to which probably the Abul Simbel inscriptions also bear testimony.[35] This campaign was undertaken in the last year of the reign of Psammetichus II (589-588 B.C.).

Yet it is not impossible that the Jewish garrison was sent to Elephantine already by Psammetichus I to take the place of the rebellious soldiers who fled into Ethiopia[36] apparently at some time between 648 and 619 B.C. Eduard Meyer thinks of the period before the proclamation of the Deuteronomic Code, in 620 B.C.[37] It is not improbable, however, that one of the effects of the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem and the destruction of the rival sanctuaries at Bethel and elsewhere was to drive into exile many men who could earn a living for themselves and their families as mercenaries. The temple at Elephantine may then have been as distinct a protest against Zadokite presumption as that at Leontopolis some centuries later was against an illegitimate Tobiad or Hasmonaean high-priesthood.

A number of interesting facts seem to point to such an origin. The religious situation at Elephantine is very much the same as at Bethel, cp. II Kings, 17 28-41. The people serve Yaho and also other gods; they make unto them from among themselves priests who offer sacrifices. Among their deities are

[32] *Epistula ad Philocratem*, 13 (ed. Wendland).

[33] Published by W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, 1906, Plates 12, 13. If there is no error in the copy, *'Ib nfr Re* within the cartouche would seem to indicate that Psammetichus II is meant, and not Psammetichus I, as Müller maintains. Cp. also Eduard Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, 9f.

[34] II, 161.

[35] *CIS*, I, 1 135.

[36] Herodotus, II, 30.

[37] *L. c.* p. 35.

יהו, אשמביתאל, ענתביתאל or ענתיהו, and חרמביתאל. The goddess Ashim(a) of Bethel is no doubt identical with the Ashima introduced in Bethel by the exiles from Hamath. Similarly, the goddess Anath-Bethel, or Anath-Yaho, is probably identical with Ana(th) Melek (ענמלך where מלך represents יהוה) brought into Bethel by the contingent from Sepharvaim. Ḥarem Bethel likely means "The Holy One of Bethel." Bethel itself may be an abbreviation of El-Bethel, or the name of the sanctuary may be used for him who dwells therein. The gods are referred to in the plural as אלהיא, and with the verb in the plural. It is significant that these "Judaeans" not only make an appeal to the high-priest in Jerusalem but also turn in confidence to the sons of Sanballat in Samaria. That would be natural, if the original "army" had come from Bethel and the towns of Samaria as well as from various "cities" in Judah.

Yaho Elohim, or as some preferred to pronounce it, Yahwe Elohim, may, therefore, have been used to some extent in Palestine already at the end of the seventh century, and found its way to Elephantine where it long maintained itself in the Aramaic form Yaho Elaha. There evidently was a time when such double names were not yet in vogue. In the oldest remains of Hebrew poetry, the Songs of the Conquest, Deborah's Ode, the patriarchal blessings, and the prophecies of Balaam, as well as in the earliest prose narratives, such as the tales of eponymous heroes and judges, the excellent account of David's reign, II Sam. 9-20, the stories of Elijah and Elisha, and the original annals of the kings of Israel and Judah, we look in vain for any double name; either Yahwe or Elohim is used. In Amos we meet Adonai Yahwe and Yahwe Elohe Sebaoth, and in Isaiah Yahwe Sebaoth. These names had no doubt been employed before their time, though words ascribed to David in later narratives cannot be adduced as evidence. Adoni Yahwe, or Adonai Yahwe, "my lord Yahwe" is very natural in direct address, and the consciousness of the pronominal suffix always tends to disappear in cases of this kind.

As for יהוה צבאות or יהוה הצבאות, it is clearly an abbreviation of יהוה אלהי הצבאות, and designates Yahwe as the god of the celestial hosts who is surrounded when he comes by

these companions, fellow-fighters, followers, servants. In earlier times they were called אלהים or בני האלהים i. e. individuals of the species indicated by אלהים. A distinction was later made between אלהים and בני האלהים; but it is doubtful whether the consciousness of the original divine nature of the angels was ever completely lost among men who used these terms. "Gods" like Nabu, Hermes, Mercury were essentially מלאכים, "angels". In the light of these facts it is not difficult to surmise what the original meaning of Yahwe Elohim was. It is probably an abbreviation, in thought at least, of יהוה אלהי האלהים, whether that form was ever used or not, and designates Yahwe as the god who comes with the אלהים, is at the head of them, is the chief among them, the greatest of the gods (cp. Deut. 10 17). That Yahwe is the god *par excellence* is all that is meant by יהוה הוא האלהים, I Kings 18 39. As a *pluralis majestatis* אלהים probably goes back to early times. Just as *'adon* and *'adonim* were used indiscriminately both in regard to divine and human lordship, so *'el* and *'elohim*. *Ilani-ya* and *ili-ya*, which constantly occur in direct address to the king of Egypt in the Amarna letters, look like translations of *'elohai*.

If the positions reached in this article are sound, the story of the Garden of Eden, which has been called "the gem of Genesis," is not the product of a writer who used the divine name Yahwe. Without going into the textual problem, Budde[38] was led by his critical insight to the conclusion that a text of this story once circulated in which the name Yahwe did not occur at all. But he also supposed that there was another earlier recension, in the main identical with it, which had only Yahwe, except in 3 1b-5, and that, in uniting both, the author of the story of the fratricide introduced a Yahwe before Elohim everywhere, except in 3 1b-5, in one recension and added Elohim after Yahwe wherever this name was found in the other, so that every trace of the Elohistic revision by the second Yahwist disappeared. Budde, however, did not notice that the Elohistic recension actually survived for centuries, and that many copyists followed no definite principle in the use of the double name either in this section or elsewhere in the Bible. Nor did he

[38] *Die biblische Urgeschichte*, 1882, pp. 232ff.

explain how, in the light of general usage among writers employing the name Yahwe, the author of this story in its earliest form can be supposed to have had any scruples about using it in the conversation between the woman and the serpent, and why the final Yahwistic editor should not have continued his painstaking operation and put in Yahwe Elohim everywhere to the end of ch. 4. The scribe who prefixed Κυριος to ο Θεος in 4 26, while allowing Eve, 4 1, and Adam, 4 25, to use only ο Θεος, seems to have been more consistent than Budde's J[2], who, according to him (p. 228) either did not notice יהוה in ch. 4 or else understood it to be used in a different way from that in which it was employed in ch. 2-3. In the original text Eve no doubt said: "I have received a son with (the aid of) the gods," and Adam: "The gods have bestowed on me another descendant in place of Seth."

Gunkel, after some hesitancy, adopts the view of Budde.[39] On the other hand, Eerdmans[40] feels the insufficiency of this explanation and the force of the different textual tradition exhibited by G. He says: "LXX hat 2 9, 19, 21 Elohim gelesen. Daraus kann man folgern, dass Jahve an verschiedenen Stellen in den Text hineingesetzt wurde . . . Wenn LXX es 2 9, 19, 21 gekannt hätte, wäre es auch übersetzt worden." This is quite correct. Only it is not apparent why just these three verses should have been chosen. Gunkel, reading a recently printed text, noticed the omissions and declared: "LXX liest abweichend vom hebr. 2 5, 7, 9, 19, 21 ο Θεος." If scholars think so highly of the manuscript A in these chapters that they are ready to quote it as LXX, they would do well to use Grabe's edition. His asterisks and crosses are at least suggestive of Hexaplaric MSS. and generally provocative of doubt and inquiry. Even the critical apparatus of Brooke and McLean is not a substitute for, but only a supplement to, Holmes and Parsons; and it is not easy with both together to find out what readings a certain MS., daughter-version, or church-father really has to offer. To lean upon one single printed MS., though it be a majuscule, is scarcely more safe than to depend upon the spasmodic quo-

[39] *Genesis*,[3] 1910, pp. 5, 26.

[40] *Alttestamentliche Studien*, I, 1908, pp. 78ff.

tations of תרגום ע׳ in Ginsburg's Hebrew Bible, or of G. in Kittel's. Eerdmans thinks that the variants are best accounted for on the assumption that both Yahwe and Elohim were used, yet deems it possible, though not capable of proof, that there was an older form of the story in which Yahwe was not mentioned. Without a more searching examination of the witnesses to the text it is scarcely possible to go beyond such a general suspicion; and it reveals again the keenness of Eerdmans' critical judgment that, on a basis so much more slender than G. in reality affords, he rears a conjecture of such intrinsic plausibility.

The removal of Yahwe from the text in Gen. 2-3, solely on text-critical grounds, does not weaken the impression that the two stories of creation come from different hands. Astruc's clue may prove to be worthless; yet the distinction in style and thought remains. A new theory of Pentateuchal analysis may be necessary; but the analytic work will have to continue. Such a theory, the outlines of which are now becoming discernible, is likely to be as disappointing to those who, cheerfully yielding the integrity of our present Hebrew text, are eager to purge it from all evidences of a post-Mosaic authorship as to those who are ready to defend, at all hazards, the theory so ingeniously elaborated by generations of eminent scholars. Science is not concerned about the maintenance of any theory. Its most urgent demand upon its votaries in this field at present is that methods of textual criticism, at least as rigorous and exact as those recognized and employed in the elucidation of other Biblical books, shall be applied also to the study of the Pentateuch.[41]

[41] It was not until this article had gone to the printer that the author had an opportunity of reading Dahse, *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage*, 1912, though some of his earlier articles were familiar. This author has made good use of the critical apparatus furnished by Brooke and McLean. A careful examination of the entire text of Holmes-Parsons 52, 54, 55 will be necessary before these MSS. can be recognized as pre-hexaplaric, and the judgment applies to the other assumed "recensions". Some of the objections to Dahse's pericope-hypothesis urged by Skinner, *The Expositor*, April-September, 1913, seem well founded. Skinner, however, has no positive suggestions to offer, but simply leans on the *veritas Hebraica* and the undateable Samaritan text. In regard

to Gen. 2-3 Dahse assumes, like Budde, first a Yahwistic recension, then an Elohistic, and finally one with the double name. More insight is shown in his treatment of "PC". Already in 1902 the present writer expressed his opinion in an article on the Hexateuch in *The New International Encyclopaedia*, to the effect that "the so called Priestly Document never existed in a separate code, but consists of a collection of laws, illustrative stories, annotations and comments, added to the already existing books by the priesthood in Jerusalem, chiefly during the Persian period".

והיה of the Past

HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL
TUFTS COLLEGE

THE use of והיה, in the sense of "and it shall be" or "and it shall come to pass", to introduce future states or events, especially when they are dependent on certain circumstances, is a very familiar construction. The instances in which the same form is used to introduce past states or events in similar circumstances are comparatively few. In these latter passages the usual rendering is "and it came to pass", or something similar, as if the Hebrew were ויהי; but the two words are by no means equivalent. Indeed, והיה itself does not always have the same meaning; that is to say, does not, for various reasons, introduce equivalent constructions. The examples that occur can best be discussed in classes and subdivisions according to their peculiarities:

1. The most numerous and important of these classes is composed of passages in which the verb or verbs of the apodosis or principal clause have a frequentative meaning. These verbs may be either imperfects, or perfects with *waw* consecutive.

a. The cases in which the leading verb of the apodosis is an imperfect are the following:

Ex. 33 7: "And it came to pass, whenever any one was seeking (part.) Yahweh, that he went out (יֵצֵא) unto the tent of meeting."

Ex. 33 8: "And it came to pass, whenever Moses went out (inf. with כ) unto the Tent, that the people arose" (יקומו).

Ex. 33 9: "And it came to pass, whenever Moses went into (inf. with כ) the Tent, that the pillar of cloud descended" (יֵרֵד).

Ju. 2 19; "And it came to pass, when the judge died (inf. with ב), that they returned (וישבו) and dealt more corruptly than their fathers", or better, "And it came to pass, whenever a judge died, that they again dealt corruptly, more corruptly than their fathers."

In all these passages the leading verb stands at the beginning of the apodosis, and in all but the first there are one or two coördinate verbs in the perfect connected with it by *waw* consecutive.

b. More frequently, when the leading verb of the apodosis stands at the beginning of the clause, it is in the perfect with *waw* consecutive. The following are the examples:

Gen. 30 41: "And it came to pass, whenever the stronger of the flock conceived (inf. with בעת)[1], that Jacob placed (ושם) the rods before the eyes of the flock."

Gen. 38 9: "And it came to pass, if he went in (pf. with אם) unto his brother's wife, that he spilled (ושחת) it on the ground."

Ex. 17 11: "And it came to pass, whenever Moses uplifted (impf. with כאשר) his hands, that Israel prevailed" (וגבר).

Nu. 21 9: "And it came to pass, if a serpent had bitten (pf. with אם) a man, that he looked (והביט) unto the serpent."

Ju. 6 3: "And it came to pass, if Israel had sown (pf. with אם), that the Midianites came up" (ועלה).

Ju. 19 30: "And it came to pass, whenever any one saw (part.) it, that he said" (ואמר).

1 Sam. 16 23: "And it came to pass, whenever the spirit of God was (inf. with ב) on Saul, that David took (ולקח) a harp."

2 Sam. 14 26: "And it came to pass, from year to year, whenever he sheared himself (impf. with אשר), that he cut it" (וגלחו).

2 Sam. 15 5: "And it came to pass, whenever a man drew near (inf. with ב), to do him obeisance, that he put forth (ושלח) his hand."

In these passages, also, the coördinate verbs are regularly in the perfect with *waw* consecutive. Thus, there is a second in Nu. 21 9 and 2 Sam. 14 26, a third in 2 Sam. 15 5, and no fewer than five in all in 1 Sam. 16 23. In Ju. 6 3f. the succession is

[1] See Gen. 31 : 10.

interrupted by the introduction, after the second verb, of two imperfects with *waw* consecutive, and, when the frequentative thought re-appears, the verb, being separated from the connective, regularly takes the form of an imperfect.

There is one other passage that should be cited under this head, namely, Ju 12 5: "And it came to pass, whenever the fugitive Ephraimites said (impf. with כי), Let me pass over, that the men of Gilead said (ויאמרו) to them (lit. him), Thou art an Ephraimite."

In this instance the temporal clause has an imperfect, like that of Ex. 17 11 and 2 Sam. 14 26, but the apodosis is peculiar in that it has an imperfect, instead of a perfect, with *waw* consecutive. Perhaps the latter was the original reading, or perhaps one, following the Greek Version, should omit והיה כי and read ויאמרו in both clauses. In the latter case the passage would cease to have any bearing on the present discussion. If the present text be retained, ויאמרו might be explained as due to the sudden transfer of the writer's attention from the fleeing multitude to an individual Ephraimite.

2. In the class of passages thus far considered והיה is used because the apodosis has a frequentative verb or verbs and the introductory verb should suggest the same idea. This form, however, may mean, not only "it used to be", but "it continued to be." It is therefore not strange to find that twice, at least, it introduces a sentence in which the verb of the apodosis denotes continuous action. The following are the examples noted:

1 Sam. 1 12: "And it came to pass, as she prolonged (pf. with כי) her prayer, Eli was watching (part.) her mouth."

1 Sam. 25 20: "And it came to pass, as she was riding (part.) on an ass, and coming down (part.), . . . that behold David and his men were coming down" (ירדים).

3. There is one passage which, if the text is correct, constitutes a class by itself. It is Am. 7 2, which, in the Authorized Version, reads, "And it came to pass that, when they made an end (pf. with אם) of eating the grass of the land, then I said (ואמר), O Lord God, forgive, I beseech thee; by whom shall

Jacob arise? for he *is* small"; and the Revisers have made no material change in the translation. At first sight this rendering seems satisfactory, and warranted by Ju 6 3 and other passages in which אם is used before the perfect; but when these two are compared, it becomes clear that, while in Ju 6 3 "when Israel had sown" means whenever they had so done, the prophet Amos in 7 2 certainly did not mean to imply that the act of making an end of eating the grass of the land was one that he had seen repeated. Indeed, there are the best of reasons for denying that he intended to represent it as ever carried into execution. He says that he interceded. Of what avail would it have been to intercede after the grass, or better, herbage, of the land had been completely devoured? Finally, he says (v. 3) that his intercession was effectual, that Yahweh changed his mind and gave him the assurance, "It shall not be."

There is evidently something wrong with the text or the translation. What the prophet intended to say may be inferred from v. 4, where he says that the fire summoned by Yahweh "devoured the great deep, and was devouring" (pf. with *waw*), that is, was about to devour, or, as the Revised Version has it, "would have devoured", "the field." Similarly, in v. 2 he must have said, or meant to say, "when they (the locusts) would have completely devoured the herbage of the land." This being the case, the next question is whether the language of the Massoretic text can properly be so interpreted. There is something to be said for this opinion. In the first place, since, as appears from v. 4, the perfect with *waw* consecutive may denote an action begun or attempted, but not completed, it is not strange to find והיה introducing a compound sentence in which this species of action is evidently intended. That the inchoative idea is found in the protasis, but not in the apodosis, is not, as is shown by Ju. 12 5, if the text is correct, a fatal objection. Nor is אם out of place in such a connection, for, although in most cases in which it is rendered "when" it has the force of "whenever," Ju. 21 21 is proof that it was used of distinct and isolated events. As for the tense employed, the use of the perfect to denote what might under other circumstances have occurred, is too familiar to the student of the Old Testament to

need defense or illustration. It occurs several time after כמעט, which might have been used by Amos in this connection. See Ps. 73 2; *GK.* 106, 4.

The above explanation takes for granted the correctness of the Massoretic text. There are those who prefer to emend it. Thus, Wellhausen, for והיה אם, reads ויהי טרם; but Harper goes farther and, for והיה אם כלה, substitutes ויהי הא מכלה by this means making the whole verse read, "And it came to pass, when they (the locusts) were completely devouring the herbage of the land", &c.; which, although there is nothing like it in the book of Amos, is a perfectly defensible Hebrew construction. See 2 Kgs. 13 21.

4. In the cases of 1 Sam. 1 12 and 25 20, where some scholars would replace והיה by ויהי, or delete it, as well as in Am. 7 2, there are reasons for retaining the Massoretic reading, but there are certain passages in which the use of this introductory form is indefensible.

a. In some of these the apodosis has the imperfect with *waw* consecutive. Thus,

1 Sam. 10 9: "And it came to pass, when he turned (inf. with כ) his back to go from Samuel, that God gave him another (ויהפך) heart,"

1 Sam. 17 48: "And it came to pass, when the Philistine arose (pf. with כי), . . . that David made haste" (וימהר).

2 Kgs. 3 15: "And it came to pass, when the minstrel played (inf. with כ), that the hand of Yahweh was (ותהי) on him."

Jer. 37 11: "And it came to pass, when the Chaldean force was brought up (inf. with ב) from Jerusalem, that Jeremiah went forth" (ויצא).

Jer. 38 28b—39 3: "And it came to pass, when Jerusalem had been taken (pf. with כאשר), that the princes . . . came in" (ויבאו).

b. Less frequently, the verb of the apodosis, because it is separated from the connective, is in the perfect.

1 Sam. 13 22: "And it came to pass, in the day of battle, that there was not found (נמצא) a sword or a spear in the hands of all the people."

2 Sam. 6 16: "And it came to pass, as the ark of Yahweh was coming into (part.) the city of David, that Michal, the daughter of Saul, leaned (נשקפה) out of a window, and saw (ותרא) King David.

The passages quoted under a and b, although they differ as just described, and take a variety of forms in the protasis, or circumstantial clause, have this in common, that, whatever the background, each of them, in the apodosis, adds one or more distinct items to the history of the past. Now, there are scores of similar cases in the Old Testament, but in all the rest of them the introductory verb is not in the perfect with *waw* consecutive, but takes the familiar form ויהי. With 1 Sam. 10 9 and 2 Kgs. 3 15 compare Gen. 12 14; with 1 Sam. 17 48, Gen. 26 8; with Jer. 37 11, Gen. 4 8; with Jer. 38 28b, Gen. 12 11; with 1 Sam. 13 22, Gen. 4 3; and with 2 Sam. 6 16, 2 Sam. 13 30. It is natural, therefore, to suppose that the passage in question originally had ויהי, and this inference is favored by the fact that, in 1 Sam. 10 9, Kenn. 1 and 80, and in Jer. 37 11, Kenn. 30 and 180, have this reading; also 1 Chr. 15 29, the parallel to 2 Sam. 6 16. It is adopted, in the notes on the passages cited, in Kittel's Bible; but there is room for doubt whether it should be applied without exception. The Hebrews, in the better period of their literature, were reasonably consistent in the use of the imperfect with *waw* consecutive after a perfect denoting completed past action, but, in later times, they adopted, to a greater or less extent, the simpler Aramaic usage, which does not require a change of tense after the connective. See Ecc. 9 14 ff. &c. If, therefore, any of these passages can, on other grounds, be shown to be of late origin, it becomes possible that והיה should be retained; but, if so, it should be interpreted as the equivalent in meaning of the earlier ויהי. Perhaps 2 Sam. 6 16a and Jer. 38 28b, where, as appears from the Greek Version, the text is corrupt, are to be treated in this way. In 1 Sam. 10 9, 13 22, and 17 48 and Jer. 37 11, on the other hand, והיה is apparently a copyist's error occasioned by the occurrence of one or more perfects with *waw* in the immediate context. In 2 Kgs. 3 15 a preceding imperative may have led the scribe astray. Perhaps, however, in this instance some words have been lost,

the original of the verse having read, "And now, fetch me a minstrel: and it shall come to pass when the minstrel playeth, [that the hand of Yahweh will be on me. And they did so; and it came to pass when the minstrel played],[2] that the hand of Yahweh was on him."

5. The explanation above given, if valid, removes the passages explained from the category of exceptions and negatively establishes the rule, that והיה in the sense of "and it came to pass" requires that the verb or verbs of the apodosis have a form denoting customary or continuous action. The question now arises whether the converse is true, that is, whether a verb of the form described in the apodosis is always introduced by והיה, and whether, if there are exceptions, they are real and original departures from the regular construction. The list of passages quoted in section 1 will serve as illustrations of the rule. The following are introduced by ויהי, although in each case the verb in the apodosis is a frequentative:

Jos. 6 8: "And it came to pass, when Joshua spake (inf. with כ) to the people, that the seven priests . . . were passing (יעברו).[3]

1 Kgs. 14 28: "And it came to pass, as oft as the king went into (inf. with מדי) the house of Yahweh, that the guard bare them (ישאום) and brought them back" (והשיבום).

2 Chr. 12 11: "And it came to pass, as oft as the king went into (inf. with מדי) the house of Yahweh, that the guard came (יבאו),[4] and bare them (ונשאום), and brought them back" (והשבום).

2 Kgs. 4 8: "And it came to pass, as oft as he passed by (inf. with מדי), that he turned in (יסר) thither."

Jer. 36 23: "And it came to pass, when Jehudi had read (inf.

[2] Words omitted: והיתה עלי יד יהוה ויעשו כן ויהי כנגן המנגן.

[3] The Massoretic text has עברו, but, since it is followed by a perfect with waw consecutive, the original reading must have been an imperfect. See also the Greek Version.

[4] The Massoretic text has באו, but since the one who inserted this new verb must have changed the one following from ישאום to ונשאום, the original form must have been an imperfect. See also the Greek Version.

with כ) three or four leaves, that he (the king) cut them out (יקרעם)[5] with a penknife."

It is not so easy to account for the ויהי of these passages as for the exceptional use of והיה in those above discussed. The first explanation to suggest itself is that here again the copyists are to blame for the irregularity; but 2 Kgs 4 8, which begins with a ויהי, and which, in two manuscripts (Kenn. 56, 96), has והיה in place of this one, is the only case in which such an explanation seems warranted. A better one would seem to be that מדי, with which the protasis in 1 Kgs. 14 28 and 1 Chr. 12 11 as well as 2 Kgs. 4 8 begins, influenced the form of the introductory verb. A certain plausibility is given to this suggestion by the fact that, in 1 Sam. 18 30, מדי is followed in the apodosis by the perfect instead of a frequentative imperfect; but 1 Sam. 7 16, where the perfect with *waw* is found both before and after מדי, makes it worthless. Perhaps, however, 1 Sam. 18 30 will be helpful in discovering the real reason why ויהי takes the place of והיה in these exceptional passages. It is a late addition to the story of David, not found in the Greek Version. The substitution by its author of the perfect for the frequentative imperfect in the apodosis indicates a tendency to neglect the nicer shades of meaning among the Hebrews. The same tendency is illustrated in Jos. 6 8 and 2 Chr. 12 11, where, although in each case the leading verb of the apodosis was originally an imperfect, the scribes have transformed it into a perfect. Note, now, that all the passages in which a genuine והיה is properly rendered "and it came to pass", before a verb denoting customary or continued action, belong to the earlier narratives, while the first clause of Jos. 6 8, as well as 1 Sam. 18 30, is an interpolation, not found in the Greek Version, and 1 Kgs. 14 28, 2 Kgs. 4 8, Jer. 36 23, and 2 Chr. 12 11 belong to the later literature, and it will not be difficult to believe that these passages, except perhaps 2 Kgs. 4 8, furnish actual exceptions to the rule that, in the Old Testament, when היה is used to introduce a verb denoting customary or continued action, it takes the form of the perfect with *waw* consecutive.

[5] The Massoretic text has יקרעה.

The Hermeneutic Canon "Interpret Historically" in the Light of Modern Research

Presidential Address at the Annual Meeting, Dec. 29, 1913

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

AMONG the simple rules of hermeneutics which, I suppose, we were all taught at the beginning of our exegetical studies, such as "interpret lexically", "interpret grammatically", "interpret contextually", "interpret the obscure by the clear", "interpret according to the analogy of Scripture", was also the canon: "interpret historically". The purpose of this maxim was to lead the interpreter, when appeals to lexicon, grammar, context, and parallel passages had left him in doubt, to look up the history of the age in which his author lived, in the hope that this might direct him to the true meaning of the words to be interpreted.

This maxim was adopted before the era of modern historical research began, or, at least, before it had invaded the fields of Biblical interpretation in our country. It then seemed a comparatively simple matter to turn up a hand-book of history, discover from it the course of events in the era in question, and make an inference from these events that would illuminate the obscurities of the passage. Since then conditions have entirely changed. Historical investigation has invaded the precincts of our science and has appropriated to itself the land. If it has not revolutionized exegesis, it has revolutionized the interest of our hearers and readers. Our age often seems to care less for the meaning of the words of a Biblical book than to know the place in the evolution of history in which a passage stands. In the endeavor to ascertain historical facts

and genetic relations all the methods known to historical science are employed, and some of them, because of the abundance of the material, can be employed in the Biblical field with a scientific precision that is elsewhere impossible. The historical critic, applying the historical canons for source analysis, has dissected many books of the Bible into *disjecta membra*. The textual critic, having developed his science on the New Testament material to a perfection unknown elsewhere in the world's literature, now seeks to raise his branch of historical research to a wider field of influence, and is endeavoring sometimes to make it a means of ascertaining the existence of sources, sometimes, a means of proving that no sources can be discovered. Archaeology is a branch of historical research. The spade has brought from the dust many documents which are historical sources of the first rank. The archaeologist would exalt this science to the supreme place, and claim for it the deciding voice in historical research. The discovery of the existence of different sources within many Biblical books makes possible a comparison of religious ideas within the Biblical material and the construction of new theories of the evolution of Biblical thought. The opportunity is eagerly seized by many investigators, and the analyser of Biblical ideas stands beside the analyser of Biblical documents and claims a hearing as an historical authority. Lastly the investigator of other religious systems has entered our field, and to the comparative sciences already enumerated, he adds the science of comparing religions. The Hebrew religion, the religion of Jesus, and that of Paul are brought into comparison with the religions and mythologies of Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, Asia Minor and Rome, and we are told that as exegetes our judgment of the meaning of the sacred text should be determined by the results of such comparisons.

In view of this medley of voices which to-day deafen the ears of the exegete, it may not be out of place to briefly review these branches of historical research, and to inquire what rights they have established to be respectfully heard, and under what condition they should influence our judgment in interpreting Scripture.

The science of criticism as applied to source analysis has

been occupied with the text of the Bible for a hundred and sixty years. In many parts of the Bible it has achieved results which command the assent of all but a negligible fraction of the experts. In such cases no one can claim to be a scientific exegete and ignore these results. Thus the analysis of the Pentateuch into the four great documents or cycles of material, designated by the symbols J, E, D, and P, receives the almost unanimous support of scholars. The partition which formerly separated the school of Ewald from the school of Graf and Wellhausen has been well nigh broken down. A recent publication of Kittel[1], one of the influential living members of the school of Ewald, reveals so close an approximation to the position of Wellhausen that little difference is left over which to divide. Even König[2], Sellin[3] and Beecher[4] grant the existence of the documents, though they seek to approximate the older views by dating the composition of the documents earlier than other scholars are accustomed to do. Eerdmans[5], it is true, has made an assault upon the critical citadel, though not in the interest of orthodoxy. While in some details he has pointed out weaknesses in the generally accepted critical positions,—weaknesses for the most part of which the critics themselves were well aware,—he is himself the advocate of a documentary theory. It is a theory, too, which, after a candid examination, does not commend itself. One of his criteria for opposing the prevailing views, viz:—the contention that אלהים represents a polytheistic point of view until a late time, is proven unfounded by the fact that, as was pointed out more than twenty years ago[6], we have proof in the El-Amarna letters that the Canaanites already employed אלהים as a singular in the fourteenth century B. C. Our E document but perpetuates a pre-Israelitish Canaanite usage. No doubt there are preexilic laws and prac-

[1] *The Scientific Study of the Old Testament*, 1910.

[2] *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1893 and *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion*, 1912.

[3] *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, 1910 and *Zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1912.

[4] *Reasonable Biblical Criticism*, 1911.

[5] *Alttestamentliche Studien*, I—IV, 1908—1912.

[6] Barton, *PAOS*, 1892, p. xcvi f.

tices in Leviticus, but that does not prove Eerdmans' contention that their setting dates from before the Exile.

There is no need in this presence to refute Eerdmans' work in detail, since the searching examination which Holzinger[7] has given his Genesis is doubtless known to all.

The method of investigation in this field illustrated in Jastrow's article on "Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes"[8] approves itself as of greater scientific value than that of Eerdmans. More profitable, also, than the work of Eerdmans are the attempts of Procksch[9], Mitchell[10], and Gressmann[11], who assume the main lines of the analysis and seek an exegesis that will focus historical truth and ethical teaching, as these are illuminated by the analysis. This may be said without endorsing all the positions defended by these scholars. As to the books of Judges, Samuel, Kings, Ezra and Nehemiah, there is also similar agreement that their authors employed previously existing sources, though considerable difference of opinion exists as to whether any of these can be identified with sources employed in the Pentateuch. There is similar agreement that the Chronicler employed the earlier books as sources, though opinions still differ as to whether he employed other sources which are not now exant.[12]

A very general agreement has also been reached that the book of Isaiah contains the work of at least two prophets. A strong consensus of opinion also exists that Isa. 24-27 are from about the time of Alexander the Great, and that Isa. 56-66 are not by the author of Isa. 40-55, but are a later appendix to that prophecy and contain diverse elements.

There is also a general agreement that the prologue and epilogue of Job are by an author different from the author of the poem, and that the speeches of Elihu (ch. 32-37) are a later interpolation in the book. Budde is the only eminent inter-

[7] "Nachprüfung von B. D. Eerdmans, Die Komposition der Genesis" in *ZAW*, XXX, 245—258 and XXXI, 44—68.

[8] *JAOS*, XXXIII, 180 f.

[9] *Das Nordisraelitische Sagenbuch*, 1906.

[10] *Ethics of the Old Testament*, Chicago, 1911.

[11] *Mose und seine Zeit*, 1912.

[12] For a recent discussion see Steuernagel, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Tübingen, 1912.

preter who still protests against the last mentioned point. The book of Ecclesiastes has been until recently a fruitful source for divergent theories, but criticism now is tending to agree that three hands have contributed to the book: the bulk of it was written by an out-spoken sceptic; an orthodox Jew and a devotee of wisdom each afterward interpolated it.[13]

In the case of the Synoptic Gospels the opinion of antiquity has been reversed, and the Gospel of Mark is now almost universally regarded as older than Matthew and Luke, and is believed to have been one of the sources employed by their authors. While it is true that scholars so diverse as Zahn[14] and Nathaniel Schmidt[15] hold that an Aramaic form of Matthew is the oldest Gospel, the other view has such general approval that it is fairly regarded as one of the assured results of Biblical criticism. That Matthew and Luke also employed at least one other written source which is common to them both, may be regarded as another assured result of Gospel criticism.

The results of source analysis in the case of the books mentioned command, in their general outline, the adherence of such a large majority of scholars, that no exegete can claim to work by scientific processes who does not take them into account. Of course there are many differences of opinion as regards details, and such differences will probably always exist, for the data are at many points insufficient for the formation of final judgments. Such differences do not, however, affect or invalidate the general result.

In the case of many other books the question of analysis is still *sub judice*. This is true in the Old Testament of the book of Daniel;[16] in the New, of the Gospels of Mark[17]

[13] Cf. Barton, *Ecclesiastes* in *Inter. Crit. Com.*, 1908; Podechard, *L'Ecclésiaste*, 1912; Steuernagel, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1912; Gray, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1913.

[14] *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, II, 1899, 260 f. and 300 f.

[15] *The Prophet of Nazareth*, 1905, 223.

[16] Cf. *JBL*, XVII, 62 ff, Wildeboer, *De Letterkunde des ouden Verbonds*, 1903, 415 f., and Torrey, "Notes on the Aramaic Portion of Daniel" in the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XV, July, 1909.

[17] See Bacon, *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*, 1909; Loisy, *Evangiles synoptiques*, ch. III; and the literature cited by Moulton in *Harvard*

and John,[18] the Book of Acts,[19] and the Book of Revelation.[20]

The analysis of the book of Daniel proposed more than a hundred years ago by J. D. Michaelis, Eichhorn and Bertholdt found few followers. In more recent times those of Lagarde and Meinhold have not commanded general assent.

My own analysis convinced, so far as I know, only Wildeboer, among Old Testament Scholars, of its correctness, and, so far as I have observed, Professor Torrey's analysis has not been more fortunate in making converts. The effort to analyse the Gospel of Mark into sources has not as yet gone beyond the tentative stage. The detailed analyses of Wendling and Bacon are strikingly different, and, though Loisy has frequently reached independently the same conclusions as Bacon, none of these analyses are really convincing.[21]

Bacon's supplementary theories of the origin of the Gospel of John are not altogether satisfactory, but the documentary theories of Wendt and Spitta are less so. Of the analyses of the Book of Acts into documents, that of Spitta seemed most

Theol. Review, III, 403—436; also Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, 1907, E. Wendling, *Urmarcus*, 1908, and Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, I, 1909.

[18] Cf. Wendt, *Das Johannes-Evangelium*, 1900, and *Die Schichten im vierten Evangelium*, 1911, Bacon, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, 1910, Holtzmann, *Evangelium, Briefe, und Offenbarung Johannis*, 1908, Spitta, *Das Johannes-Evangelium*, 1910, Wellhausen, *Erweiterungen und Änderungen im vierten Evangelium*, 1907, and *Das Evangelium Johannes*, 1908.

[19] Cf. Sorof, *Entstehung der Apostelgeschichte*, 1890; Spitta, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1891; Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lukas*, 1891; Clemen, *Die Chronologie der paulinischen Briefe*, 1893; Jungst, *Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte*, 1895; Hilgenfeld, *Acta Apostolorum* 1899; Harnack, *Lukas der Arzt*, 1906, *Luke the Physician*, 1907, *Die Apostel-Geschichte*, 1908, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1909, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, 1911, *The Date of Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, 1911.

[20] See the literature cited in "The Apocalypse and Recent Criticism" in the *American Journal of Theology*, II (1898), 802—827, also Völter, *Offenbarung Johannis*, 1903, Wellhausen, *Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis*, 1907, and R. H. Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse*, 1913.

[21] Cf. Moffatt, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 227 f.

sane, and the best explanation of the phenomena, but the work of Harnack, one-sided and forced as some of its later developments are, makes Spitta's analysis for the major part of the book unnecessary. That there are both Jewish and Christian elements in Revelation is generally conceded, but in spite of the large literature which the book has called forth in the last thirty years, there is no general agreement as to how these should be separated into sources. In all these cases there is no consensus of scientific opinion to guide the interpreter.

Of late an old discipline, not content with fields which have long been its own, has lifted up its voice and demanded not only a vote in the field of source analysis, but the deciding vote. Textual criticism, developed to a science by means of the abundant material of the New Testament is thought by some of its devotees to be capable in the Old Testament of higher things. According to Wiener and Dahse[22] it is capable of proving the documentary analysis of the Pentateuch wrong, while according to Olmstead[23] it is capable of proving the peculiarly characteristic Deuteronomic frame-work of the books of Kings to be later than the translation of the Septuagint! Wiener's "hastily improvised scholarship" and bad manners would sufficiently condemn his work, were it not that he has enunciated four principles of textual criticism, with reference to the use and value of the Septuagint, which meet with Dahse's approval.[24] That it may be said of these four principles that what in them is true is not new and what is new is not true, has been ably demonstrated by Principal Skinner.[25]

Dahse's own contribution to the subject is much more deserving of attention. He endeavors to show, by means of textual criticism based on the Septuagint, that the divine names in Genesis furnish no clue to the documentary analysis, but that their alternation is due to scribal revision. He seeks to prove

[22] Cf. Wiener, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, LXVI, 139 f., and *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism*, 1909, 24 f.; Dahse, *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage*, 1912.

[23] "Source Study and the Biblical Text", *AJSL*, XXX, 1—35.

[24] Cf. Dahse, *op. cit.*, p. 30 f.

[25] Cf. *Expositor*, 8. Ser., Vol. VI, p. 269 f.

that some Rabbinical revisers permitted Yahweh to occur a few times near the beginning or end of a Seder and that they sometimes changed Elohim to Yahweh in the middle of a Parasha.

Dahse seems entirely unconscious of the fact that, even if the clue of the divine names were now to vanish like a will-of-the-wisp, by following it scholars were led to other criteria that cannot be explained away and that are decisive; so that, had he demonstrated his case, the present analysis of the Hexateuch would be in no way affected. It is, however, not necessary to answer him here. That has been done by Principal Skinner in a series of articles in the *Expositor*[26], in which the inaccuracy of many of Dahse's observations and the inadequacy of his material to prove his conclusions is pointed out with adequate learning and admirable temper. Principal Skinner has shown that as an opponent of the documentary analysis of the Hexateuch textual criticism as expounded by Dahse is weighed in the balance and found wanting.

The work of Olmstead must be pronounced equally faulty in this regard. He seeks to establish certain principles of procedure by comparing renderings of the Septuagint and Theodotion in certain parts of Kings, Isaiah and Jeremiah and then the similar accounts in Chronicles. His radical conclusion as to the date of Deuteronomic material in Kings is based on the fact of its omission from the Septuagint of Chronicles. The fact that the phenomena in question are capable of several explanations is apparently overlooked. One such explanation might be found in the possibility of differing recensions of the Hebrew long anterior to the Septuagint. He infers that the critical canon, by which Westcott and Hort proved that the conflate text, called Syrian,[27] was late, is applicable to this literary material. A careful study of the criticism of the New Testament, however, shows that the canon which may be true of a scribal

[26] Series 8, Vols. V and VI.

[27] See Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in the Original Greek*, II, 93—107. Von Soden in his great work on the text of the New Testament (*Schriften des Neuen Testaments*), although he does not explain again the process of conflation, recognizes it in his K text, which he calls a bastard text; cf. pp. 707—710.

period when a text has become sacred, may be the reverse of the truth in a period of literary activity before the text has become venerable. The Gospel of Mark, when compared with Matthew and Luke, exhibits often all the phenomena of a conflate text, and yet it is demonstrably not a compilation from these Gospels, but their source. The spirit of the period of Gospel composition was, in comparison with the third and fourth centuries, one of creative power. In it men dared to omit. In the scribal period, when the Syrian text took shape, men dared to omit nothing. When the earliest text of Chronicles was composed, the books of Kings were not yet so sacred that no word of theirs could be omitted. Large sections were purposely omitted as unedifying. It is more probable that we have here a case analogous to the relation between Mark and the other Synoptics than to that between the Syrian and the other types of text. One is compelled, therefore, to regard Olmstead's inferences as unfounded. Again textual criticism fails to make good her claim to be an historical discipline.

Textual criticism is not, however, always so unfortunate. In the hands of Professor Torrey it has, in conjunction with the higher criticism, actually added eighteen verses to the canonical text of the Old Testament.[28] These verses are found in the so-called apocryphal I Esdras, 4 47b-56 and 4 62-5 6. The argument that these verses once formed a part of the canonical book of Ezra is so strong that it has convinced Professor Batten, the latest commentator on Ezra and Nehemiah.[29] Professor Batten would make the verses an introduction to Ezra ch. 3 and not, as Professor Torrey would do, a part of chapter 1, but he recognizes, as we all should do, that some lost verses of the book have been restored. That after the lapse of so many centuries these verses should once more be accorded their rightful place in the Biblical text, is eloquent testimony to the contribution to historical exegesis which textual criticism is capable of rendering, when in competent hands.

Another branch of historical research which claims the right to speak the last word in matters of Biblical criticism is the so-

[28] Cf. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 25—28 and 115—139.

[29] Cf. *Ezra and Nehemiah* in *Inter. Crit. Com.*, pp. 103—106.

called science of archaeology. There is a science of archaeology, which is a real science. That type of archaeology excavates mounds, studies and classifies the pottery, discovers the evolution of the utensils used, until it can coordinate the details it has gathered, and project the curve of the evolution of civilizations. Here, too, must be classed those excavations which bring to light lost cities. Such was the work of Macalister at Gezer,[30] and the work which Koldewey[31] has been carrying on so persistently at Babylon for the last thirteen years. Such also is the work of Petrie, Reisner and others in Egypt.[32]

The archaeology, however, that has for twenty years or more made itself heard in the halls of Biblical study is in no sense a science. Its strongest arguments are usually based upon supposed facts which turn out upon investigation to be mistakes, and the inferences from its facts are usually as baseless as the foundation upon which they rest. From this type of archaeology historical science can only pray to be delivered. There is no science of archaeology apart from criticism. The spade brings to light documents, but it is the function of the critical historian to interpret them. Such documents must be subjected to a comparative criticism quite as severe as that applied to those which have long been known. They become a part of historical science, only when they have been so treated and their material has been combined with material previously known, and is interpreted in accordance with the general development of ancient life.

To say that all this is true is, of course, not to say that archaeology has not furnished us with much most welcome historical material,—material, too, which has corrected erroneous theories and cleared up doubts. Thus the discovery of the palace of Sargon with its abundant historical inscriptions cleared away the doubts that some minds had entertained of the correctness of the reference to him in Isa. 20 1; the inscriptions from Thessa-

30 See *Excavation at Gezer*, London 1912.

31 See *Das wieder entstehende Babylon*, 1913.

32 Cf. Reisner, *The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Der*, Leipzig 1908—9 and the numerous publications of Petrie for the Egypt Exploration Fund and for the British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

lonica[33] have similarly confirmed the correctness of Acts 17 6, 8 in calling the rulers of Thessalonica "Politarchs"; the papyri from Egypt, which have afforded evidence of the systematic taking of census in the Roman Empire, while they have not yet cleared away all doubts as to the correctness of the date assigned to a census of Augustus in Luke 2 1, have increased the probability of its correctness.

It is, however, unscientific to infer that every discovery of archaeology will dispel doubts. The dictum that such must be the result has led to many unfounded and grotesque announcements. Sayce once found in the El Amarna letters a confirmation of the statement in Hebrews 7 3 that Melchizedek was "without father, without mother, having neither beginning of days nor end of life",[34] but it turned out to rest upon a misinterpretation. A recent exponent[35] of this type of archaeology has found in the fact that the Sumerians were in Babylonia at the dawn of history a confirmation of the statement in Gen. 10 8 that Cush begat Nimrod! The fallacies of such reasoning are too numerous to enumerate here.

Archaeological research has as often confirmed criticism as dispelled doubts. Such confirmation is, for example, afforded by the discovery of two Babylonian accounts of the creation, which correspond in general character to the two accounts which criticism finds in Genesis. The excavations at the sites of Gezer and Taanach, cities which are said by the P document to be Levitical cities, confirm the supposition that the P document is late, since the ruins prove that the institutions which existed in those cities down to the Babylonian exile were such as the P document abhorred. Part of the correspondence relating to the Passover found at Elephantine is intelligible only on the supposition that the P document is late. The abundant proof from the documents which archaeology has brought to light that Cyrus immediately succeeded Nabonidus, that Belshazzar was not king, and that no Darius the Mede intervened between Nabonidus

[33] Cf. Burton in *American Journal of Theol.*, II, 588–632.

[34] Cf. *Sunday School Times* for 1890.

[35] Kyle, *Deciding Voice of the Monuments in Biblical Criticism*, p. 196.

and Cyrus confirms the critical date and estimate of the book of Daniel.[36]

The unscientific character of the work of some archaeologists should not, however, blind the exegete to the great debt which historical exegesis owes to archaeology. Priceless treasures have come from Palestine itself, such as the Moabite Stone, the Siloam inscription, and the Samarian ostraka. From Babylonia and Assyria the texts, chronological, historical, mythological, and hymnological, have afforded material for correcting Biblical chronology, for tracing the origins of its earlier traditions, for filling in gaps in its historical records, and for comparison of its poetical forms and religious ideas, which are of inestimable value. From Egypt, too, have come abundant data for testing the traditions in Exodus, and for measuring the value of important Biblical ideas. The tale of the Eloquent Peasant[37] witnesses to the birth of a social conscience in Egypt at least 1200 years before it found a voice in the Hebrew prophets. Similarly the admonitions of Ipuwer[38] in their picture of political and social distress and their portrayal of the rule of an ideal king form illuminative parallels to the Messianic prophecy of the Old Testament. Egypt's prophet king, Amenophis IV, and his premature, though brave attempt at monotheism, help one to appreciate more highly the monotheism of Israel, while the Psalms composed in praise of his god Aten are, like many Babylonian hymns, illuminative parallels to the Old Testament Psalter.[39]

The Old Testament exegete, when he ceases to make archaeology the apologist for tradition, and comes with open mind in search of historical truth, finds in the texts exhumed by the spade some of his most valuable aids.

Another department of historical research is Biblical theology, a discipline created by modern methods of study. In

[36] See this JOURNAL, XXXII, p. 253 f.

[37] Cf. Vogelsang and Gardiner, *Die Klagen des Bauern*. Leipzig, 1908.

[38] Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*. Leipzig, 1909; cf. Breasted. *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912, 204—214.

[39] Cf. Breasted in *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1909, p. 324—331.

theory Biblical theology is dependent upon exegesis, by which its material is furnished; but it often happens that, in the hands of modern scholars, exegesis is determined by theories of the development of the various phases of Biblical theology.

That an effort should have been made, after criticism had arranged the historical order of the sources, to group the religious ideas and to trace evolution and development, was inevitable and right. Some of the results of this effort are so assured that every interpreter is bound to take them into account. For example it is now proven that the prophets, broadly speaking, preceded the law, and had an important part in shaping it. It is also proven that the Fourth Gospel represents a post-Pauline development of Christian thought. These are well established historical positions, which the future is not likely to overthrow.

With reference to the historical development of some other phases of Biblical thought there is not so much certainty. Strong currents of opinion may be traced, but it is a question whether they are always well founded. As an example one may take recent theories of the development of the Messianic expectations in Israel. Stade, in a series of articles in *ZAW*, 1881—84, began to relegate Messianic prophecies in Isaiah and Micah to the time after the exile, and this work has been carried forward since by Soerensen, Guthe, Giesebrecht, Duhm, Hackmann, Brückner, Volz and Marti.[40] In the commentaries of the last mentioned scholar[41] the tendency reaches its climax. It is held that every Messianic prophecy must be post-exilic, that the circumstances of the last centuries before the exile afforded no ground for hope, that in that period there was no moral basis for such hopes, that, in short, Messianic hopes were only possible after the exile, when the nation's affairs were so hopelessly overthrown that there was no ground for anything but hope. Few interpreters would carry this to the extreme that Marti does. He dates many of these passages in the Maccabaean period—a time that to many appears to be ex-

[40] See Fullerton's excellent sketch in the *Harvard Theological Review*, VI, 478—520, where the literature as regards Isaiah is cited.

[41] *Jesaia*, 1900, and *Dodekapropheton*, 1903—1904.

cluded by the simple fact that the prophecies had before that time been translated into Greek.[42] The fascination of this view is nevertheless so great, that those who do not follow Marti entirely find it hard to detect definite periods before the exile, when Messianic prophecies were possible.[43]

One can readily understand that a passage like Amos 9 11-15 is necessarily a post-exilic addition, for Amos in his short ministry at Bethel had been solely a prophet of doom. He had said, Repent or you will be destroyed. They did not repent, but ran him out of town instead. It is hardly possible that, under such circumstances, a man who held that Yahweh's favor could be obtained only by an ethical life, should suddenly portray an earthly paradise as the destiny of a people who were not moral and who had not repented. It is difficult, however, to understand why similar sentiments may not have stood in Hosea 14, for Hosea had in his teaching of the love of Yahweh supplied motives for repentance, and his Messianic prophecies as they stand are conditioned upon repentance.

Similarly in Isaiah's doctrine of the remnant there is a moral basis for hope. The fact that the prophet often had to chide for sin, and the political situation was often dark, is no ground for supposing that the prophet was a confirmed pessimist. He must have had hopes, or he could not have continued his arduous work for more than forty years. Indeed it is impossible to account for the careers of either Hosea or Isaiah apart from the supposition that they held out hopes kindred to those we call Messianic. They were not transient evangelists like Amos. Isaiah at least was the leader of his nation through a long life. Had he simply reproved and denounced he would have been run out of town as Amos was in much less than forty years. One cannot explain the psychology of his success apart from a Messianic message.

There were, moreover, occasions in the life of Isaiah which justified hope. The successful campaign of Tiglath-pileser IV in 733—732 by which the powers of Damascus and Israel were broken justified great hopes and afforded ground for great re-

[42] Cf. e. g. Gray, *Isaiah, Inter. Crit. Com.*, p. xli.

[43] Cf. G. F. Moore, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 149.

joicings. Similarly, we hold, in spite of Meinhold's doubts, that there was a signal deliverance of Jerusalem in the time of Sennacherib. One must hold, it seems, with Winckler[44], Prašek,[45] Fullerton[46] and Rogers,[47] that Sennacherib made two expeditions, and that the plague that decimated his army, to which Herodotus (II, 141) as well as 2 Kgs. 19 36 bear witness, occurred on the second of these, and that its date was after the accession of Tarhakah of Egypt, but, whenever it occurred, such an event would be an occasion for Messianic hopes.

Such general considerations are not, however, sufficient. One must grapple in detail with the exegesis. It is difficult to do this, many interpreters believe, and still find rational grounds in the age of Hosea or Isaiah for a Messianic expectation, or in their utterances a moral mediation for such a hope. Consequently Gressmann has approached the problem from another side. His teacher Gunkel[48] had brilliantly shown that the apocalyptists had a traditional body of material, derived from the Babylonian creation myth, which none of them attempted to relate in all its details to the time in which he lived, so, following in Gunkel's footsteps, Gressmann[49] sought to show that the prophets had a traditional eschatology, derived from some primitive myths, that they were not always able to relate this eschatology to their fundamental convictions, so that Messianic expectations were really there in spite of the difficulties which interpreters have found.

Gressmann, however, had not, like Gunkel, a definite and well known myth to cite. There was no external evidence for his view. Everything in support of his theory had to be inferred from internal evidence, and much of his evidence was equivocal.

A somewhat similar attempt was made by Oesterley in his *Evolution of the Messianic Idea*[50]. He assumed three myths,

[44] *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, 1892, 27—50.

[45] *Sanheribs Feldzüge gegen Juda*, 1903.

[46] *Bibliotheca Sacra*, LXIII, 577—634.

[47] *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 1912, 332—340.

[48] *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 1894.

[49] *Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, 1905.

[50] New York, Dutton, 1908.

a Tehom-myth, a Yahweh myth, and a Paradise myth. His Tehom-myth is the same as the Tiamat-myth, his Yahweh-myth is a form of the myth of Bel or Marduk who overcame Tiamat, while his Paradise myth, also emphasized by Gressmann, is based wholly on Biblical material, the earliest example of which is Gen. 2 8-13, and a later instance of which is Ezekiel 28 13-15. In Oesterley's view the Messianic figure in Isa. 2 2-4a, 4 2-6, 9 5, 6, and 11 1-5 is a transformation of the *Heilbringer* myth or Yahweh myth, a conspicuous example of which is the Babylonian Marduk of the Creation epic.

That Israel had myths cannot be successfully denied. The Paradise myth is one of these[51], and was clearly based on vague recollections of the oasis life of the early Semites,[52] but how this was transformed by the prophets into hope for the future is not satisfactorily explained either by Gressmann or Oesterley. It is easy to see that sometimes in the Old Testament the myths of Marduk are applied to Yahweh, but this does not explain the figure of the Messiah, who is in the Biblical material always distinct from Yahweh.

Another possible source for a traditional expectation has been found in the admonitions of Ipuwer, an Egyptian sage, whose utterances H. O. Lange[53] and Breasted[54] have brought into comparison with Hebrew Messianic hopes. The document in question is found in a papyrus of the eighteenth dynasty, but from the language and contents Breasted dates it before the year 2000 B.C. Its author sets forth in striking terms the disorganization and distress of Egypt consequent upon the weakness of the king. He then portrays the kind of a king that is needed to restore order. He believes this king once existed on the earth as the god Re. He is to be a king who brings cooling to the flame, who is the shepherd of all men; there is no evil in his heart; he smites evil, stretching out his hand against it.[55] Gardiner, who has published the best edition of the utterances

[51] That of Gen. 6 2-4 is another.

[52] Cf. Barton, *Semitic Origins*, p. 90—100.

[53] *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preuss. Akad.* 1903, I, 601 ff.

[54] *Devel. of Rel. and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 212.

[55] Cf. Breasted, *op. cit.*, 211.

of Ipuwer,[56] contends that the passage can have had no Messianic significance, because it is not at all eschatological. Breasted has, however, shown that Ipuwer's king is a purely ideal figure, and such an ideal figure is all that is really needed. The belief that such a king was to come would, if it became traditional, form a sufficient traditional nucleus to account for the phenomena. It should also be noted that the reference to the god Rē introduces a mythological element into the portrayal.

If the tale of two brothers found its way into Hebrew tradition and parts of it became incorporated with the story of Joseph, as we believe to be the case,[57] it is quite possible that the ideal picture of Ipuwer found its way into Israelitish tradition also, and constituted the kernel of a tradition of hope, which the prophets used without ever fully correlating it with their fundamental convictions. Such a figure, with its mythological associations with the god Re, would, if it became a part of Hebrew tradition, account for the expression "god of a warrior (אֵל גִּבּוֹר)" in Isa. 9 5. Such a supposition affords a better basis of opposition to the prevailing tendency in prophetic criticism than that originally suggested by Gressmann, for it is not speculative, but rests upon documentary evidence. Gressmann now recognizes this, and, while not committing himself to an Egyptian origin, admits that it is more probable than a Babylonian.[58] Personally I am not fully persuaded that mythology need be called to our aid. Every man cherishes hopes; he could not live if he did not, far less could he become a prophet. These hopes cannot always be related either to facts or to one's theory of life. Such considerations go far to nullify the reasons for the present tendency in the interpretation of the prophets. But it must be admitted that the influence of the ideal of the Egyptian sage is possible, and it affords the external evidence, which Gressmann did not at first find, for an argument kindred to his.

In the latest commentary on Isaiah, that of Gray in the *Inter. Crit. Com.*, neither the dictum of Marti nor that of Gressmann is commended, and yet the treatment which Gray

[56] *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909.
[57] Cf. *Proceedings of the Amer. Philosophical Soc.*, LII, 190 ff.
[58] *Am. Jour. Theol.* XVII, 173—194.

accords to the greatest Messianic passages which occur in the twenty seven chapters of Isaiah covered by his volume, reaches the same result in a different way. Gray regards all the criteria for dating Isa. 9 1-6 as inconclusive. He thinks that neither the historical presuppositions of the passage nor its language make a decision between the eighth century and the sixth or fifth century certain. Gray thinks it has literary connections with Isa. 11 1-8, so that, in his view, if we can date this last passage, it will carry with it the date of 9 1-6. Gray makes Isa. 11 1-8 exilic or postexilic because of the opening line,

"There shall come forth a shoot from the stump (גֶּזַע) of Jesse."

This figure, he thinks, implies the fall of the Davidic dynasty. For this reason both passages are made exilic or later. The word גֶּזַע means 'cutting' and may, as in Job 14 8, where the context fixes the meaning, denote the stump of a tree that has been cut down, but it would equally describe a tree from which many limbs had been lopped off.

One may still see through extensive tracts of the trans-Jordanic country, around Ain Yajuz, north of Amman, trees from which all the larger branches have been cut for fire-wood, still living and putting forth new branches at the top and here and there at the sides.[59] The only non fruit-bearing trees in this region which are not so mutilated are the sacred trees, such as those at the springs of Ain Yajuz. This is apparently the survival of an old Palestinian custom. Such a defaced tree would be a גֶּזַע just as truly as a stump, and would be a much more suitable figure for a dynasty of kings, many of whom were dead, but from whom scions were still sprouting, than the stump of a tree in the ordinary sense.

That גֶּזַע is to be so interpreted here is made probable by its only other occurrence in the Old Testament, Isa. 40 24.

> Scarcely have they been planted,
> Scarcely have they been sown,
> Scarcely is their stock (גֶּזַע) taking root in the earth.[60]

[59] See Barton, *A Year's Wandering in Bible Lands*, 156.

[60] Cf. Duhm, *Jesaia*, 273; Cheyne, *Isaiah* in *SBOT*, 66, and Box, *Book of Isaiah*, 186.

Certainly in this passage גֵּזַע is not the stump of a tree that has been cut down.

It is, then, probable that גֵּזַע in Isa. 11 1 is to be interpreted as the trunk of a living tree, and, if so, on Gray's method of dealing with these passages, serious objection to their pre-exilic date would be removed.

At all events the last word as to the possibility of pre-exilic Messianic prophecy has not been spoken, and present tendencies are more radical than the whole evidence will warrant.

We come finally to the results of that branch of historical research known as comparative religion. Many boastful claims, put forth in the name of this young science, challenge the attention of the exegete. Yahweh has been derived from Babylonia,[61] as has been all the culture, and even the personalities of Biblical history from Abraham to Paul.[62] According to one group of scholars Judaism and early Christianity were profoundly influenced by Zoroastrianism,[63] according to another, primitive Christianity is greatly indebted to Buddhism,[64] according to a third, early Christianity, and especially Paul, borrowed much from the mystery cults of Mithra, Isis, and Cybele,[65] while according to a fourth,[66] Jesus never lived, but is a congeries of myths borrowed from various quarters.

Naturally the work of those who hold these views differs greatly in scientific sanity and value.[67]

[61] Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, 1903.

[62] Jensen, *Das Gilgameshepos in der Weltliteratur*, 1906 and *Moses, Jesus, Paulus*, 1909.

[63] Cf. e. g., Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der persischen Eschatologie*, 1902.

[64] Seydel, *Das Evangelium Jesu in seinen Verhältnissen zur Buddha-Sage und Buddha-Lehre mit fortlaufender Rücksicht auf andere Religionskreise untersucht*, 1882; *Die Buddha-Legende und das Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien*, 1884; Edmunds, *Buddhistic and Christian Gospels*, 1902—1909.

[65] Butler, *Nineteenth Century*, 1905, LVII, 490 f.; Jacoby, *Die antiken Mysterienreligionen u. das Christentum*, 1910; Loïsy, *Hibbert Journal*, 1912, X, 45 f.

[66] Drews, *Die Christusmythe*, 1909; W. B. Smith, *Ecce Deus*, 111.

[67] For example, it would be very unjust to class the work of Edmunds with that of Seydel. That of the former lacks scientific care in its reasoning; that of the latter is much more sober, as any one must

There is *a priori* no reason why Judaism and Christianity may not have been in some degree influenced by the customs or myths of surrounding peoples, and that here and there traces of such influence can be found, no fair minded interpreter can doubt.[68] The varied claims that are made cannot, however, all be true. Indeed it is probable that but a small percentage of them are true, but how is the busy interpreter to sift the wheat from the chaff?

Fortunately some of the books that are appearing are laying the foundations for real scientific investigation in this field. Time will permit the mention of but two of these. The first is Clemen's *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, 1908, translated into English under the title, *Primitive Christianity and its non-Jewish Sources*, 1912. In this work Clemen has not only sifted the theories as regards the New Testament, but he has laid down the following sane principles by which to test all such theories.[69]

1. An explanation, which derives a whole or a part of early Christianity from another religion or religions, is impossible, if it proceeds from premises, or reaches conclusions, which violate the canons of sober historical research or of sound common

admit who reads his articles in the *Monist*, vol. XXII, 129—138; 633—635, and vol. XXIII, 517—522. He shows in these articles that recent discoveries in Turkestan of Buddhistic documents translated into Sogdianian, a dialect of the kingdom of Parthia, from which country men were present at the day of Pentecost (Acts 2^9), prove that a channel through which Buddhism might influence Christianity may plausibly be assumed, and postulates from the likeness of Luke's account of Jesus' temptation to that of Buddha, that Luke was influenced by a version of the temptation of the Indian Sage. As no religious teacher becomes such without struggle and temptation, and, as all typical temptations take certain general forms of psychological necessity, it must remain in many minds a question whether Buddhistic influence is actually present, even were the open channel for it much more clearly proved. This does not affect, however, Edmund's praiseworthy effort after proof that shall really be scientific.

[68] See the writer's article "Tiamat", in *JAOS*, XV (1890), 1 ff., and his *Commentary on Job*, New York, 1911, pp. 71, 111, and 219.

[69] As Clemen's statement of these seems to me often ineffective and obscure, I have freely recast them in my own words.

sense. This principle sweeps away at once the works of Bruno Bauer, Jensen, Seydel, Drews and W. B. Smith.

2. The sense of a New Testament passage as well as the contents of a non-Jewish idea must be fully ascertained before they are brought into comparison. Many current results are secured by those who violate this canon.

3. Borrowing should not be called in as an explanation of religious ideas, if the phenomena can legitimately be explained from germs native to Hebrew or Christian soil.

4. The non-Jewish idea, which is brought in as an explanation, must in some degree really correspond to the Christian one.

5. The non-Jewish element must have been already in existence. It is impossible to explain a Christian institution from phases of a mystery religion, which did not come into being until after the Christian institution was in existence.

6. It must be shown in regard to any foreign idea that it was really in a position to influence early Christianity or Judaism, and how it could do so. Ideas that were in distant India or China cannot be adduced as explanation unless an avenue of influence can be demonstrated for them.

7. If the claims of several sources of influence have to be considered, the interpreter should ask which one was in a position actually to exert an influence, and not assume that the one most closely connected with his own studies must necessarily offer the real explanation.

A reader of Clemen's book will probably think that Clemen himself has not applied these canons with unerring judgment, but it greatly clears the atmosphere to have them laid down.

The other book referred to is Hehn's *Die biblische und babylonische Gottesidee*, 1913. This clarifies the atmosphere of the student of the Old Testament, as Clemen does that of the student of the New Testament. With a full knowledge of Assyriology and the training of an Old Testament exegete, Hehn shows by a detailed examination, that whatever Israel may have borrowed from Babylonia, the Canaanites, or Egypt, her idea of Yahweh, so intolerant in his monotheistic claims, so unpicturable, can have been borrowed from none of the surrounding nations, for there is no evidence that they ever

had a god of such characteristics. While Hehn assumes some positions from which many interpreters must dissent, he has conclusively proved his main contention, and rendered thereby every Old Testament exegete an important service.

In view of the vast fields of research at which we have cast hurried glances, it is clear that it is no light task to "interpret historically" today. The burden of applying this canon is far greater than that of applying all the other five canons of hermeneutics. Nevertheless it is labor that is worth while, for, if we can but discern the historical situation, and set a text in its proper genetic relations, we shall catch its spirit far more surely than in any other way; and, having caught its spirit and the principles which that spirit kindled into life, we can then apply with far greater power the principles and spirit to the problems of our own time. Difficult though the work may be, the Bible cannot take its rightful place in modern life, until this is faithfully and thoroughly done.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

1. TARTAḳ.

OF the gods imported into the province of Samaria, according to 2 Ki. 17, all have been identified[1] or at least philologically explained (Adad-Melek, Anu-Melek) except the deities of the Awwites. For these Hommel has, most recently, offered an explanation from the Sumerian (*OLZ*, 1912, 118). But I would suggest for תרתק the much more pertinent identification with the great Syrian deity Atargatis, עתרעתה. For the loss of the initial guttural compare the Greek by-form Δερκετω while according to Aramaic law it may have been dissimilated from the following ע into א (cf. also Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.* § 37), and so easily lost. In the second syllable the consonants have suffered metathesis, producing an easier vocable. For the interchange of ע and ק we may compare the Greek renderings with the palatals *g* or *k* and recall the frequent early-Aramaic equivalence of ע and ק, e. g. ארקא. As עתה is doubtless non-Semitic (Hittite?) the ע is an attempt, like the Greek palatals, to represent a foreign sound. If this conjecture be correct, we have in Tartaḳ the earliest reference, by many centuries, to the great Syrian goddess.

2. The Wailing of Hadad-Rimmon.

The "mourning of Hadad-Rimmon", or rather, as is now recognized, Hadad-Ramman, of Zech. 12 11, has so far received no explanation. The wailing rites suggest Tammuz-Adonis, an

[1] For Sukkoth-benoth, see this JOURNAL, 1912, p. 141. For Ashima = Σμη, the Syrian deity that has at last been identified from late names and texts, see Meyer's review of the data, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 58, n. 2, and for the explanation of the name see Grimme, *OLZ*, 1912, 14, Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 3, 260.

identification which has been read by some, erroneously, into the "bitterness for the firstborn", v. 10. But Hadad is not Adonis. Light may be thrown on the problem from an obscure "Phoenician" myth cited from Philo Byblius by Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* 1 10 (Gifford, 40 c). According to this myth Kronos, whom the Phoenicians call El (var. Israel!), married a nymph of whom he had an only (*μονογενῆ*) son, "whom they therefore called Iedoud" (adding: *τοῦ μονογενοῦς οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν καλουμένου παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι*), but incurring great danger in a war, he dressed his son in royal array and prepared an altar and sacrificed him. I have followed Gifford's text, but for the better attested Ιεδουδ there is a variant Ιεουδ which fits the gloss that the word means "only-begotten", i. e. יחיד. If we emend הדד רמן into יחיד ר', "the only-begotten of Ramman", we may conjecture that the old El myth has been transformed into a Syrian Hadad-Ramman myth, and that the wailing rites in the valley of Megiddo were those of a cult which was explained by the myth of a god who had immolated his son. For such cults we are not shut up to the Adonis-myth: compare the wailing for Jephthah's daughter. If the other reading Ιεουδ be accepted,[2] we gain the Semitic ידיד "beloved one", — "the beloved of Ramman", which brings us rather into the range of the Adonis circle of ideas: notice the Tell el-Ma'šûḳ, the "Hill of the Beloved", east of Tyre, probably Palaityros, "Old-Tyre", of the classics (see Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 576 ff.). The weakness of my hypothesis lies in the application of a Phoenician myth to a Syrian god. According to the view of some scholars (Cheyne, *EB*, ii, 2177, Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 255), a similar myth is found in the story of Isaac's sacrifice. It is to be observed that El is not a Phoenician deity, but appears as a god in the Aramaic field, in the Senjirli inscriptions, and probably is a primitive deity, hence appropri-

[2] Epigraphically the change would be the simpler because of the similarity of primitive ה and י. It is to be noticed that in the story of the sacrifice of Isaac the thrice-repeated "only-begotten" יחידך is represented by *ἀγαπητός* (Gen. 22 2, 12, 16). — It may be in place for the mythologizing interpreters of the Old Testament to suggest that Ιεουδ is no other than Judah, which would unfortunately play into the hands of the tradition that Isaac's sacrifice occurred in Judah!

ately converted into Kronos by the eclectic Greek students of religion. Unfortunately we know almost nothing of the mythology of Hadad until we find him associated with Atargatis in the late Greek period.

3. TARWAḤ, Sachau's Elephantine Papyrus 7.

In Sachau's papyrus no. 7, which is apparently a complaint against some legal injustice addresed to a higher court, occurs three times the combination תרוח ודינא, in the second instance, and probably also the first, preceded by קדם. תרוח is evidently synonymous with דינא, presumably the superior in a bench of two magistrates.

The second syllable, which can be the Aramaic representation of Babylonian *maḫ* suggested to me the Sumerian MAḪ, "great", and following this clue the first syllable can be the Sumerian TAR = *parâṣu*, "decide", (Brünnow, *Index*, 123). A "great decider", i. e. a judge, is the parallel term we seek here. Of course the title has degenerated, as have such words as consul and magistrate in modern usage. We may assume that the senior magistrate in the court in question enjoyed an old Babylonian title, his assessor (who may have represented the local element) was given the common Aramaic designation.

Dec. 29, 1913.

James A. Montgomery.

JOURNAL
OF
BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Volume XXXIII Part II 1914

The Wind of God

JOHN P. PETERS
NEW YORK CITY

IN my paper of the above title, published in Vol. XXX, Part I (1911) of the JOURNAL, on page 47 I said:

"Of the actual procedure of eagles, griffon vultures, or other similar birds in the earlier stages of teaching or helping their young to fly, described in the first two verses of the above quatrain, I am able to get no information from published works or from personal inquiry of the most distinguished ornithologists, whom I have in the last few months annoyed with many importunities."

Indeed, at that time, the best ornithological authorities whom I consulted seemed inclined to agree that birds do not teach their young to fly; that, with the exception of pigeons, no bird pushes its young out of its nest; and that eagles and vultures, certainly, are so built that they cannot carry nor support their young; that, consequently, the passage in Deut. 32 11, which seemed to me to be an eye-witness description of the manner in which griffon vultures teach their young to fly, was not the description of an eye-witness at all, and that, therefore, one could not from that deduce the meaning of רחף.

At that time I had no personal evidence from reliable witnesses as to the procedure of griffon vultures or other large birds with their young before flight, and only one passage, quoted by Driver in his "Commentary on Deuteronomy" and by Tristram

in his "Natural History of the Bible", giving Davy's account of two parent eagles on Ben Nevis supporting their young on expanded wings when exhausted in making their first flight. I have no doubt that normally, as was suggested to me by the naturalists whom I consulted, young birds in general learn to fly by themselves, but I have now obtained abundant proof of the eye-witness character of the account in Deuteronomy, and that, if not the regular and ordinary method, the procedure there described is at least characteristic in the case of many birds, and especially of eagles. For small birds I have the evidence of numerous observers among my own acquaintance of the old birds pushing their young out of the nest, and then trying to entice or force them to fly, but none of birds supporting their young in flight.

For large birds I have from Dr. Talcott Williams the following observation of the habits of the stork, which he permits me to use:

"I passed my early boyhood, as you well know, up to my ninth year, in Mosul. Every mosque in the city had its storks' nest and they were common at other coigns of vantage. One of the highest was not far from the high, flat roof on which I played as a boy, there being room on it, as I remember distinctly, for two and I think three separate nests. I remember, with the distinctness with which one goes back in memory on a point like this, my father calling me and taking me on the roof in the early morning one day when the storks were teaching their young to fly. The time had come for migration, some having left their nests already, some having taken preliminary wheels before the flocks started and some apparently delayed by their undeveloped young. The awkward young stumbled around their nests and seriously objected to taking a flight. The older birds pushed them out and when they were fluttering swept below and caught them, carrying them along until they learned to use their wings. I remember distinctly one bird, well grown, which was not caught and dropped, a shapeless, fluttering mass, to be killed at the foot of the minaret. This picture is all extremely distinct. My impression was, and here I pass from the distinct field of memory to the vaguer field of

knowledge, that all the chicks did not need to be taught but that all of them needed urging, in order to leave the nest. Some flew easily and some needed a good deal of aid, but the sight of the parent birds and their companioning friends, sweeping down near the nest, showing how easy it is to fly, apparently (for this you will see is inference) clattering their bills and sounding the note of the stork, which is like that of all those birds, is very evident in my vision. This particular nest was near enough to the house so that one could see the hen stork sitting, could mark her interest in the approach of her spouse with food and see the furry little chicks before they had the later feathers which grow upon them. The storks were never molested, and, as you know, in Turkey the stork is never touched."

The Rev. Mr. Hanauer, of Damascus, to whom I wrote to ask if he could obtain from natives information as to the habits of the griffon vulture in Palestine and the Lebanon, writes me as follows:

"I have never seen either eagles or vultures "stirring up" their nests, or "carrying their young on their wings." I have, however, heard the late Bishop Gobat relate that when in Abyssinia, between the years 1829 and 1837, he had seen eagles assist their young in flight, by flying underneath them when the brood were beginning to try their wings, and seemed weary and about to drop. In this case the parent birds carried their young for a while till they had rested, and then let them start again by themselves. I have also the testimony of one of my sons, who takes a keen interest in such things, to the effect that he has seen ravens act towards their young in the same way."[1]

[1] The Rev. William J. Long records the following observation of an eagle forcing its young to fly, which shows the stirring up the nest, a rushing upon the young, and also the support of the young in its flight by the old bird. I doubt, however, whether as an observation of facts this has much value.

"A mother eagle had tried in vain to tempt her little one to leave the nest on a high cliff. With food in her talons, she came to the edge of the nest, hovered over it a moment, so as to give the hungry eaglet a sight and smell of food, then went slowly down to the valley, taking

It occurred to me that from our own Rocky Mountains I might obtain some information with regard to the habits of eagles, and, at my request, Bishop Thomas of Wyoming sent a note to the missionaries in the mountain districts of that state, asking them if they could furnish or secure the information I desired. Here are one or two notes which I have received in answer to those inquiries:

"When the young eagles are in the nest the two parent birds are nearly always away hunting, but after the young is forced

the food with her, and telling the little one to come and he should have it. He called after her loudly and spread his wings a dozen times to follow. But the plunge was too awful; he was afraid and settled back into the nest." What followed, Mr. Long describes thus:

"In a little while she came back again, this time without food, and hovered over the nest, trying every way to induce the little one to leave it. She succeeded at last, when with a desperate effort he sprang upward and flapped to the ledge above. Then, after surveying the world gravely from his new place, he flapped back to the nest, turned a deaf ear to all his mother's assurances that he could fly just as easily to the treetops below, if he only would.

"Suddenly, as if discouraged, she rose well above him. I held my breath, for I knew what was coming. The little fellow stood on the edge of the nest, looking down at the plunge which he dared not take. There was a sharp cry from behind, which made him alert, tense as a watchspring. The next instant the mother-eagle had swooped, striking the nest at his feet, sending his support of twigs and himself and them out into the air together.

"He was afloat now, afloat on the blue air in spite of himself, and flapped lustily for life. Over him, under him, beside him, hovered the mother on tireless wings, calling softly that she was there. But the awful fear of the depths and the lance tops of the spruces was upon the little one; his flapping grew more wild; he fell faster and faster. Suddenly—more in fright, it seemed to me, than because he had spent his strength—he lost his balance and turned head downward in the air. It was all over now, it seemed; he folded his wings to be dashed to pieces.

"Then like a flash the old mother-eagle shot under him; his despairing feet touched her broad shoulders, between her wings. He righted himself, rested an instant, found his head; then she dropped like a shot from under him, leaving him to come down on his own wings. It was all the work of an instant before I lost them among the trees far below. And when I found them again with my glass, the eaglet was in the top of a great pine, and the mother was feeding him."

out of the nest one of the old ones always remains with it, nearly all of the time on the wing, generally circling around, but at times doing everything that it is possible for a bird to do on the wing, such as flying swiftly toward the young, as if it were going to fly against it, but stopping and beating the air with its wings just over its head. At other times it would rise several hundred feet, dropping nearly perpendicularly until near its young, then turning upward and rising again."

In answer to more detailed questions, the same writer adds:

"I have seen the young ones learning to fly several times ... When the young ones are full grown the old ones force them out of the nest. Then the young have to fly up on a nearby cliff before they will feed them, going higher with each trial, until after about a week the young are able to go any place on the ridge. Then one of the old ones will take a bird or small animal and fly across the canyon, continuing to do this until the young follow. Then they will fly around, letting the young ones come nearly close enough to get their food. After that the young are with the old birds for about three weeks, then they are absent for about a week, the old ones returning alone."

A missionary at Wind River, among the Shoshone Indians, sends me the following:

"An old white trapper informs me that the eagle pecks at and jostles its young (when old enough) out of the nest until they take to wing and fly to a nearby crag: then it repeats the same thing until the young one, driven by the old bird, soars away. An experienced half-breed trapper tells me that, when the young eagle attempts to fly, should it get into difficulties, the old bird will seize it with its talons and carry it back to the nest, and that sometimes, when the young one becomes exhausted during its first flight, the parent bird will fly beneath it and bear it up on its back."

Without going further, this testimony, it seems to me, is sufficient to prove that the passage Deut. 32 11 is actually an eye-witness description and that the process there described is as follows: The eagle (or griffon vulture) "stirs up" its nest, that is, it pushes, jostles or in some way drives the young out;

then, if the young does not fly, the eagle proceeds to entice it or to force it to do so, and the particular method described in this passage is the flying at the young with a violent down-rush, flapping of the wings and the like. Then, if the young eagle, thus forced into flight, lose its courage or its strength, the old eagle flies under it and supports it with its pinions.

I am now prepared to claim that the meaning of the word רחף is the same in the three places in which it occurs, Gen. 1 2, Deut. 32 11 and Jer. 23 9, and that it indicates in all cases violent, not gentle motion. The first passage should be translated "The wind of God rushing upon the face of the water;" and the second "rushes upon her young", while in the third it means "shakes".

Note on Vashti

J. DYNELEY PRINCE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

IT is perfectly clear that the names *Mordecai* and *Esther* in the Book of Esther are of Semitic origin, and, furthermore, that the author, especially in the case of *Mordecai*, was using a name which, in the late post-exilic period at least, was regarded as a Jewish one. We may compare the mention of a *Mordecai*, for example, in Ezra 2 2 and Nehemiah 7 7 in connection with a number of Semitic names. Mordecai[1] (מרדכי) stands for *Mardukâ*, with which should be compared the מרדכא of an Aramaic gloss (Clay, *OTSS*, i. 313) "man of *Marduk*", or properly, "Mardukaean", a name which, although heathen from a Jewish point of view, was evidently permissible for an exilic Jew to bear. Such a name stands on the same plane as many more modern names of Jews and at the time of the compilation of the Book of Esther had probably lost its Babylonian sense entirely. The name *Esther* has long been recognized as a derivative from the Babylonian god-name *Ištar* and cannot be regarded as a derivative from Persian *Sitareh*[2], *Stareh* = Greek ἀστήρ "star".

The name *Vashti*, however, differs from *Mordecai* and *Esther*, in that it does not show so patent an origin. Clay ("Amurru",

[1] There can of course be no connection between *Mordecai* and the Persian name *Wardakĕ*, which appears on a seal with a female picture (Horn, *Sassanid. Siegelsteine*, p. 34, N. 33). This means 'little rose' and has been compared by Justi (*Iran. Namenbuch*) with the name Βράδακος (p. 351). It is equally impossible to derive Mordecai from a compound with Bab. (*w*)*arad* 'servant'; as (*w*)*arad-Akha* 'the servant of Akha', an Elamic deity.

[2] The name of the mother of Avicena (Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 311).

p. 127) is inclined to connect *Vashti* etymologically with *En-Martu* by way of *En-Maštu* (p. 127), and formulates the comparison: אנושת = *En-Maštu* = *En-Martu* = *Baʿal Amurru*. This אנושת is an Aramaic gloss equated with *Martu*, which Clay reads *En-Wašt(u)*.[3] It is true that *ma-aš* = MAŠ (BAR) = *ma-a-šu-dNinib*, B. 1778, to which should be added Clay's comparison (*op. cit.*, p. 200): *dMa-a-šu u dMa-aš-tum mare Sin* "*Mašu* and *Maštu* are children of Sin", the moon-god. Of course, *Maštum* is clearly to be regarded here as the feminine of *Maš* = MAŠ (BAR) and would seem to indicate the consort of *Ninib*, furnishing a tempting analogy with the obscure *Vashti* of the Book of Esther. In the biblical account, however, the name of the Persian king is given in a reasonably correct Persian form *Ahasuerus* = אחשורוש, so that here we have undoubtedly a Hebraised form of an Aryan name. Inasmuch as *Mordecai* and *Esther* are Semitic names of Jews, who are supposed to be dealing with hostile aliens and the alien king's name appears in a quasi-Persian form, it would seem natural to look for the derivation of his queen's name *Vashti* rather in the Persian or Elamic nomenclature than in Semitic. If, as seems advisable, we are to consider the Book of Esther as being a late Jewish popular adaptation of an earlier tale, based upon a primitive Babylonian narrative of contest for national supremacy between Babylonian (Semitic) and Non-Babylonian (non-Semitic) powers, it would militate against the unity of the Esther narrative to regard *Vashti* as a variant of a Semitic Babylonian name such as *dMaštum*. In any case, the fixed final *-i* in Vashti would seem to indicate a Non-Semitic origin. This final *-i* is well attested by the Greek texts Ἄστιν; Οὐάστιν and Οὐάστη Josephus *Ant.* 11 6, 1.[4] Furthermore, it is highly likely that the anti-Semitic *Haman* is not a Semitic name. Jensen has sought to connect *Haman* with the Elamic god-name *Khum, Khumban, Khumma, Amba, Umba*[5] which seems a possible comparison.

[3] For various opinions as to אנושת, see Prince, *JBL*, XXIV, pp. 54 ff.

[4] The final η in Οὐάστη in Josephus certainly seems to show that this vowel at this period had the same î-value as in modern Greek.

[5] *WZKM*, VI. pp. 58; 70; *ZDMG*, LV. pp. 235 f. Cf. also Zimmern, *KAT.*, p. 485; pp. 516 ff.

Haman might also be Iranian *Human* (older *Homan*; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 132), but I am inclined to agree to an Elamic derivation, in view of the tempting possibility of also deriving *Vashti* from an Elamic, rather than from an Iranian source.

In the Elamic documents, there occurs a divine name written MAŠ (BAR)-TI. Jensen (*ZDMG*, LV, 235) reads this *Mašti* and not *B(P)arti*, because the Bar = *bar* sign can have the value *maš* in Elamic, as well as in Semitic Babylonian. Also in *WZKM*, VI, pp. 61—62, he repeats his opinion that BARTI was to be read *M(w)ašti* = *Vashti* and contradicts the view of Weissbach (*Neue Beiträge*, 755, 27 f.) and Sayce, that BARTI was to be read *B(P)arti*. Here it should be noted that Hüsing points out (*OLZ*, VIII, p. 390) that the pronunciation *P(B)arti* for this name is established by the occurrence of the name *Pa-ar-ti-ki-ra*, that of the city of Portipa (Πορτιπα), as well as by the allusion to a prince of *Parti*, all of which names contain the element *p(b)ar-* of P(B)arti. On the other hand, Hüsing denies that there is any Elamic deity *Mašti* = *Vashti*, which latter name he connects with Indo-Iranian *Wah(i)šti*, apparently for *Wahistā*.

The comparison between *Vashti* and Iranian (Avestan) *Wahista*, the superlative of *waŋhu* 'good' has already been made (see Gesenius, Hebr. Lexicon[15], *s. v.* ושתי). This is unsatisfactory, owing to the fixed *-i* ending in *Vashti*. Nor can we connect *Vashti* with such a form as *vasti*, the 3. p. sing. of Avestan *vač* 'desire; wish': 'she (he) desires', because we should rather expect a passive participle here: 'the desired one = *Désirée*', but this would be *Uštā* in Avestan. The modern Persian *vašti* 'beauty' (Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 359) is a later form and a doubtful comparison in this case.

I believe that *Vashti* is Elamic rather than Persian and that the difficulties raised against Jensen's connection of it with Elamic *Mašti* by Hüsing are overcome, if it be remembered that the BAR-MAŠ sign, with both *bar* and *maš* values, represented orginally a single vocable *wař* (*vař*), a suggestion which I made in *MSL*, p. XII. It is well known that *m* = *w*, probably a nasal *w*, similar to the nasalized *mh* = *w(v)* which

appears to-day, for instance, in Scottish Gaelic *lamh* 'hand'. That *r* and *s* frequently interchange is too well known to require demonstration. In modern Turkish, for example, the final *r* in such words as *bir* 'one' is almost *ř*, and the *ř* in Czech (*passim*) is an excellent example of an existing consonant which stands phonetically halfway between *r* and *s*. If it be supposed then that Elamic *Mašti* and *B(P)arti* are one and the same name, this word probably contains the Elamic *V̌ř-t,* seen in Mitanni in AŠ-*ti* 'consort', which, however, Bork[6] reads *ruti* and connects with the older Elamic *ru'ti*, which word has undoubtedly the same stem as *ru'* 'human beings'. Bork admits, however, that AŠ-*ti* may be read *ašti* and only rejects any connection between this word and the Semitic Babylonian *aššatu* 'woman'. In this he is, of course, quite correct. Mitanni **ašti* = **ařti* and metathetically probably = Old Elamic *ru'ti* = Mitanni *ruti* 'consort', which may be the stem of the god-name *Bar (Maš)ti* and this may really have been the original of the Vashti of Esther.[7] That the compiler of Esther had a very vague notion as to foreign names is seen from his use of *Tarshish*[8] (1 14) for a Persian prince.

[6] Ferdinand Bork, *Die Mitannische Sprache*, p. 79.

[7] If Bork is correct in his connection of Elamic with the Caucasus linguistic group, the name of the Georgian prince *Wašte* (Joh. Mamikoni in Langlois, Coll. i. 381) may have some connection with *Barti-Wařti-Vashti.*

[8] *Taršîš* (also in I Chr. 7 10) is of course an invented name; according to LXX and Josephus = 'chrysolith stone'. See, however, Haupt, in *Verh. d. 13 Or. Kongr.*, p. 233.

A New Collation of MS 22 of the Gospels

HENRY A. SANDERS
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

MANUSCRIPTS as men may be born under an unlucky star and have misfortune attend them through an existence however long. Certainly such seems to be the case with MS 22, for it has now suffered its fourth collation. The first collation was made by Simonius in the margin of the Curcellaeus edition and was used by Wettstein, who doubtless gave only a selection of the readings. Even granting that, the collation must have been inaccurate and was made almost worthless by the fact that it combined the five MSS 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, all from Colbert's collection, by stating how many of them agreed in having the cited variants. Colb. 5 thus means that all of these MSS agreed, while Colb. 1 may mean any of them. Scholz, 1830, criticised Wettstein especially for his inaccuracy in publishing this MS but his own work was far worse, though he claimed to have made a complete new collation. In fact we find a fairly continous list of the readings in Matthew, though I counted 82 omissions and 9 other errors. In Mark he tired after completing the first four chapters, though he omitted 25 interesting readings in this short passage; for the rest of the Gospel he gives but six readings, two in verses 32 and 33 of the sixth chapter and four in the last twelve verses of Mark. In Luke he omits all readings from 12 1 to 22 41 except one in 18 14 and two in 20 31-3; in the portion really collated there are 143 good readings omitted and six are wrong. In John again a complete collation was attempted but I noted 66 omissions and 16 other errors, of which seven were actual inventions. My attention was first attracted to this MS by these discrepancies in its publi-

cation by Scholz. It, however, seemed probable that the want would be supplied by von Soden's edition, so I first compared the readings cited in his introduction, pp. 1043-6 (the text had not at that time appeared). As I found 36 errors in some 210 readings, I felt encouraged to proceed. In 10 cases von Soden had wrongly assigned to MS 22 the reading of the group to which he had attached it, but in 24 cases he had failed to note or had changed the reading so that it did not agree with the other members of the group. The evidence thus seemed to confirm von Soden's assignment of MS 22 to the H^r group, though there was reason to believe that the Antioch element had been understated. It may be here remarked that in his text volume von Soden has given a new arrangement of the members of this group, which he now calls I^η and joins MS 22 in a special sub-group with 118 and 209. Not only does he thus break up Lake's family 1 into two groups but states that the collation was found so faulty that new ones had to be made.

For his own collation of 22 he makes a slight apology with the statement that it was "wörtlich, wenn auch kursorisch kollationiert", yet a thorough comparison with my own collation reveals 1443 differences. In making this comparison I counted also all instances of the group I^η as well as the sub-group $I^{\eta b}$, when 22 was not noted as disagreeing. I have not of course been able to verify my readings in these numerous cases of difference, but many of them are readings which I have marked *sic* in my collation and others I had verified because of disagreement with Scholz or Wettstein. In such an immense number, however, the great majority have had no verification, yet I venture to make the assertion that mere carelessness could not cause so many differences. Either von Soden has assumed that 22 went with its group or sub-group in many cases where he did not know the reading, or he was furnished an erroneous collation. A somewhat detailed study of these differences may throw light on this question. While I treat all these differences as errors of the von Soden edition, I do not deny that a certain number of errors, especially of omission, may be present in my own, for it was rapidly, if carefully made, and was verified only when it was found to differ from Scholz or Wettstein. With this admission

I proceed to the classification. In Matthew von Soden has 274 errors of which 195 are readings of the special group (= fam. 1), where I found no variation from the Textus Receptus. Yet in 79 other cases he omits or gives incorrectly readings which I have noted; of these 25 he omits to mention, including many cases of second hand, and 54 are actual errors, which often assign to the manuscript readings belonging to a different or even opposite class. Some of these may be due to misprints, others to omission. In Mark there are 303 errors of which 229 are additions to and 74 variations from my list. Of the latter only 13 are actual omissions on the part of von Soden and 61 are incorrect or wrongly assigned which may be equivalent to omission. In Luke there are 608 errors of which 489 are extra readings and 119 are errors in or omissions of readings which I found. In John there are 258 errors; 185 extra readings inserted and 73 of the variants found by me omitted or incorrectly assigned.

That there was an actual tendency in these variations is further illustrated by the fact that in the great majority of the cases von Soden's changes have made MS 22 conform to type, *i. e.* agree with the other members of its group. In only 24 cases does he cite MS 22 for special readings (unsupported by its relatives), which are not in my collation. Some of these may well be correct and in any case the number is too small to cast much reflection on the accuracy of either collation. There are 29 other errors where MS 22, though specially mentioned, has the support of one or more members of its group. In practically all of the other additional readings noted von Soden seems to have forced 22 into agreement with the other members of its group or the majority of them. In only two cases does von Soden repeat a definite error of Scholz, viz. Matthew 8 28 *γαδαρηνων* for *γεργεσηνων* and 14 14 — *οις*. Among so many errors these are probably accidental, yet von Soden[1] and Scholz also unite in overlooking the following readings: Mt. 4 4 — *ο*, 6 12 *αφηκαμεν*, 7 14 *τι* for *οτι*, 12 10 + *εκει* 15 5 *εαν* for *αν*[1] 15 25 *προσελθουσα*, 15 32 *μη* for *μηποτε*, 16 25 *απολεση*, 18 35 + *ουν*, 19 28 *καθησεσθε*,

[1] He often cites or seems to cite the MS for the opposite reading, when he has really only omitted to mention.

19 29 κληρομησει, 21 38 αυτου την κληρονομιαν, 23 14 — δε, 24 3 ειπον, 27 29 γονυπετουντες, 27 41 + και φαρισαιων, Mk. 2 4 κραβαττον, 2 9-12 κραβαττον, 2 22 — νεον', 2 25 + και, 3 4 + τι, 3 24-5 om. verse, Lk. 1 59 + και, 2 2 κυρινιου, 2 5 — γυναικι, 3 19 — φιλιππου, 3 26 νααθ, 3 28 νηρη, 3 29 ιωραμ, 3 35 σερουχ, 5 1 και for του', 5 8 γονασιν, 5 35 επαρθη, 6 31 — και', 7 46 τους ποδας μου, 8 3 σωσαννα, 8 5 εαυτου, 8 10 συνωσιν, 8 31 παρεκαλει ουν, 9 33 — ο (before πετρος), 9 41 tr ωδε, 9 52 εαυτου, 10 4 βαλλαντια, 10 6 αν for δ' αν, 10 15 η .... υψωθηση, 10 16 + και ο ..... αποστειλαντος με, 10 36 πλησιον δοκει σοι, 22 53 αλλα, 23 53 + τη, 24 22 ορθριναι, 24 39 — με, Joh. 5 1 + δε, 5 7 — εγω, 5 45 κατηγορησων, 5 46 Μωσει, 6 32 υμιν δεδωκε, 6 54 + εν, 9 29 Μωσει, 10 3 κατα, 10 21 τα + τα, 10 34 ειπον, 11 15 αλλα, 12 2 συνανακειμενων, 13 4 — εκ, 13 34 + πλην, 13 38 αρνηση, 19 5 εχων for φορων, 19 7 θεου υιον, 19 24 διεμερισαν, 20 1 + απο της θυρας, 20 29 + με. Too much weight should not be attached to this long list, but combined with the repetition of the two errors above noted it may indicate that the Scholz edition was compared for the sake of adding to an imperfect collation. With this brief summary of its previous treatment we return to the study of the MS itself.

MS 22 (v. Sod. ε 288) is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where it is numbered Par. nat. gr. 72. It is of the 12th century[2] and contains 232 leaves, 18.8 by 26 cm in size. Leaves 7-10 belong before 1-6. The following parts of the text are now missing: Mt. 1 1-2 2; 4 21-5 25; Joh. 14 22-16 27. The parchment is of excellent quality, thin and pliable; it is somewhat discolored but the distinctive goatskin veins could be seen in many leaves and the parchment seemed of fairly uniform quality. In thickness it varies from .09 to .21 mm, but thinner leaves (.10 to .15 mm) predominate. Von Soden in his introduction called attention to but ten instances of correction by first or second hand in this MS, though he implied that corrections were numerous and regularly from the fam. 1 type to the Antioch type. Yet my collation shows only some sixty cases of correction where different readings come in question. These are generally by a second hand as suggested by the change in ink, but contempo-

[2] Two subscriptions on the last page have been made practically illegible by a recent repair of the leaf; one is in nearly contemporary script.

rary, as far as I could judge from the writing. In about 40 cases the first hand has a text of the fam. 1 type, while the correction is of the Antioch type, but the following cases do not admit of this explanation: Matthew 2 23 *ναζαρεθ* man. 1, *ναζαραθ* man. 2; 6 25 om. man. 1, + *η τι πιητε* man. 2; 10 4 *ο κανανιτης* man. 1, *ο καναναιος* man. 2; 16 19 *δεδεμενον* man. 1, *δεδεμενα* man. 2; 17 4 *Μωση* man. 1, *Μωσει* man. 2; 27 43 + *ο* before *υιος* man. 2; Mark 11 21 *εξηραται* man. 1, *εξηρανθη* man. 2; 14 3 *πολυτελους* man. 1, *πολυτιμου* man. 2; 14 65 *ελαμβανον* man. 1, *εβαλλον* man. 2; Luke 1 5 *αυτου* man. 1, *αυτω* man. 2; 2 1 *εν* man. 1, omit man. 3; 2 39 and 50 *Ναζαρατ* man. 1, *Ναζαρετ* man. 2; 3 24 *Ιαννα* man. 1, *Ιαννε* (= *αι*) man. 2; 6 1 *των* man. 1, omit man. 2; 18 5 *υποπιαζηι* man. 1, *υπωπιαζηι* man. 2; 18 25 *τρυμαλιας* man. 1, *τρυπηματος* man. 3; 19 17 *αυτω* man. 1, *αυτων* man. 3; John 3 24 *την* man. 1, omit man. 2; 6 71 *ημελλεν* man. 1, *εμελλεν* man. 2; 8 44 *λαληι* man. 1, *λαλει* man. 2; 10 21 *ανοιγειν* man. 1, *ανοιξαι* man. 2; 12 25 *απολεσηι* man. 1, *απολεσει* man. 2; 17 17 *σου* man. 1, omit man. 2.

These 24 cases constitute more than a third of all the corrections and in many of them an Antioch reading of the first hand has been changed to agree with fam. 1 or some related form. If I am right in supposing that they were made by the *διορθωτής* or in some cases by the original scribe, it would seem that the immediate parent of our MS was filled with corrections to the Antioch type and that it was not always clear which was the preferred form. Where corrections and glosses are written both interlinear and in the margin a scribe may well be excused for confusing them. It is also possible that the *διορθωτής* restored the original reading in some cases out of personal preference, for the corrected text did not often make its way in a community without opposition.

As I have above stated in discussing von Soden's treatment of the MS, there can be no question of its general relationship with his group I^{η}, which is an enlargement of Lake's family 1. This part of my discussion may therefore be limited to an analysis of the variations and their cause.

In Matthew MS 22 has 257 probable fam. 1 readings; MS 118 fails to support, *i. e.* has been corrected to Antioch type 5 times,

and for the same reason MSS 1 and 209 combined withdraw their support 77 times; MS 1 fails the group 17 times. Against this the catalogue of readings of the Antioch type shows a remarkable excess: MS 22 goes with the Antioch against all other members of fam. 1 241 times; joined with MS 209 it gives the Antioch 7 times; joined with MS 118, 35 times, joined with MS 1, 94 times. If we add to this total the 195 cases where MS 1 has special readings while MSS 22, 118, 209 unite with the Antioch text, we get a total of 572 cases where MS 22 supports the Antioch text against probable readings of the fam. 1 type; of these only the 195 cases where Lake based the fam. 1 text on MS 1 alone are very questionable and the majority of these have been established by von Soden's new evidence. The less striking character of MS 22 is shown by its having only 37 similar special readings; these will be discussed later. MS 118 has 59 special readings and MS 209, 25. A decided increase in the number of agreements of MS 22 with the Antioch text is found from chapter 22 on. This causes a small increase in the number of agreements with MS 118 and a corresponding withdrawal from MS 1. The number of unquestioned fam. 1 readings does not seem to be much affected.

In Mark MS 22 has only 168 probable fam. 1 readings; of these 14 lack the support of MS 118, and 7 the support of MS 1, while in 38 cases MS 22 gets support from but one other MS of Lake's group. On the other hand MS 22 shows 634 agreements with the Antioch type against fam. 1; of these 407 have no support from the other members of the group, and 186 the support of MS 118 only. The text of our MS has been very decidedly accommodated to the Antioch type and this agreement is evenly distributed throughout the gospel. There are 20 special readings against 72 im MS 1, 52 in MS 118, 28 in MS 209, and 15 in the five chapters of MS 131 compared.

In Luke MS 22 has 299 probable fam. 1 readings; of these 36 have the support of MS 1 only, 11 of 118-209 only, and 12 of MS 131 only. Against these we find a total of 693 agreements with the Antioch type in opposition to probable fam. 1 readings. In 389 of these MS 22 stands alone against the other four members of the group. There are also possibly some fam. 1

readings in the 80 special variants of MS 1, the 43 of MS 118, the 9 of MS 209, but hardly in the 185 specials of MS 131. MS 22 has 51 special variants. There seems no variation in the type of text throughout the Gospel.

In John MS 22 has 203 probable fam. 1 readings though there is a lacuna from 14, 22 to 16, 27. Of these 5 lack the support of MS 118, which ends at 16, 25; 20 lack the support of MS 209, all except one after the lacuna of chapter 16; and 33 lack the support of MS 1 (all before the lacuna in chapter 14). Against these there is a total of 387 agreements with the Antioch type in opposition to probable fam. 1 readings. In 240 of these MS 22 stands alone against the others of the group, while in 50 (all except one after the lacuna) it is supported by MS 209. It has 27 special readings while there are 13 in MS 118, 27 in MS 209, and 66 in MS 1. There seems a very decided change in the type of text after the lacuna, for in the latter part MS 22 stands much nearer to the Antioch text and also to MS 209, which here approaches the same type. As a whole von Soden's assumption that MS 22 belongs in a sub-group with 118-209 seems utterly without foundation. In its fam. 1 readings it goes more closely with MS 1, and it draws near to 118-209 only in the corrections to Antioch type; thus it seems to draw nearer to 118 in Mt. 22 to 28 and to 209 in John 17 to 21.

The special readings of MS 22 can best be treated by giving them with the other MS support in each case. Obvious unsupported errors are not included. They are not numerous.

MATTHEW

4 9 *δωσω σοι*; order change, unsupported.

4 13 *παραθαλασσιον* for *παραθαλασσιαν* = DU 1582 Cyr.

5 47 *τουτο* for *ουτω* (*το αυτο*) = 251 660 726 1093 1365 1604 OL (exc. *h*) Vg Bas.

8 10 *ουδε παρ ουδενι*; a combination of the Antioch reading *ουδε* with the fam. 1 text *παρ ουδενι* but cf. OL g^1 *non inveni in nullo.*

8 18 *εαυτον* for *αυτον*; no other support.

9 28 (*δε*) + *αυτω* = NUYΣ 16 59 111 213 229 235 251 348 349 477 517 544 659 660 672 954 1093 1188 1194

1216 1229 1279 1369 1391 1573 1574 1579 1588 1604 1657 *b f g*[1] *q*.

9 36 *εριμμενοι* = ℵBCDLΣ 21 126 280 990 1574 1606 *l.* 184.

11 17 *ηυληκαμεν* man. 1 = OL Boh (*cantavimus*) Vg Syr (*cecinimus*); a version influence.

13 13 *μηδε* for *ουδε* = *l.* 49.

13 30 *αφετε ουν συναυξανεσθε* = U 11 76 108 115 235 300 538 al. Syr; perhaps a combination; Antioch text omits *ουν*, fam. 1 *συν*.

13 40 — *τουτου* = ℵBDΓ 5 24 36 183 195 435 892 945 1555 1582 1604 Latin (exc. *h q f*) Syr[sc] Sah Arm Eth Ir Or Cyr Hil.

13 55 *ουχ* for *ουχι* = ℵBCMNOWZΔΣΨ 050 080 fam. 13 (exc. 1689) 21 33 108 237 244 299 399 544 700 1241 1279 2145 *l.* 222 Or Eus Bas Cyr.

15 5 *εαν* for *αν*[1] = LSΘ 11 66 435 al. mult.

15 13 (*ειπεν*) + *αυτοις* = NΔ 122 545 565 713 892 1574 Syr[cp].

15 25 *προσελθουσα* for *ελθουσα* = Δ 71 990 1227 1365 Syr[sc].

16 25 *απολεση* for *απολεσει* = 59 506.

18 8 *σκανδαλιση* for *σκανδαλιζει* = al. pauc.[tisch] (Scholz cites only 22).

18 32 — *αυτω* = DYב 050 11 700 954.

19 28 *καθησεσθε* = ℵBD[2]GLMUXΔ fam. 13 (exc. 346) etc.

19 30 + *οι* before *εσχατοι*[2] = CMΣ fam. 13 (exc. 124 788) 21 66 229** 472 482 506 546 1093 1187 *l.* 44.

20 5 + *την* before *εκτην* = 11 59 245 506 655 2145.

20 5 — *ωραν* = 1216 1279 *e* Op.Imp.

22 1 *ειπεν παλιν* (order) = 33 892 *g*[2] Vg Or Eus Chr.

22 29 — *αυτοις* = SV 11 16 28 59 122 237 238 243 258 299 300 399 661 999 *q r*[2]; perhaps early Antioch.

22 44 *υποκατω* for *υποποδιον* = ℵBDGLUZΓΨב 050 fam. 13 (exc. 13) 142 198 253 301 433 472 892 2145 *l.* 4 *l.* 48 *b e h q r* Syr[cg] Sah Boh Aug.

23 34 — *ιδου* = E*Y 4[e] fam. 13 248 348 482 544 1279 1355 1555 1657* *l.* 184.

24 14 — *τουτο* = ΓΦב 6 17 37 40 53 73 242 245 247 251 259 280 354 407 1012 1194 1295 1402 1574 *l.* 5 *l.* 47 al. *a* Arm Ps-Ath.

24 32 — *τα* man. 1 = ℵ* 215 300 al. pauc. (Latin Syr.).

25 6 *μεσουσης* for *μεσης*; no support; cf. John 7, 14.

26 9 *εδυνατο* for *ηδυνατο* = ℵB*KLZΔΘ^e ΠΨ 050 089 4^e 7^e 25 71 72 265 273 291 300 482 489 517 565 655 892 1010 1219 1241 1293 1346 1369 1657.

26 36 — *ου* = ℵCM*Y 28 33 44 72 73 118^teste Sod. 245 349 473 517 700 892 954 1188 1200 Chr Thph.

27 6 *κορβοναν* = EKMΛ 4^e fam. 13 16 77 108 225 229 235 248 262 273 348 433 440 472 477 517 544 659 660 713 al^15 *l.* 50 Chr Cyr.

27 9 Ζαχαριου for Ιερεμιου = Syr^p mg Arab^cod cited by Tisch; early Fathers note error; Φ 33 157 *a b* Syr Boh^K omit.

27 24 *γενηται* for *γινεται*; no support.

27 29 *γονυπετουντες* for *γονυπετησαντες* = 69 472 b *ff*^2 (*f*) *q* (*adgeniculantes*).

27 43 + *ο* before *υιος* man. 2; no support.

27 46 *σαβακτανει* = B 713 1402 *l.* 47 *b* (*q*) Vg^HD.

MARK

1 35 (*απηλθεν*) + *ο ις* = C^3FGV 6 27 122 127 237 246** 247 248 251 252** 258 265 273 299 1071 *l.* 63 al.

1 44 *αλλα* = ℵABCDEGKLUΔΘ^bΠ 299 al. mult.

2 22 — *νεον*^1; no support.

2 25 (*επεινασε*) + *και* = 44 517.

4 34 — *αυτου* = 258 412 485 572 700 *ff*^2 *i l r*^2.

4 41 *εστιν ουτος* (order) = D 251 1082 1555 *a c f g*^2 *l* (*q*) Vg.

6 8 *παρηγγελλεν* for *παρηγγειλεν* = E(F)UVWYΛΠ^2 11 16 27 115 127 213 235 262 346 348 435 440 473 476 477 482 543 655 713 al.

8 4 *δυναται* for *δυνησεται* = 28 251 *b c f* Eth; cf. *δυνασαι* = W Syr^s; cf. Pers *ff*^2.

9 45 *εις την ζωην εισελθειν* (order) = ℵFΓ 16 27 251 348 349 433 659 692 945 1194 1227 1369 2145.

10 32 — *και εθαμβουντο* = 251 282 al. Sah; cf. omission of *και ακολουθουντες εφοβουντο* in DK 11 28 61 66 157 672 700 etc. OL.

10 40 + *παρα του πατρος μου* (*υπο του πατρος μου* in fam. 1) = 050 7^e 251 1606.

11 1 Βησφαγη = 13.
11 23 πιστευσει for πιστευση = ΧΓ 3 11 59 122 124 236 237 238 242 245 248 433 435 506 al. mult.
12 35 + του before δαδ = Σ 16 179 213 348 477 1194 1200 1216 1241 1279 1355 1542 1579 1588.
13 1 ποδαποι ··· ποδαπαι = D* 59.
13 25 — αι^2 = W 253; cf. *k* (*in caelis*), *q* (*caelestes*) Pers Syr.
14 22 + τον before αρτον = MΣ 59 69 245 251 300 348 435 440 482 713 983 1227 1355 1402 1555 1573 1579 1689.
14 42 αγομεν; no support.
14 45 (λεγει) + αυτω χαιρε = 124 *l*. 36 *l*^{2} Syr^{sg}; a combination of Antioch and fam. 1 additions.

LUKE

1 59 + και before ηλθον = 76 77 218 1606 al. cf. Pers.
2 2 Κυρινιου = 13 69 124 235 346 565.
2 39 and 51 Ναζαρατ = A 2*.
3 17 (τον) + μεν = DEGΛ 050 fam. 13 (exc. 543 1689) 237 1071 1555 1604 al.
3 20 εις την φυλακην for εν τη φυλακη = *a c e ff*^{2} *q*.
3 26 Νααθ; no support.
3 27 Ιαναν = H.
3 27 Νηρη; no support.
3 29 Ιεση; no support.
3 29 Ιωραμ = Γ 1194 1604 *f g*^{2} Syr^{p} Eth Arm Pers Arab.
5 16 εν ταις ερημοις υποχωρων (order) = 122 254 660 Pers; some others omit one of transposed phrases.
5 35 επαρθη = 122.
6 7 τε for δε = H 11 660 *l*. 17 (Pers Syr^{sg}).
6 31 — και^1 = ב 157 259 1093 1355 1555 1574 Sah Pers.
7 9 — αυτω = D(W) 245 251 280 1216 (Boh).
9 5 — απο^2 = DU 11 16 28 49 59 67 127 248 254 259 348 435 999 1279 *l*. 20 *l*. 47 *c d* Vg Syr^{sc} Sah Boh Arm.
9 42 — δε^2 man 1 = Pers.
9 48 τουτο το παιδιον in ras. cf. omission of το in Δ and order change of D fam. 1 270 579 726 990 1012 1200 1207 1375 1574 etc. Latin Syr.

9 50 *υμων* for *ημων* bis = nearly all except Antioch text, fam. 1, and fam. 13.

10 4 *βαλλαντια*; cf. *βαλαντια* of 129 245 545 Syr.

10 16 (*με*) + *και ο εμου ακουων ακουει του αποστειλαντος με* = (D) E^2 050 fam. 13 (exc. 69) 1012 1604 (*a b d i l r*) $Syr^{s\ c\ hr}$ Arm Eth Just Hipp Ir.

11 41 − *υμιν* man. 1 = 291 700. Note transposition in D OL Syr Eth Tert.

11 52 + *και* before *αυτοι* = DM fam. 13 157 660 945 1604 OL Eth Or Ambr.

12 16 *ηυφορησεν* = ADGKLWΓΛΠΨ fam. 13 16 28 33 435 472 579 1071 1131 1279 1574 2145 2193 etc. Bas.

12 32 *μου* for *υμων* = *l.* 44; G^2 = *ημων*.

12 32 + *του* before *δουναι* = V 108 246** 250 258 433 471 1369 al. pauc.

12 56 − *το* man. 1; no support.

13 2 − *οτι*[1] = *b*; cf. Ψ[teste Sod. non Lake] T^{woi} 13[teste Tisch] Sah, which omit *οτι*[2].

13 8 − *το*; no support.

13 24 *αγωνισασθε* for *αγωνιζεσθε*; no support.

14 12 *γενησεται* for *γενηται* = Λ 050 7[e] 91 251 259 267 299 348 659 1606 1689 *l.* 19 OL (exc. *r*).

14 16 *μεγαν* = B**DΛΠ** 10 36 69 106 124 145** 237 239 253 254 255 259 346 472 565 700 999 1279 *l.* 3 *l.* 18 *l.* 19. Clem.

16 4 (*μεταστηθω*) + *απο* = LX 33 251 660 892 Latin (*a vilicatione*).

16 6 *βαδους* = ℵLXΨΩ 36 40** 57 59 91 127 213 237 239 299 1071 1574 al. Or.

16 26 *δυνανται* = *l.* 5 edit. Erasmi.

19 15 *εδεδωκει* for *εδωκε* = 660 672 Or.

20 19 *οχλον* for *λαον* = NOWΣΦΨ 080 76 145 213 545 660 1604 *l.* 48.

21 7 *μελη* for *μελλη* = 254.

21 17 *δια το ονομα μου υπο παντων* = KMUVΓΛΠ ב 3 123 258 262 280 348 473 482 489 655 1187 1219 1227 1355 1555 1573 Syr^p.

21 23 *εγ γαστρι* = A 124.

21 34 *αι καρδιαι υμων* = ABT^{k}WX 0139 fam. 13 25 251 291 348 579 660 *l.* 53 Latin.

21 37 — *καλουμενον* = 660 *r*; many substitute *των* for *το καλουμενον.*

23 44 (*ενατης*) + *του ηλιου εκλειποντος* = 251 660 1194; a combination of Hesych. and Antioch. readings.

23 53 *ουδε εις* = 660.

23 53 + *τη* before *σινδονι* = H al. pauc.

24 13 *εκεινη* for *αυτη*; no support.

24 21 — *ταυτην* = D 42 71 435 954 1354 al^{2} Latin Syr Sah Diatess Aug.

24 39 — *με* = DW Latin (exc. *c*) 130^{lat} Syr$^{sc\ hr}$ Hilar Hier Ambro Aug.

24 49 — *μου* man. 1 = 1375* *a*.

JOHN

1 26 *ειστηκει* for *εστηκεν* = 19 660 1071 Euseb.

1 32 — *οτι* = V 24 250 253 259 1555 al^{3}.

3 12 *ουκ επιστευσατε* for *ου πιστευετε* = EH 71 239 254 382 440 475 660 1241 *l.* 24 al. Cop Pers Syr^{hr} Aug Epiph.

4 14 + *εγω* before *δωσω*^{2} = ℵDMNOT^{b}WΣΦ 080 083 fam. 13 (exc. 13) 33 106 254 472 661 945 1093 1170 1241 1242 1293 1321 1574 *l.* 47 *l.* 260 *a b f ff*^{2} *g* Vg Or Diatess Thdrt Did Ath.

4 48 *πιστευσετε* for *πιστευσητε* = EH^{2}Λ 24 262* 299.

5 1 (*μετα*) + *δε* SVΩ 4^{e} 23 24 59 89 91 107 131 185 234 251 259 262 264 280 282 286 299 406 413 416 435 471 473 483 484 655 660 1093 1227 1242 1573 *f* Syr^{hr} Copt; perhaps early Antioch.

5 7 — *εγω* = V 15 24 69 91 116 249 299 406 660 726 826 983 1093 1689 Aug.

6 32 *υμιν δεδωκε*; no support for this order; — *υμιν* = 579 Pers.

6 40 *εγω εν τη* for *εγω τη* = ℵADKNOSUΠΣΦ 080 fam. 13 19 33 118$^{teste\ Sod.}$ 234 al. mult. Latin Sah Boh Goth.

8 44 *λαλει* for *λαλη* = HUΓ 13 124 76 220 225 244 247 248 251 299 435 472 473 474 475* 483 484 *l.* 184 al. Epiph.

8 50 — *δε* = 69 138 232 265 850 1820 *l.* 47 *b* Syr^{hr} Arm Goth Or Chr Cyr.

9 7 — *ουν* = Γ 68 *l.* 60 *a c l* Syr^{hr} Arm Goth.

9 27 — *ουκ* = Latin (exc. *a f q r*) Syr^{sc}.

10 3 *κατα* = EFΔ 87 472 al^{3}.

11 3 *προς αυτον αι αδελφαι* (order) = ℵ בּ 16 249 317 397 423 430 472 660 743 1227 *r* Sah Boh Arm.

11 25 (*ειπεν*) + *ουν* = XΨ$^{teste\ Sod.}$ 0141 4^{e} 7^{e} 40 57 63 213 247 248 259 348 435 483 659 954 1071 1093 *l.* 47 *l.* 49 *l.* 53 Goth.

12 2 *συνανακειμενων συν* for *συνανακειμενων* man 1 = 16 33 76 348 477 1216 1279 1579.

13 4 — *εκ* = 299 659.

13 37 — *ο Πετρος* = D 660 672 al. pauc.

18 14 (*λαου*) + *και μη ολον το εθνος απολητα* = 52 660 (Colb duo$^{teste\ Wetts}$ *i. e.* 22 and one other) ·*a*.

19 32 — *αυτω* = *a*.

20 25 *τους τυπους* for *τον τυπον*^{1} = 565 Syr^{p} Sah$^{?}$ Eth Diatess Adamant.

20 25 (*ηλων*^{2}) + *και βαλω τον δακτυλον μου εις τον τυπον των ποδων* sol^{vid}; 1582 Syr^{hr} have *των ποδων* for *των ηλων*^{2} teste Sod. but I suspect that these agree with MS 22.

20 30 — *αυτου* = ℵBEKSΔΠ 42 71 122 229* 254 262 270 348 399 473 489 1010 1216 1219 1279 1346 *f* Sah Syr.

21 4 — *ο* = ℵABCDEPWΠΨ 050 3 44 122 240 244 248 399 481 489 565 655 661 713 850 945 1216 1219 1227 2145 1820 Sah Boh. ·

21 16 and 17 *προβατια* = (A)BC (19) 1582 (*b*).

The most noticeable feature in this list is the frequent agreement with the Versions, especially the Old Latin. Hardly less striking are the special agreements with MSS 660, H, D, 1279 and 472. In the case of MS 660 there are enough special agreements in Mark, Luke, and John to make it fairly certain that their ancestors were of the same local type of text. Doubtless the parents of MS 660 have suffered correction also, but for MS 22 this is certain. In fact the discovery of this older set of readings makes it probable that this text tradition suffered two corrections, first to the fam. 1 type and then to the Antioch text.

The following collation is based on the Oxford 1880 edition of the Textus Receptus. Its few variations from Mill and Stephen

1550 are noted in Univ. of Mich. Studies, Human. Ser. vol. IX p. 143.

The additions of *ν εφελκυστικον* are omitted; they are very frequent in MS 22.

MATTHEW

2. Text incipit 2 2 (*που εστιν*); 5 *ουτως*; 11 *ειδον* pro *ευρον*; 18 −*θρηνος και*; 22 −*επι*; 23 *ναζαρεθ* man 1, corr *α* sup *ε* man 2;
3. 5 +*πασα η* ante *ιεροσολυμα*; 6 (*ιορδανη*) +*ποταμωι*; 8 *καρπον αξιον* pro *καρπους αξιους*;
4. 9 tr *δωσω σοι*; 13 *παραθαλασσιον*; 18 −*ο ιησους*; 20 lacuna post *ηκολουθησαν* ad 5 25 *παραδω*;
5. 27 −*τοις αρχαιοις*; 30 *εις γεεννναν απελθηι* pro *βληθη εις γεενναν*; 31 *ερρηθη*; 32 *πας ο απολυων* pro *ος αν απολυση*; *μοιχευθηναι* pro *μοιχασθαι*; 33 and 38 *ερρηθη*; 39 −*σου*; 43 *ερρηθη*; 44 −*ευλογειτε τους ..... μισουντας υμας*; −*επηρεαζοντων υμας και*; 47 *εθνικοι τουτο* pro *τελωναι ουτω*;
6. 1 (*προσεχετε*) +*δε*; *ελεημοσυνην* (*ελεημ* in ras man 2); 4 −*αυτος*; −*εν τωι φανερωι*; 5 *προσευχησθε* pro *προσευχη*; *εσεσθε* pro *εση*; 6 −*εν τωι φανερωι*; 10 −*της* ante *γης*; 12 *αφηκαμεν* pro *αφιεμεν*; 15 −*τα παραπτωματα αυτων*; 16 −*οτι*; 18 −*τωι εν* man 1 (add sup man 2); *κρυφαιωι* pro *κρυπτωι* bis; −*εν τωι φανερωι*; 24 *μαμωνα*; 25 −*και τι πιητε* man 1, add *η τι πιητε* in marg man 2; *πλειον* (*ω* sup *ο* man 1); 28 *αυξανουσιν* man 1, corr *αυξανει* man 2; *κοπιωσιν* pro *κοπια*; *νηθουσι* man 1, corr *νηθει* man 2; 32 *επιζητουσιν* pro *επιζητει*;
7. 6 −*εν*; 12 *ουτως*; 13 *εισπορευομενοι* pro *εισερχομενοι*; 14 *τι* pro *οτι*; 16 *σταφυλας* pro *σταφυλην*; 17 *ουτως*; 24 *ομοιωθησεται* pro *ομοιωσω αυτον*; 27 *προσερρηξαν* pro *προσεκοψαν*; 28 +*παντες* ante *οι οχλοι*; 29 (*γραμματεις*) +*αυτων*;
8. 1 *καταβαντος δε αυτου* pro *καταβαντι δε αυτωι*; 4 *αλλα* pro *αλλ'*; 5 *εισελθοντος δε αυτου* pro *εισελθοντι δε τωι ιησου*; 8 *λογωι* pro *λογον*; 10 (*ουδε*) +*παρ ουδενι*; 13 −*αυτου*; (*εκεινη*) +*και υποστρεψας ο εκατονταρχος εις τον οικον αυτου εν αυτηι τηι ωραι, ευρεν τον παιδα υγιαινοντα* (obeli ante et post man recentiore); 18 −*πολλους*; *εαυτον* pro *αυτον*;

23 −το ante πλοιον; 25 −αυτου; 26 (τοτε)+τοτε; τωι ανεμωι pro τοις ανεμοις; 28 ελθοντος αυτου pro ελθοντι αυτῳ; 31 αποστειλον ημας pro επιτρεψον ημιν; 32 τους χοιρους pro την αγελην των χοιρων;

9. 4 τους διαλογισμους pro τας ενθυμησεις; −υμεις; 8 εφοβηθησαν pro εθαυμασαν; 13 αλλα pro αλλ'; −εις μετανοιαν; 17 αμφοτεροι pro αμφοτερα; 18 (αρχων)+εἷς; 28 (ελθοντι δε)+αυτωι; 30 ενεβριμηθη pro ενεβριμησατο; 35 −εν τῳ λαῳ; 36 εσκυλμενοι pro εκλελυμενοι; ερριμμενοι;

10. 4 (ο κανανιτης man 1) add in marg man 2 γρ(αφεται) και ο καναναιος; 8 νεκρους εγειρετε tr ante λεπρους; 10 −εστιν; 12 (αυτην)+λεγοντες· ειρηνη τωι οικωι τουτωι; 15 (αμην)+αμην; γομορρας pro γομορρων; 19 παραδωσιν pro παραδιδωσιν; λαλησητε pro λαλησετε; 23 ετεραν pro αλλην; (ετεραν)+καν εκ ταυτης διωκωσιν υμας φευγετε εις την αλλην; 25 οικειακους; 27 ηκουσατε pro ακουετε; 28 αποκτενοντων;

11. 1 −δωδεκα; 16 παιδιοις pro παιδαριοις; 17 ηυλησαμεν (λησ in ras man 2, ληκ man 1); 21 βηθσαιδα; (σποδωι)+καθημεναι; 23 μη εως του ουνου υψωθησηι pro η ···· υψωθεισα;

12. 3 −αυτος; 4 −μονοις; 6 μειζον pro μειζων; 7 ελεος pro ελεον; 8 −και; 10 (ην)+εκει; 21 −εν; 28 tr εν πνι θυ εγω; 31 (αφεθησεται)+υμιν; −τοις ανθρωποις[2]; 32 εαν pro αν[1]; τωι νυν αιωνι pro τουτῳ τῳ αιωνι; 35 (καρδιας)+αυτου; −τα ante αγαθα; 39 μοιχαλλις; 42 σολομωνος bis;

13. 13 ινα pro οτι; μη βλεπωσι pro ου βλεπουσι; μη ακουωσι pro ουκ ακουουσιν; μηδε συνιωσι pro ουδε συνιουσι; 14 −επ; ακουσητε pro ακουσετέ; βλεψητε pro βλεψετε; 25 επεσπειρε pro εσπειρε; 27 −τα; 28 συλλεξομεν pro συλλεξωμεν; 30 (αφετε)+ουν; 33 εκρυψεν pro ενεκρυψεν; 35 −κοσμου; 40 −τουτου; 54 εκπλησσεσθαι; 55 ουχ pro ουχι;

14. 6 γενεσιοις δε αγομενοις pro γενεσιων δε αγομενων; 12 πτωμα pro σωμα; 14 αυτοις pro αυτους; 19 του χορτου pro τους χορτους; −καἱ[2]; 22 −αυτου; 25 −ο ις; 26 −οι μαθηται; 33 −ελθοντες; 36 (ινα)+κἂν;

15. 4 −σου; 5 εαν pro αν[1]; 11 −τουτο; 13 (ειπεν)+αυτοις; 23 ηρωτησαν pro ηρωτων; 24 προς pro εις; 25 προσελθουσα pro ελθουσα; προσεκυνησεν pro προσεκυνει; 31 −κυλλους

υγιεις: 32 *ημεραι* pro *ημερας*: *μη* pro *μηποτε*; 36 −*αυτου*: 38 (*ησαν*) + *ως*; 39 *ανεβη* pro *ενεβη*;

16. 3 −*υποκριται*; 4 *μοιχαλλις*: 12 *αλλα*: 19 *δεδεμενον* (*α* sup *ον* man 1): 25 *απολεση* pro *απολεσει*; *ουτος σωσει* pro *ευρησει*; 26 *ωφεληθησεται* pro *ωφελειται*: 27 *τα εργα* pro *την πραξιν*; 28 (*αμην*) + *δε*; *εστωτων* pro *εστηκοτων*;

17. 2 *εγενοντο* pro *εγενετο*: 4 *μωση* man 1, corr *μωσει* man 2; 9 *εκ* pro *απο*: 11 −*πρωτον*; 14 *αυτον* pro *αυτῳ*; 15 *ενιοτε* pro *πολλακις*[2]; 20 *ολιγοπιστιαν* pro *απιστιαν*: 27 −*την* ante *θαλασσαν*;

18. 4 *ταπεινωσει* pro *ταπεινωσῃ*; 6 *εις* pro *επι*; 7 −*εκεινῳ*; 8 *σκανδαλισηι* pro *σκανδαλιζει*; 10 −*εν ουρανοις*[1]; 12 and 13 *ενενηκονταεννεα*: 15 −*εις σε*; 17 (*σοι*) + *λοιπον*; 18 (*αμην*) + *δε*; 19 (*παλιν*) + *αμην*; 28 *ειτι* pro *οτι*; 31 *εαυτων* pro *αυτων*; 32 −*αυτῳ*; 35 (*ουτως*) + *ουν*; −*τα παραπτωματα αυτων* man 1, add in marg man 2;

19. 4 *ο κτισας* pro *ο ποιησας*; 5 (*πρᾱ*) + *αυτου*; *κολληθησεται* pro *προσκολληθησεται*; 7 −*αυτην*; 8 *ουτως*; 9 −*ει*; 11 −*τουτοῦ*: 12 *ουτως*; 16 −*αγαθε*; 17 *τι μη ερωταις περι του αγαθου· εις εστιν αγαθος* pro *τι με λεγεις · · · · · ο θεος*; 19 −*σου*[1]; 20 *εφυλαξα* pro *εφυλαξαμην*; −*εκ νεοτητος μου*; 26 −*εστι* man 1, add in marg man recent; 28 *καθησεσθε* pro *καθισεσθε*; 29 *κληρομησει* pro *κληρονομησει*; 30 + *οι* ante *εσχατοι*[2];

20. 2 *και συμφωνησας* pro *συμφωνησας δε*; −*αυτου*; 4 *και εκεινοις*; 5 *ενατην*; + *την* ante *εκτην*; −*ωραν*; 11 *εγογγυζον* (*ογ* in ras man 2); 15 *ει* pro *η*; 21 (*ευωνυμων*) + *σου*; 22 −*και το βαπτισμα ο εγω βαπτιζομαι βαπτισθηναι*; 23 −*και το βαπτισμα ο εγω βαπτιζομαι βαπτισθησεσθε*; 26 −*δε*; 27 *εσται* pro *εστω*; 34 −*αυτων οι οφθαλμοι*;

21. 1 *βηθσφαγη*: −*ο* ante *ις* man 1, add sup man 2; 3 *αποστελλει*; 11 *πολλοι δε* pro *δε οχλοι*; 12 −*ο* ante *ις*; 14 tr *χωλοι και τυφλοι*; 22 *εαν* pro *αν*; 25 + *το* ante *ιωαννου*; 26 *ειχον* pro *εχουσι*: 28 *δαι* pro *δε* man 1, corr sup man 2; (*ᾱνος*) + *τις*; −*μου*; 32 *ουδε* pro *ου*; 33 −*τις*: 38 *σχωμεν* pro *κατασχωμεν*; tr *αυτου την κληρονομιαν*; 41 *εκδωσεται*; 42 *υμων* pro *ημων*; 46 *επει εις* pro *επειδη ως*;

22. 1 tr *ειπεν παλιν*; 2 *ποιων* pro *εποιησε*; 3 −*και*[1]; 4 *ητοιμακα* pro *ητοιμασα*; 5 *ος* pro *ο* bis; 7 *ο δε* pro *ακουσας δε ο*; *το στρα-*

τευμα pro τα στρατευματα; ανειλε̄ pro απωλεσε; 9 εαν pro αν; 13 −αρατε αυτον και; + αυτον post εκβαλετε; 16 − ου[1]; 25 γημας pro γαμησας; 27 − και; 29 − αυτοις; 30 γαμιζονται pro εκγαμιζονται; + οι ante αγγελοι; 37 − τη ante καρδια; εφη pro ειπεν; 43 (αυτοις) + ο ῑ̄ς; 44 υποκατω pro υποποδιον;

23. 3 εαν pro αν; 5 γαρ pro δε; − των ιματιων αυτων; 7 − ραββι[2]; 8 − ο χ̄ς; 13 (ουαι) + δε; 14 − δε; 21 ομνυων pro ομοσας; κατοικησαντι pro κατοικουντι; 28 ουτως; 34 − ιδου; 36 (υμιν) + οτι; tr παντα ταυτα; 39 (υμιν) + οτι;

24. 2 tr ταυτα παντα; − μη[2]; 3 ειπον pro ειπε; 9 − των; 14 − τουτο; 17 τα pro τι; 20 − εν; 24 πλανασθαι pro πλανησαι; 27 − και[2]; 32 τα sup sed man 1; 33 ουτως; 36 − της[2]; 41 μυλωι pro μυλωνι; 45 δουναι pro διδοναι; 49 (συνδουλους) + αυτου; εσθιηι pro εσθιειν; πινηι pro πινειν;

25. 3 αυτων pro εαυτων[1] 6 μεσουσης pro μεσης; 9 ου μη pro ουκ; 13 − εν η ο υιος του ανθρωπου ερχεται; 30 εκβαλετε; 41 ο ητοιμασεν ο πηρ μου pro το ητοιμασμενον; 44 αυτῳ;

26. 4 tr δολωι κρατησωσι; 9 εδυνατο; 10 − γαρ; 15 και εγω; στατηρας αργυριου pro αργυρια; 17 ετοιμασομεν pro ετοιμασωμεν; 26 ευχαριστησας pro ευλογησας; 28 − γαρ; 29 γενηματος; 33 − και; (εγω) + δε; 36 − ου; προσευξομαι; 48 εαν pro αν; 52 αποθανουνται pro απολουνται; 54 ουτως; 58 − απο; 59 tr θανατωσωσιν αυτον; 70 + αυτων ante παντων; 71 αυτοις· εκει pro τοις εκει; 74 καταθεματιζειν; 75 − του ante ιῡ;

27. 6 κορβοναν; 9 ζαχαριου pro ιερεμιου; 17 ιν τον scr et eras man 1 ante βαραββαν; 24 γενηται pro γινεται; 29 γονυπετουντες pro γονυπετησαντες; 33 ο pro ος; 34 οινον pro οξος; 41 (πρεσβυτερων) + και φαρισαιων; 42 επ αυτωι pro αυτῳ; 43 + ο ante υιος man 2; 44 αυτον pro αυτῳ[2]; 45 ενατης; 46 ενατην; σαβακτανει; 64 − νυκτος;

28. 2 (θυρας) + του μνημειου; 9 − ο ante ῑ̄ς; 10 και εκει; 19 − ουν; 20 − αμην; subs ευαγγελιον κατα ματθαιον.

MARK

Capitula Marci; inscript ευαγγελιον κατα μαρκον.

1. 2 καθως pro ως; ησαιαι τωι προφητηι pro τοις προφηταις; 5 εξεπορευοντο pro εξεπορευετο; 6 + ο ante ιωαννης; 10 ως pro ωσει; 11 σοι pro ῷ̃; ηυδοκησα; 14 − τον ante ιωαννην;

$-o$ ante $\iota\varsigma$; 16 $(\alpha\upsilon\tau o\upsilon) + \tau o\upsilon\ \sigma\iota\mu\omega\nu o\varsigma$: $\alpha\mu\phi\iota\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda o\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ pro $\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda o\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$; 21 $\epsilon\iota\sigma\pi o\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ pro $\epsilon\iota\sigma\pi o\rho\epsilon\upsilon o\nu\tau\alpha\iota$; 27 $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau o\upsilon\varsigma$ pro $\alpha\upsilon\tau o\upsilon\varsigma$; 29 $\epsilon\xi\epsilon\lambda\theta\omega\nu$ pro $\epsilon\xi\epsilon\lambda\theta o\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$; $\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ pro $\eta\lambda\theta o\nu$; 34 $(\alpha\upsilon\tau o\nu) + \chi\nu\ \epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota$; 35 $(\alpha\pi\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu) + o\ \iota\varsigma$; 37 tr $\sigma\epsilon\ \zeta\eta\tau o\upsilon\sigma\iota$; 38 $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota$; 41 $-\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$; 44 $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$;

2. 1 tr $\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\lambda\iota\nu$; 4-12 $\kappa\rho\alpha\beta\alpha\tau\tau o\nu$; 5 $-\sigma o\upsilon$; 7 $o\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$; 8 $(o\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma) + \alpha\upsilon\tau o\iota$; 17 $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu o\iota\alpha\nu$ (add sup man 3); 22 $-\nu\epsilon o\nu^1$; 25 $(\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\sigma\epsilon) + \kappa\alpha\iota$;
3. 4 $+\tau\iota$ ante $\epsilon\xi\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$; $\alpha\pi o\lambda\epsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ pro $\alpha\pi o\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota$; 5 $-\upsilon\gamma\iota\eta\varsigma\ \omega\varsigma\ \eta\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\eta$ (add in mg man 3 $\eta\gamma\eta\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau o\upsilon\ \omega\varsigma\ \eta\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\eta$: $\tau\iota\varsigma\ \gamma\epsilon$?); 12 tr $\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho o\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau o\nu$; 24-25 $-\eta\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\eta\ \cdots\cdots\ \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\ \sigma\tau\alpha\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$; 27 $o\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ pro $o\upsilon\ \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\ o\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; $\delta\iota\alpha\rho\pi\alpha\sigma\eta\iota$ pro $\delta\iota\alpha\rho\pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota$; 29 $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau o\nu\ \alpha\iota\omega\nu\alpha$; 32 $(\sigma o\upsilon^2) + \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\iota\ \alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\alpha\iota\ \sigma o\upsilon$;
4. 4 $-\tau o\upsilon\ o\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu o\upsilon$; 9 $-\alpha\upsilon\tau o\iota\varsigma$; 12 $-\tau\alpha\ \alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$; 18 $-o\upsilon\tau o\iota\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\nu^2$; 31 $\kappa o\kappa\kappa o\nu$ pro $\kappa o\kappa\kappa\omega$; 33 $\epsilon\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau o$; 34 $-\alpha\upsilon\tau o\upsilon$; 38 $\pi\rho o\sigma\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota o\upsilon$ pro $\tau o\ \pi\rho o\sigma\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota o\nu$; 40 $o\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$; 41 tr $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ o\upsilon\tau o\varsigma$;
5. 1 $\gamma\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\sigma\eta\nu\omega\nu$ pro $\gamma\alpha\delta\alpha\rho\eta\nu\omega\nu$; 2 $\epsilon\xi\epsilon\lambda\theta o\nu\tau o\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau o\upsilon$ pro $\epsilon\xi\epsilon\lambda\theta o\nu\tau\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$; 3 $\mu\nu\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\iota$ pro $\mu\nu\eta\mu\epsilon\iota o\iota\varsigma$; $\epsilon\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau o$; 4 $\pi o\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\delta\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\delta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau o\nu\ \delta\iota\epsilon\sigma\pi\alpha\rho\kappa\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\phi\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ pro $\pi o\lambda\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\varsigma\ \cdots\cdots\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\phi\theta\alpha\iota$; 10 $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda o\upsilon\nu$ pro $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$; 11 $\tau\omega\iota\ o\rho\epsilon\iota$ pro $\tau\alpha\ o\rho\eta$; 12 $-\pi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ o\iota\ \delta\alpha\iota\mu o\nu\epsilon\varsigma$; 15 $-\kappa\alpha\iota^3$; 16 $\delta\iota\eta\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\tau o\ \delta\epsilon$ pro $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\eta\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\tau o$; $\epsilon\sigma\omega\theta\eta\ o\ \delta\alpha\iota\mu o\nu\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ pro $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\tau o\ \tau\omega\ \delta\alpha\iota\mu o\nu\iota\zeta o\mu\epsilon\nu\omega$; 19 $\pi\epsilon\pi o\iota\eta\kappa\epsilon$ pro $\epsilon\pi o\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon$; 23 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\iota$ pro $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\iota$; 26 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ pro $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$; 27 $-\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omega\ o\chi\lambda\omega$; 40 $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ pro $\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$; $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu o\nu$ pro $\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu o\nu$;
6. 2 $-o\tau\iota$; 3 $\iota\omega\sigma\eta\iota$; 8 $\pi\alpha\rho\eta\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\nu$ pro $\pi\alpha\rho\eta\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\nu$; 17 $-\tau\eta$ ante $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\eta\iota$; 22 $-\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$; 23 $-\kappa\alpha\iota\ \omega\mu o\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\iota\ o\tau\iota\ o\ \epsilon\alpha\nu\ \mu\epsilon\ \alpha\iota\tau\eta\sigma\eta\varsigma\ \delta\omega\sigma\omega\ \sigma o\iota$; 26 $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu$ pro $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$; 27 $-o\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$; $\sigma\pi\epsilon\kappa o\upsilon\lambda\alpha\tau o\rho\alpha$; 31 $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\rho o\upsilon\nu$; 32 $\alpha\pi\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ pro $\alpha\pi\eta\lambda\theta o\nu$; 33 $-o\iota\ o\chi\lambda o\iota$; 36 $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\omega\sigma\iota\ \bar{\iota}$ pro $\alpha\gamma o\rho\alpha\sigma\omega\sigma\iota\nu\ \epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau o\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\rho\tau o\upsilon\varsigma$ man 1, corr in marg man 2; 37 tr $\delta\eta\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omega\nu\ \delta\iota\alpha\kappa o\sigma\iota\omega\nu$; 40 $\alpha\nu\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$ man 1, corr o sup α man 2; 44 $-\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota$; 47 $(\eta\nu) + \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota$; 52 tr $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu\ \eta\ \kappa\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha$; 55 $\pi\rho\alpha\beta\alpha\tau\tau o\iota\varsigma$;
7. 8 $-\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu o\upsilon\varsigma\ \xi\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi o\tau\eta\rho\iota\omega\nu$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho o\mu o\iota\alpha\ \tau o\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \pi o\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \pi o\iota\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$; 24 $-\tau\eta\nu$ ante $o\iota\kappa\iota\alpha\nu$; 26 $\sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\ \phi o\iota-$

νίκισσα pro *συροφοινισσα*; *εκβαλη* pro *εκβαλλῃ*; 31 (*εξελθων*) + *ο* $\overline{ις}$;

8. 2 *ημεραι* pro *ημερας*; 3 *ηκουσιν* pro *ηκασιν*; 4 *δυναται* pro *δυνησεται*; 6 (*αρτους*) + *και*; 7 − *και* ante *αυτα*; 8 *ηιραν* pro *ηραν*; 13 − *το* ante *πλοιον*; 15 *των ηρωδιανων* pro *ηρωδου*; 19-20 *ηιρατε*; 24 − *οτι*; − *ορω*; 31 + *των* ante *αρχιερεων*; + *των* ante *γραμματεων*; 34 *ακολουθειν* pro *ελθειν*; 35 *την εαυτου ψυχην* pro *την ψυχην αυτου*; 38 − *των αγιων*;
9. 3 *εγενοντο* pro *εγενετο*; 6 *λαλησει* pro *λαλησῃ*; 7 − *λεγουσα*; 20 *ιδον* pro *ιδων*; 22 − *και*^{2}; *δυνηι* pro *δυνασαι*; 23 − *πιστευσαι*; 25 *επετιμησε τωι* $\overline{πνι}$ *τωι* ante *επετιμησε* add et del man 1; 38 − *ο* ante *ιωαννης*; 41 − *τῳ*; 44 − *οπου* ···· *σβεννυται*; 45 *σε* pro *σοι*; tr *εις την ζωην εισελθειν*; 46 − *εις το πυρ* ····· *σβεννυται*; 49 − *και πασα θυσια αλι αλισθησεται*; 50 *ειρηνευσατε* man 1, add *ε* sup *σα* man 2;
10. 1 − *δια του*; 2 − *οι*; 10 *τουτου* pro *του αυτου*; 14 − *και*^{2}; 16 *ευλογει*; 21 − *τοις*; 24 − *τοις* ante *χρημασιν*; 27 − *τῳ* ante *θεῳ*; 28 − *και*^{1}; 29 − *δε*^{1}; + *ενεκεν* ante *του ευαγγελιου*; 31 − *οι*; 32 − *και εθαμβουντο*; 33 − *τοις*^{2}; 40 − *μου*^{2}; (*ητοιμασται*) + *παρα του* $\overline{πρς}$ *μου*; 43 *ουτως*; tr *υμων διακονος*; 44 *εαν* pro *αν*; 51 *ραββουνι*;
11. 1 *βησφαγη*; 10 *ειρηνη εν ουρανωι και δοξα* (add *ωσαννα* in marg man 2) *εν υψιστοις* pro *ωσαννα εν τοις υψιστοις*; 21 *εξηραται* man 1, corr sup *νθη* man 2; 23 *πιστευσει* pro *πιστευσῃ*; 29 *και εγω*; 32 − *εαν*; − *οντως*;
12. 5 *αποκτενοντες*; 14 *ηρξαντο ερωταν αυτον εν δολωι* pro *λεγουσιν αυτῳ*; 23 − *ουν*; 26 *μωυσεως*; *του βατου*; 28 *παντων* pro *πασων*; 29 *παντων* pro *πασων*; 32 − *θεος*; 33 − *των*^{2}; 35 + *του* ante $\overline{δαδ}$; 36 − *τῳ*$^{1\,2}$; *λεγει* pro *ειπεν*^{2};
13. 1 *ποδαποι*; *ποδαπαι*; 4 tr *ταυτα παντα*; 14 *εστως* pro *εστος*; 21 *πιστευετε* pro *πιστευσητε*; 25 − *αι*^{2}; 27 *ακρων* pro *ακρου*; 29 *ουτως*; 31 *παρελευσεται* pro *παρελευσονται*; 32 *η* pro *και της*;
14. 3 *πολυτελους* man 1, *πολυτιμου* sup man 2; − *κατα*; 5 (*αυτηι*) + *πολλα*; 6 *εν εμοι* pro *εις εμε*; 8 *προς* pro *εις*; 9 (*αμην*) + *δε*; *εαν* pro *αν*; 14 (*καταλυμα*) + *μου*; 22 + *τον* ante *αρτον*; 23 − *το*; 24 − *το*^{2}; 25 *γενηματος*; 29 tr *ει και*; 30 (*οτι*) + *συ*; 31 (*ο δε*) + *πετρος*; 34 *λεγειν* pro *λεγει*; 35 (*επεσεν*) + *επι προσωπον*;

36 αλλ οτι συ pro αλλα τι συ; 37 ισχυσατε pro ισχυσας; 40 καταβαρυνομενοι pro βεβαρημενοι; 42 αγομεν; 43 (ξυλων) + απεσταλμενοι; 45 − ελθων; (λεγει) + αυτωι χαιρε; 51 ηκολουθησεν pro ηκολουθει; 53 αυτου pro αυτῳ; 54 − προς το φως; 62 εκ δεξιων καθημενον; επι pro μετα; 64 (ηκουσατε) + παντες; (βλασφημιας) + αυτου; 65 (προφητευσον) + νυν; ελαμβανον pro εβαλλον (corr in marg man 2); 68 ουτε pro ουδε; 72 το ρημα ο pro του ρηματος ου;

15. 4 κατηγορουσιν pro καταμαρτυρουσιν; 7 (λεγομενος pro γενομενος); στασιατων pro συστασιαστων; 8 αιει pro αει; 16 εις την αυλην pro της αυλης; 20 χλαμυδα pro πορφυραν; 24 διεμεριζονται pro διεμεριζον; 29 ουα pro ουαι; 32 (πιστευσωμεν) + αυτωι; 33 ενατης; 34 ενατηι; λαμα pro λαμμα; 39 αυτωι pro εξεναντιας αυτου; ουτως; 40 − και[2]; 43 ελθων pro ηλθεν; 46 + εν ante τῃ σινδονι; προσκυλισας pro προσεκυλισε; (μνημειου) + απηλθεν;

16. 1 − η του; 2 τηι μιαι pro της μιας; 7 (οτι) + ηγερθη απο των νεκρων και ιδου; 8 − ταχυ; (γαρ) + τελος ※ εν τισι των αντιγραφων εως ωδε πληρουται ο ευαγγελιστης; εν πολλοις δε, και ταυτα φερεται; 9 σαββατων pro σαββατου; 14 (εγηγερμενον) + εκ νεκρων; 17 (καιναις) + και εν ταις χερσιν; 18 βλαψηι; 19 (κς̄) + ις̄; 20 (σημειων) + τελος; − αμην;

LUKE

Capitula evangelii; inscript ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν

1. 5 γυνη αυτου (add ω sup ου man 2); 7 − ταις; 10 tr ην του λαου; 16 προς pro επι; 25 ουτως; − το ante ονειδος; 27 (οικου) + και πατριας; 29 − αυτου; 35 (γεννωμενον) + εκ σου; 36 γερει pro γηραι; 44 tr το βρεφος εν αγαλλιασει; 59 + και ante ηλθον; 61 − οτι; 63 εσται pro εστι; 69 − τῳ; 74 − ημων; 75 − της ζωης; 77 ημων pro αυτων; 80 ηυξανεν;
2. 1 εν (del man 3); 2 κυρινιου; 5 − γυναικι; 8 της ποιμνης pro την ποιμνην; 12 + και ante κειμενον; − τη; 15 − και οι ανθρωποι; 16 ευρον pro ανευρον; 20 υπεστρεψαν pro επεστρεψαν; 21 αυτον pro το παιδιον; 22 μωυσεως; 25 tr ην αγιον; 39 εαυτων pro αυτων; ναζαρατ man 1, corr ε sup α^3 man 2; 42 δεκαδυο pro δωδεκα; 43 απεμεινεν pro υπεμεινεν; εγνωσαν

οι γονεις αυτου pro *εγνω · · · · αυτου*; 45 $-$*αυτον*^{1}; 51 *ναζαρατ* man 1, corr *ε* sup *a*^{s} man 2;

3. 2 *επι αρχιερεως* pro *επ αρχιερεων*; 7 $-$*οχλοις*; 11 *ελεγεν* pro *λεγει*; 15 *μητι* pro *μηποτε*; 17 (*τον*) + *μεν*; 19 $-$*φιλιππου*; 20 *εις την φυλακην* pro *εν τη φυλακη*; 22 *ευδοκησα*; 23 *ηλει*; 24 *ιαννα* (corr *ε* sup *a* man 2); 26 *ναασθ* pro *μααθ*; *σεμεει*; 27 *ιωδα* pro *ιουδα*; *ιαναν* pro *ιωαννα*; *νηρη* pro *νηρι*; 29 *ιεση* pro *ιωση*; *ιωραμ* pro *ιωρειμ*; 33 (*αραμ*) + *του αλμει· του αρνη· του ιωραμ*; 35 *θαρρα*; *σερουχ* pro *σαρουχ*; *φαλεγ* pro *φαλεκ*;
4. 7 (*εαν*) + *πεσων*; *εμου* pro *μου*; *πασα* pro *παντα*; 8 $-$*υπαγε οπισω μου σατανα*; $-$*γαρ*; 9 $-$*ο* ante *υιος*; 10 (*σε*) + *εν πασαις ταις οδοις σου*; 11 $-$*οτι*; 16 tr *και ανεστη αναγνωναι* post *προφητου* ver 17; 18 *ευαγγελισασθαι* pro *ευαγγελιζεσθαι*; 29 $-$*της*^{2}; *ωστε* pro *εις το*; 35 *απ* pro *εξ*; 38 *απο* pro *εκ*; $-$*η*: 41 *μονια* man 1, corr *δαιμονια* man 2; 42 *επεζητουν* pro *εζητουν*; 44 *της ιουδαιας* pro *της γαλιλαιας*;
5. 1 *και* pro *του*^{1}: *γενησαρετ*; 4 $-$*εις αγραν*; 6 tr *πληθος ιχθυων*; 8 $-$*του*; + *εγω* ante *ειμι*; 13 *ειπων* (*ων* in ras man 3); 15 $-$*υπ αυτου*; 16 tr *εν ταις ερημοις υποχωρων*; 18 tr *ανον επι κλινης*; 19 $-$*δια*^{1}; 25 (*εφ*) *ωι* man 1, scr *ο* sup man 2; 29 $-$*ο*; 30 (*μετα*) + *των*; 35 *επαρθη* pro *απαρθη*; 36 + *απο* ante *ιματιου*; (*καινου*) + *σχισας*; + *το* ante *επιβλημα*;
6. 1 $-$*δευτεροπρωτῳ*; *των σποριμων* (del *των* man 1 vel 2); 2 $-$*εν*; 3 *οτε* pro *οποτε*; $-$*οντες*; 7 *τε* pro *δε*; $-$*αυτον*; *κατηγορειν* pro *κατηγοριαν*; 10 (*αυτους*) + *εν οργηι*; *αυτωι* pro *τῳ ανθρωπῳ*; $-$*αυτω*; 11 *ποιησαιεν*; 13 *εφωνησε* pro *προσεφωνησε*; 17 *του* pro *τοπου*; $-$*του λαου*; 22 $-$*του* ante *ανου*; 23 *χαρητε* pro *χαιρετε*; 25 (*εμπεπλησμενοι*) + *νυν*; 26 $-$*υμιν*; 27 *αλλα*; 28 *υμας* pro *υμιν*; $-$*και*; 31 $-$*και*^{1}; 45 $-$*του*^{3};
7. 2 *εμελλε*; 7 *αλλ'* pro *αλλα*; 9 $-$*αυτῳ*; 11 *τωι εξης* pro *τη εξης*; 18 (*ιωαννη*) + *περι αυτου*; 22 + *και* ante *πτωχοι*; 27 (*ουτος*) + *γαρ*; 28 $-$*προφητης*; $-$*του βαπτιστου*; 30 $-$*ειπε δε ο κυριος*; 32 *α λεγει* pro *και λεγουσιν*; 33 $-$*αρτον*; $-$*οινον*; 34 tr *φιλος τελωνων*; 35 $-$*παντων*; 36 *κατεκλιθη* pro *ανεκλιθη*; 37 + *και* ante *επιγνουσα*; 44 $-$*της κεφαλης*; 46 tr *τους ποδας μου*;

8. 3 σωσαννα; 5 εαυτου pro αυτου; 10 συνωσιν pro συνιωσιν; 20 − λεγοντων; 21 − αυτον; 25 − εστιν[1]; 26 γεργεσηνων pro γαδαρηνων; αντιπερα; 29 παρηγγελλε; 31 παρεκαλει ουν pro και παρεκαλει; 33 εισηλθον pro εισηλθεν; 34 − απελθοντες; 37 γεργεσηνων pro γαδαρηνων; 39 θς pro ιησους; 43 ιατροις pro εις ιατρους; 45 − και λεγεις τις ο αψαμενος μου; 51 ελθων pro εισελθων; tr και ιωαννην και ιακωβον; 52 (απεθανεν) + το κορασιον;
9. 1 − μαθητας αυτου; 3 ραβδον pro ραβδους; 5 εαν pro αν; − απο[2]; 9 − ο; 10 βηθσαιδαν; 11 αποδεξαμενος pro δεξαμενος; 13 tr ιχθυες δυο; αγορασομεν pro αγορασωμεν; 18 (μαθηται) + αυτου; 19 (ηλιαν) + αλλοι δε ιερεμιαν; 20 − ο ante πετρος; 24 εαν pro αν[1]; 27 εστωτων pro εστηκοτων; γευσωνται pro γευσονται; 28 − τον; 33 − ο ante πετρος; tr μιαν μωσει; 35 ο εκλεκτος man 1 pro ο αγαπατος (corr in marg man 2); 36 − ο ante ις̄; 38 επιβλεψαι pro επιβλεψον; 40 εκβαλωσιν pro εκβαλλωσιν; 41 tr τον υιον σου ωδε; 42 − δε[2] man 1, add sup man 2; 47 γνους pro ιδων (corr in marg man 2); 48 τουτο το παιδιον (υτο το in ras man 1); 49 − τα; 50 υμων pro ημων[1]; ημων[2] man 1, corr υμων man 2; 52 εαυτου pro αυτου; 55 ποιου pro οιου; 56 − γαρ; 62 tr ο ις̄ προς αυτον;
10. 1 ημελλεν; 2 εκβαλη pro εκβαλλη; 4 βαλλαντια pro βαλαντιον; 6 − μεν; − ο; 8 − δ' ante αν; 11 (υμων) + εις τους ποδας ημων; 13 βηθσαιδαν; 15 ἡ ····· υψωθησηι ἡ pro η ···· υψωθεισα; 16 (με) + και ο εμου ακουων· ακουει του αποστειλαντος με; 20 − μαλλον; 22 − και στραφεις προς τους μαθητας ειπε; tr μοι παρεδοθη; 30 εξεδυσαν pro εκδυσαντες; − τυγχανοντα; 36 tr πλησιον δοκει σοι; 41 θορυβαζη pro τυρβαζη;
11. 2 − ημων ο εν τοις ουρανοις; − γενηθητω το θελημα σου ως εν ουρανῳ και επι της γης; 4 − αλλα ρυσαι ημας απο του πονηρου; 6 − μου; 8 οσον pro οσων; 9-10 ανοιχθησεται pro ανοιγησεται bis; 11 − τον; η pro ει; 12 ωιον; 13 tr δοματα αγαθα; 14 − και αυτο ην; 22 διαδωσει pro διαδιδωσιν; 25 (ευρισκει) + σχολαζοντα; 29 (αυτη) + γενεα; 33 − ουδε υπο τον μοδιον; 37 (λαλησαι) + αυτον ταυτα; 41 − υμιν man 1, add sup man 2; εσται pro εστιν; 44 − οι[2]; 52 ηρατε; + και ante αυτοι; 53 (ενεχειν) + αυτωι; 54 − και;
12. 4 αποκτενοντων pro αποκτεινοντων; 7 φοβησθε pro φοβεισθε;

11 εισφερωσιν pro προσφερωσιν; 15 πασης pro της; αυτωι pro αυτου[1]; 16 ηυφορησεν; 18 γενηματα; 20 αφρον pro αφρων; 22 (σωματι) + υμων; 23 πλειων pro πλειον; 28 του αγρου pro εν τῳ αγρῳ; 31 − παντα; 32 μου pro υμων; + του ante δουναι; 33 βαλλαντια; 38 ουτως; 45 δε pro τε; 46 υποκριτων pro απιστων; 48 απ pro παρ; 53 επι pro εφ; 54 ουτως; 56 − το (add sup man 2); 58 βαληι pro βαλλῃ;

13. 2 − οτι[1]; 4 − ανθρωπους; 6 tr ζητων καρπον; 8 − το; κοπρον pro κοπριαν; 20 − και[1]; 21 εκρυψεν pro ενεκρυψεν; 24 αγωνισασθε pro αγωνιζεσθε; 28 οψεσθε pro οψησθε; 29 ηξουσι πολλοι pro ηξουσιν; − απο[2]; 35 − ερημος αμην; tr λεγω δε;

14. 5 − αποκριθεις; 5 υιος pro ονος; 10 αναπεσαι pro αναπεσον; 12 γενησεται pro γενηται; 16 μεγαν; 26 αυτου pro εαυτου; 27 tr ειναι μου; 32 tr πορρω αυτου;

15. 4-7 ενενηκονταεννεα bis; 4 (εως) + ου; 6 τας γειτονας; 7 et 10 ουτως; 17 περισσευονται pro περισσευουσιν; (εγω δε) + ωδε; 19 − και[1]; 21 − και[2]; 22 παιδας pro δουλους; 24 − και[2]; απολωλος; 26 − αυτου; 32 − και[3];

16. 2 δυνηι pro δυνησῃ; 4 (μετασταθω) + απο; 6 βαδους; 9 εκλιπηι pro εκλιπητε; 15 − εστιν; 16 τις pro εις; 20 − ην man 3; 22 − του; 25 ωδε pro οδε; 26 tr υμων και ημων; ενθεν pro εντευθεν; δυνανται pro δυνωνται; 30 εκ pro απο man 1, corr in marg man 2;

17. 1 + του ante μη; 2 λιθος μυλικος pro μυλος ονικος; 4 − επι σε; 6 εχετε pro ειχετε; 9 − αυτῳ ου δοκω; 10 ουτως; 23 − η; 24 − και; 26 − του[1];

18. 1 (προσευχεσθαι) + αυτους; 3 (δε) + τις; 5 υποπιαζηι man 1, ω sup o man 2; 7 μακροθυμει pro μακροθυμων; 9 − και[1]; 13 − εις[2]; − αυτου; 14 (η) + γαρ; 25 τρυμαλιας man 1, corr τρυπηματος man 3; βελονης pro ραφιδος; 34 αλλ pro και[2]; 36 (τι) + αν; 37 ναζαρηνος pro ναζωραιος; 40 − προς αυτον;

19. 2 − ην[2]; 4 συκομωρεαν; 13 εν ωι pro εως; 15 εδεδωκει pro εδωκε; 17 αυτωι man 1, corr αυτων man 3; 22 − δε; 23 − την; 29 βηθσφαγην; 30 κεκαθικεν pro εκαθισε; 37 ηρξατο pro ηρξαντο; 45 − εν αυτῳ και αγοραζοντας; 48 ποιησουσιν pro ποιησωσιν;

20. 1 ιερεις pro αρχιερεις man 1 (ερεις man 4); 5 − ουν; 9 − τις; 19 οχλον pro λιον; 24 (δηναριον) + οι δε εδειξαν· και ειπεν;

27 λεγοντες pro αντιλεγοντες; 31 (ωσαυτως) + ωσαυτως; −και[3]; 33 εσται pro γινεται; 35 εκγαμιζονται pro εκγαμισκονται; 36 −εισι[2]; 37 μωυσης;

21. 2 tr τινα και; 6 + ωδε ante λιθος; 7 μελη pro μελλη; 12 παντων pro απαντων; 16 tr και αδελφων post φιλων; 17 tr δια το ονομα μου υπο παντων; 23 εγ γαστρι; (γαρ) + τοτε; 28 ανακαλυψατε pro ανακυψατε; 34 βαρηθωσιν pro βαρυνθωσιν; tr αι καρδιαι υμων; αιφνιδιως; 36 − ταυτα; 37 −καλουμενον;

22. 3 −ο; 4 −τοις[2]; 9 ετοιμασομεν pro ετοιμασωμεν; 16 αυτο pro εξ αυτου; 18 γενηματος; 30 −εν τη βασιλεια μου; καθισεσθε pro καθισησθε; 34 φωνησηι pro φωνησει; 35 βαλλαντιου; υστερηθητε pro υστερησατε; ουθενος pro ουδενος; 36 βαλλαντιον; πωλησει pro πωλησατω; αγορασει pro αγορασατω; 39 −και[2]; 42 −ει βουλει; παρενεγκε pro παρενεγκειν; 45 −αυτου; 47 προηγεν αυτους pro προηρχετο αυτων; 53 αλλα; tr εστιν υμων; 55 πυραν pro πυρ; 57 −αυτον[1]; 60 −ο[3]; 66 −τε; αυτων pro εαυτων; 68 −η απολυσητε;

23. 1 ηγαγον pro ηγαγεν; 14 −αιτιον; 18 −τον; 19 + την ante φυλακην; 25 (αυτοις) + τον βαραββαν; 26 −του[1]; 34 εβαλλον; 38 + η ante επιγραφη; (εστιν) + ις; 44 (ενατης) + του ηλιου εκλειποντος; 46 παρατιθημι pro παραθησομαι; 51 συγκατατιθεμενος; 53 + τηι ante σινδονι; −αυτο[3]; ουδε εις pro ουδεις; 55 αι pro και[1];

24. 4 διαπορειν pro διαπορεισθαι; tr ανδρες δυο; 9 (απηγγειλαν); 10 ην pro ησαν; 13 εκεινηι pro αυτηι; 18 −εν[1]; 21 −ταυτην; 22 ορθριναι pro ορθριαι; 24 ουτως; 27 (αυτοις) + τι ην; 28 προσεποιησατο pro προσεποιειτο; 29 (κεκλικεν) + ηδη; 37 εντρομοι pro εμφοβοι; 39 −με; 44 −και ψαλμοις; 46 ουτως; 49 −μου man 1, add sup man 2; 53 −αμην; om subscript.

JOHN

Capitula evangelii; inscript ευαγγελιον κατα ιωαννην.

1. 26 ειστηκει; 27 −αυτος εστιν; −ος εμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν; 28 βηθαβαρα man 1, corr βηθανια in marg man 2; 29 −ο ιωαννης; 32 −οτι; ως pro ωσει; 38 −δε; 39 οψεσθε pro ιδετε (corr in marg man 2); 40 −δε; 42 πρωτον pro πρωτος;

μεσιαν; $-o^2$; 43 $-δε$; 44 tr ο ιησους ante ακολουθει; 46-7 ναζαρεθ bis;

2. 15 (ποιησας) + ως; 16 + και ante μη; 17 καταφαγεται pro κατεφαγε; 22 $-$ αυτοις; 23 + τοις ante ιεροσολυμοις; $-$ αυτου^2;
3. 2 αυτον pro τον ιησουν; 5 $-o$; 10 $-o^1$; 12 ουκ επιστευσατε pro ου πιστευετε; πιστευσητε pro πιστευσετε; 15 $-μη$ απολησται αλλ; 16 ουτως; 17 $-$ αυτου^1; 23 σαλειμ; 24 + την ante φυλακην man 1, eras man 2; 25 ιουδαιου pro ιουδαιων; 28 εμοι pro μοι; 31 $-$ επανω παντων εστι και; 32 $-$ τουτο;
4. 1 $\overline{ις}$ pro κυριος; 3 $-$ παλιν; 13 $-o^1$; 14 + εγω ante δωσω^2; 20 tr τωι ορει τουτωι; 21 πιστευε man 1, corr in marg πιστευσον man 2; 23 $-$ και γαρ ο πατηρ τοιουτους ζητει τους προσκυνουντας αυτον; 25 μεσιας; 35 τετραμηνος pro τετραμηνον; $-$ ιδου λεγω υμιν; 37 $-o^2$; αληθης pro αληθινος; 44 $-o$; 46 tr παλιν ο $\overline{ις}$; 48 πιστευσετε pro πιστευσητε;
5. 1 (μετα) + δε; $-o$; 5 (ασθενειαι) + αυτου; 7 βαλη; $-$ εγω; 8-12 κραβαττον; 10 (εστιν) + και; 14 tr σοι τι; 15 με pro αυτον; 16 $-$ και εζητουν αυτον αποκτειναι; 19 ουδε εν pro ουδεν; 21 ουτως; 25 ακουσουσι pro ακουσονται; ζησουσιν pro ζησονται; 35 αγαλλιαθηναι; 36 $-$ εγω^2; 44 πιστευειν man 1, corr in marg πιστευσαι man 2; 45 κατηγορησων pro κατηγορων; 46 μωσει;
6. 2 $-$ αυτου; 10 ανεπεσαν man 1, corr ο sup a^2 man 2; 12 επλησθησαν pro ενεπλησθησαν; 15 $-$ παλιν; 19 ωσει pro ως; 22 $-$ εκεινο εις ο ενεβησαν οι μαθηται αυτου; 29 $-o$; 32 tr υμιν δεδωκε; 39 $-$ εν man 1, add sup man 3; 40 $\overline{πρς}$ μου pro πεμψαντος με; (εγω) + εν; 44 + εν ante τηι εσχατηι; 45 $-$ του^1; 46 εκ pro παρα; 54 + εν ante τηι εσχατηι; 55 αληθης pro αληθως bis; 58 ζησει pro ζησεται; 63 λελαληκα pro λαλω; 70 $-$ ο ιησους; 71 ημελλεν man 1, εμελλεν man 2;
7. 8 $-$ ταυτην^1; 9 αυτος pro αυτοις; 12 $-δε$; 14 μεσαζουσης pro μεσουσης; 16 (απεκριθη) + ουν; 21 $-o$; 26 $-$ αληθως^2; 29 $-δε$; 30 τας χειρας pro την χειρα; 32 tr υπηρετας ante οι φαρισαιοι; 33 $-$ αυτοις; 39 $-o$; 40 των λογων τουτων pro τον λογον; 41 $-δε$; 42 $-$ του; 49 επαρατοι pro επικαρατοι; om 7 53 και επορευθη $\cdots\cdots$ αμαρτανε 8 11;
8. 12 tr αυτοις ο $\overline{ις}$; περιπατησηι; 14 η pro και^3; 19 $-o^2$; 21 (με) + και ουχ ευρησετε με; 26 λαλω pro λεγω; 29 $-o$

πατηρ; 38 *α ηκουσατε* man 1, *ο εωρακατε* in marg man 2; *του πρς* pro *τῳ πατρι*; 39 *−αν*; 41 (*υμεις*) + *δε*; 44 + *του* ante *πρς*[2]; λαλει (*ει* in ras man 1, prim scr λαλη); 50 *−δε*; 52 *γευσηται* pro *γευσεται*; 54 *ημων* pro *υμων*; 58 (*ειπεν*) + *ουν*;

9. 3 *−ο*; 7 *−ουν*; 8 *προσαιτης* pro *τυφλος*; 11 *ο ανος ο λεγομενος*; 15 (*πηλον*) + *εποιησε και*; tr *μου επι τους οφθαλμους*; 16 (*αλλοι*) + *δε*; 18 *−του αναβλεψαντος*; 20 (*απεκριθησαν*) + *δε*; 21 *εαυτου* pro *αυτου*[2]; 25 *ημην και* pro *ων*; 27 *−ουκ*; 28 *−ουν*; 29 *μωσει*; 30 + *το* ante *θαυμαστον*; 36 (*ειπεν*) + *και*;

10. 3 *κατα*; 4 *παντα* pro *προβατα*[1] man 1, corr in marg man 2; 5 *ακολουθησουσιν*; 12-13 *−τα προβατα· ο δε μισθωτος φευγει* (add in marg man 3 aut 4); 21 (*τα*) + *τα*; *ανοιγειν* man 1 (corr man 2 *ανοιξαι*); 22 *−τοις*; 34 *ειπον* pro *ειπα*; 38 *πιστευετε* man 1, corr *πιστευητε* man 2; 39 *των χειρων* pro *της χειρος*; 41 *ουδε εν* pro *ουδεν*;

11. 2 *εαυτης* pro *αυτης*; 3 tr *προς αυτον αι αδελφαι*; 5 *μαριαν* pro *μαρθαν*; (*αυτης*) + *μαρθαν*; 9 *−ο*; 15 *αλλα*; 20 *−ο*; 25 (*ειπεν*) + *ουν*; 31 *δοξαντες* pro *λεγοντες*; 32 tr *αυτου εις τους ποδας*; 33 *εταραχθη* pro *ενεβριμησατο*; *ως εμβριμωμενος* pro *και εταραξαν εαυτον*; 41 *−ο τεθνηκως κειμενος*; 48 *ουτως*; 50 λογιζεσθε pro *διαλογιζεσθε*; 51 *−ο*; 54 *−την*; 57 *−και*[1];

12. 2 *ανακειμενων* pro *συνανακειμενων* (*συν* eras et spat relict); + *συν* ante *αυτωι*; 3 (*οικια*) + *ολη*; 13 (*εκραζον*) + *λεγοντες*; 14 *αυτο* man 1, corr *αυτω* man 3 aut 4; 16 *−ο*; 18 *ηκουσαν* pro *ηκουσε*; 25 *απολεσηι* man 1, corr *απολεσει* man 2; 29 *ακουων* pro *ακουσας*; 34 *−οτι*[2]; 47 *φυλαξηι* pro *πιστευσηι*; 49 *απ* pro *εξ*; *δεδωκεν* pro *εδωκε*;

13. 1 *ηλθεν* pro *εληλυθεν*; 4 *−εκ*; 8 *−ο*; 15 *δεδωκα* pro *εδωκα*; 18 *επηρκεν* pro *επηρεν*; 34 + *πλην* ante *εντολην*; 37 *−ο πετρος*; 38 *φωνησηι*; *αρνησηι* pro *απαρνησῃ*;

14. 2 (*υμιν*[1]) + *οτι*; 5 (*ειδεναι*) + *λεγει αυτωι* · · · · *ειδεναι* (add et del man 1); 7 *ηιδειτε* pro *εγνωκειτε*; 12 *−μου*; 14 *−εαν τι* · · · · · *ποιησω*; 17 *εστιν* pro *εσται*; 20 *και εγω*; 22 lacuna IIII pag, *σκαριωτης* ad *αυτος γαρ ο*, 16 27;

16. 33 *εχετε* pro *εξετε*;

17. 2 *δωσει αυτωι* pro *δωσῃ αυτοις*; 11 *ωι* pro *ους*; 17 *−σου* man 2 aut 3; 20 *πιστευοντων* pro *πιστευσοντων*;

18. 2 (συνηχθη) + και; 8 − ο; 11 − σου; 14 αποθανειν pro απολεσθαι; (λαου) + και μη ολον το εθνος απολητα; 16 ος pro ον; 25 (ηρνησατο) + ουν; 27 − σ; 28 πρωι pro πρωια; 29 (πιλατος) + εξω; 36 − ο¹;
19. 3 εδιδοσαν pro εδιδουν; 5 εχων pro φορων; 6 (σταυρωσον²) + αυτον; 7 θυ υιον pro υιον του θεου; 11 − ο¹; 12 (τουτου) + ουν; εκραυγαζον pro εκραζον; εαυτον pro αυτον²; 13 τουτων των λογων pro τουτον τον λογον; καπφαθα pro γαββαθα; 16 ηγαγον pro απηγαγον; 17 τοπον pro τον²; 20 ο τοπος της πολεως; 23 αραφος; 24 διεμερισαν pro διεμερισαντο; 26 − αυτου; 27 tr ο μαθητης αυτην; 31 − η; 32 − αυτῳ; 35 tr εστιν αυτου; (ινα) + και; 37 − λεγει; 38 − ο¹; − δε; 40 (αυτο) + εν;
20. 1 (ηρμενον) + απο της θυρας; − εκ; 11 τωι μνημειωι pro το μνημειον; 14 − ο; 17 πορευου (una lit eras ante ρ); 25 τους τυπους pro τον τυπον; (ηλων²) + και βαλω τον δακτυλον μου εις τον τυπον των ποδων; 26 − αυτου; (ερχεται) + ουν; 28 − ο¹; 29 − θωμα; (ιδοντες) + με; 30 − αυτου; 31 − ο¹;
21. 3 ενεβησαν pro ανεβησαν; 4 − ο; 11 (ανεβη) + ουν; 13 − ουν; 14 − αυτου; 15 − πλειον τουτων; 16-17 προβατια pro προβατα bis; 18 αλλοι pro αλλος; ζωσουσι pro ζωσει; 18 αποισουσιν pro οισει; 23 − τι προς σε; 25 − αμην; subscr ευαγγ$^{\hat{\epsilon}}$ κ$^{\hat{\tau}}$ ι$\hat{\omega}$; duo alia subscrip in ultima pag non leg.

The Exegesis of ἐνιαυτούς in Galatians 4 10 and its Bearing on the Date of the Epistle

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

GALATIANS 4 10 reads, *ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς*. It should be noted that Tischendorf, Baljon, and von Soden point the sentence as an interrogation, while Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort, the Revisers, and B. Weiss point it with a period. Why it should be pointed with an interrogation it is difficult to see. That there is a question in the preceding verse is clearly indicated by *πῶς*, but there is not only no word in verse 10 to indicate that a question is being asked, but to regard this sentence as a separate question, involves the whole Epistle in numerous and needless difficulties. Rhetorically a positive question is a negative assertion. Paul is surely not asserting here that the Galatians did not observe any of the Jewish sacred seasons, not even the sabbath, for that would be a concession on his part that they had not departed from "Christ unto a different gospel, which was not another gospel" as he asserts that they had (1 6, 7). Neither can it be supposed that Paul asked a question here in order to ascertain whether the Galatians actually observed the Jewish sacred seasons, for the indignation with which he writes clearly shows that he knew that they had actually gone over to a Judaistic form of Christianity. Nor can it be a sarcastic question, for Paul is not the man, when he had definite knowledge such as he must have had about a part of the matters included in this

question, to pretend that he had none.[1] The only justification that can consistently be found for making the verse a question is the supposition that a second πῶς is understood at its beginning. Just as in the preceding verse he had said, "Now that ye are known of God, how do ye turn again to the weak and beggarly elements?" he would then say here, "how [also] do ye observe days and months and seasons and years?" If this is the interpretation given to the passage by those editors who point it with an interrogation mark, they agree with the others that Paul asserts that the Galatians are keeping the Jewish sacred seasons.

Taking the words, then, as an assertion, they state that the Galatians observed "days", *i. e.* sabbaths, "months", *i. e.* the festivals of the new moon, "times", *i. e.* the stated Jewish feasts, καιρούς being the Greek word by which מוֹעֲדִים in Lev. 23 4 is translated. What, then, does "years" mean? Wieseler[2] as long ago as 1859 saw that it must have reference to a sabbatical year, and this view is also held by Hausrath.[3]

This obvious meaning of ἐνιαυτούς has, however, been rejected with great unanimity by modern interpreters. Bernhard Weiss[4] interprets μῆνας new moons, καιρούς, as other feasts, and ἐνιαυ-

[1] Meyer's contention (*Commentary on Galatians*, *ad loc.*), that the Galatians were not keeping the Jewish law, because they had not yet been circumcised, is not borne out by ch. 5 2, 3, 12, 6 12, 13 which he cites in its support. Paul's wish (5 12), that those who were preaching circumcision might circumcise the whole member off, has no bearing on the point. The future condition in 5 2 implies only that not all the Galatians had yet been circumcised. The positive statement of 5 3 implies that some of them were already submitting to circumcision, περιτεμνομένῳ = becoming circumcised (Burton, *N. Test. Moods and Tenses*. § 125). All that is implied in 6 12, 13 is that the process of Judaising was still in progress. These are just the conditions under which such a letter as the Epistle to the Galatians could be composed. Under any others, it would have been impossible. Some Galatians had been circumcised and were keeping the law, or there would have been no occasion for the letter; all had not yet done so, or to have written the letter would have been of no avail.

[2] In his commentary on Galatians, which is not accessible to me.

[3] *New Testament Times*, 1895, III, 188n.

[4] *Paulinische Briefe*, p. 347.

τούς as the new year's feast. This interpretation can easily be shown to be untenable. The Talmud, Rosh-hashana 1 2, enumerates the new year's feast along with Passover, the Feast of Weeks, and Tabernacles, counting the great feasts as four. In 1 3 it counts the great feasts of the year as six, here adding the Feast of the Dedication and Purim. According to Jewish usage, then, מוֹעֲדִים or καιρούς included the new year's festival. Paul had, accordingly, included that in καιρούς before he used the word ἐνιαυτούς, and it charges him with needless tautology to suppose that he referred to it twice. Moreover the feast of the new year was by no means of sufficient importance for Paul to single it out for special mention. It is neither mentioned in the Old Testament or the New, nor, so far as I have observed, in the Apocrypha, though according to Rosh-hashana 1 4 its observance antedated the destruction of the temple. For these reasons Weiss's interpretation must be rejected.

Lightfoot[5] alludes to the work of Wieseler, but dismisses it with the remark, that "the enumeration seems intended as general and exhaustive, and no special reference can be assumed". If the list is intended to be exhaustive rather than a list of real observances, by what witchery does the exegete ascertain the fact? If Paul were in the habit of making his lists exhaustive regardless of the appropriateness of their details, we would have to assume that "years" was added to this list just to make it exhaustive. But were such exhaustiveness a characteristic of his style, all his lists would be alike, when the subject is the same, but this is not the case. In Col. 2 16 he is treating of the same subject that he treats here, and uses the following language: μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω ἐν βρώσει καὶ ἐν πόσει ἢ ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς ἢ νουμηνίας ἢ σαββάτων. Here we have only three of the sacred seasons alluded to: the annual feasts, the new moons, and the sabbaths. In writing to the Colossians Paul was treating a comparatively academic matter; he was writing on a hearsay report to a church that he had never seen, and in the verse just quoted was laying down a general rule. Here, if anywhere, one might expect him to make his list exhaustive, but

[5] *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 171.

he does nothing of the kind.[6] It is only fair, then, to assume that in writing to the Galatians he used the word ἐνιαυτούς only because it corresponded to a real fact in the life of the Galatian churches.

This conviction is strengthened by the evidence which the first Epistle to the Corinthians affords. Paul, educated in the Jewish ritual, was sensitive to all its demands and religious suggestions. It is clear from 1 Cor. 16 8: "I will remain in Ephesus until Pentecost", that he was writing near the time of the Passover. This afforded, as many interpreters have noted, the suggestion of the figure of cleansing away the leaven of wickedness, and allusion to Christ as the Paschal Lamb[7] in ch. 5 6-8.

All these facts create a strong presumption that the reason why Paul mentions the sabbatical year in writing to the Galatians, and does not mention it when writing on the same theme

[6] An examination of other lists shows that we cannot assume that he ever wrote simply to make a list complete. Thus:

Gal. 5 19 f.	Rom. 1 29 f.	Rom. 13 13
πορνεία	πονηρία	κῶμοι
ακαθαρσία	πλεονεξία	μέθαι
ἀσέλγεια	κακία	κοῖται
εἰδωλολατρεία	φθόνος	ασέλγεια
φαρμακεία	φόνος	ἔρις
ἔχθραι	ἔρις	ζῆλος
ἔρεις	δόλος	
ζῆλοι	κακοήθεια	
θυμοί	ψιθυριστής	
ἐριθεῖαι		
διχοστασίαι		
αἱρέσεις		
φθόνοι		
φόνοι		
μέθαι		
κῶμοι		

Neither of these lists is exhaustive when measured by the others. Zahn's contention (*Brief des Paulus an die Galater*, 1907, p. 211), that no real observance of the sabbatical year is referred to, but that Paul only means that the Galatians have entered upon a course that would lead to such observance is, therefore, improbable though he is right in calling ἐνιαυτούς a "plural of category".

[7] So, for example, Meyer, Weiss, and Findlay in *Expositor's Greek Test.*

to the Colossians, is that, when he wrote to the Galatians, a sabbatical year was in progress, or had just passed, and, when he wrote to the Colossians, the sabbatical year had passed so long ago, that it did not occur to his mind.[8]

Another consideration makes it probable that ἐνιαυτούς refers to a real observance of the sabbatical year on the part of the Galatians. Indignant though Paul was with them for believing the slanders that had been uttered against his apostleship, he nevertheless wished to win them back to a non-Judaic type of Christianity. It is accordingly hardly to be supposed that one, who made it a practice to "become all things to all men that he might by all means save some", was so tactless in this case as to unnecessarily anger the Galatians by attributing to them a fault of which they were not guilty. To run the risk of further estranging them through their natural resentment of an unjust charge–a charge, too, made just to round out a sentence sonorously–is to credit Paul with less self-control on this occasion than he showed at any other point in his career of which we have record.

We are thus compelled to conclude that Wieseler and Hausrath are in all probability right in seeing in ἐνιαυτούς a chronological datum.

Such a definite chronological datum is most welcome, for in recent years a wide divergence of opinion has developed as to the time of the composition of Galatians. It is generally agreed by scholars, on the basis of Gal. 4 13 that Paul had made two visits to Galatia when this Epistle was written, but since the South Galatian theory has become popular, there is no agreement as to when these visits occurred. Lightfoot[9] and Steinmann[10] regard the two visits to Galatia as those of Acts 16 6 and 18 23 and so reach a date later than the year 54. Lightfoot, indeed, dates it in 57, but his removal of it so far from the year 54 is on account of its likeness to the Epistle to the

[8] As shown below a sabbatical year fell in 53-54, and in 60 61. If Colossians were written about 63, it would be sufficiently long after the sabbatical year for that not to be vividly present in the Apostle's mind.

[9] *Galatians*, p. 171.

[10] *Leserkreis des Galaterbriefes*, 1908, p. 231.

Romans. McGiffert[11] and Lake,[12] who hold the South Galatian theory, regard the two visits as those mentioned in Acts 13 14 ff. and 14 20 ff., and believe that the Epistle was written from Antioch. Lake believes that it was written just before Paul started for the Apostolic Council described in Acts 15, while McGiffert thinks it was written just after it. McGiffert dates the Apostolic Council in 45 or 46 A. D., thus making the Epistle very early.[13]

Zahn[14] and Bacon,[15] one an advocate of the pan-Galatian theory, the other of the South Galatian, hold that the two visits are those of Acts 13 14 ff. and 16 6 and believe that the Epistle was written during Paul's residence at Corinth during the years 52 or 53.[16] These examples indicate sufficiently the impossibility of dating the Epistle from its references to Paul's visits to Galatia, though a far larger number of divergent opinions might be cited.[17]

If, however, the Galatians observed a sabbatical year about the time the Epistle to them was composed, it is possible to reach a definite opinion as to the date. It is stated in 1 Macc. (cf. 6 16 with 6 49, 53) that a sabbatical year fell in the 149th year of the Seleucid era. This 149th year began in the spring of 164 B. C. It is stated in the Talmud (Rosh-hashana 8 a), that the sabbatical year began with the month Tishri (Oct.-Nov.). It follows, then, that this sabbatical year extended from the autumn of 164 to the autumn of 163 B. C.

Josephus states twice (*Antiq.* 14: 16 2, 15: 2), that, when Herod,

[11] *Apostolic Age*, 226 f.

[12] *Earlier Epistle of Paul*, pp. 265-304.

[13] The inscription from Delphi, which fixes the proconsulship of Gallio in 51-52 A. D. (see Deissmann's *St. Paul*, 235-260) proves the chronology of Harnack and McGiffert to be too early. The Apostolic Council must have occurred in 48 or 49 A. D.

[14] *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, I, 138-141.

[15] *Commentary on the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians*, 25 ff.

[16] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and Rom. Citizen*, 191, holds that the Epistle was written from Antioch in the summer of the year 53, just before Paul started on his third missionavy journey. Ramsay follows a chronology of his own. To suppose that he wrote it just as he was going to visit them is not in harmony with Gal. 4 20.

[17] Cf. Moffat, *Introduction to the New Test.*, p. 101 f. for other opinions.

the Great, besieged and captured Jerusalem and thus began his reign, a sabbatical year was in progress. It follows, therefore, that the year 38-37 B. C. was a year of rest. This fits in exactly with the proper succession of such years, counting from the year 164-163.

There is, however, some doubt about this succession for the year 136-135. According to 1 Mac. 16 14 Simon, the Maccabee, was assassinated by his son-in-law, Ptolemy, in the month Shebat (Jan.-Feb.) of the 177th year of Seleucid era, *i. e.* Jan.-Feb. of the year 135 B. C. Josephus twice states (*Antiq.* 13 : 8 1 and BJ 1 : 2 4) that the war between John Hyrcanus and Ptolemy which followed dragged along, apparently for some months, until the sabbatical year came on when they were compelled to stop hostilities. This would seem to show that the sabbatical year fell in 135-134 B. C., a year later than it should have come.[18]

Two considerations make one hesitate to draw this conclusion. Josephus is frequently in error, and his statement, that the sabbatical year compelled Hyrcanus to raise his siege of Ptolemy, implies that in a sabbatical year active labor had to stop as it did on a sabbath day, whereas it was only the land that had rest from tillage. It seems possible that Josephus, knowing that a sabbatical year occurred about this time, may have dated it a year too late, and wrongly associated it with the raising of the siege.[19]

Schürer (p. 36) seems puzzled by the fact that a statement of Josephus (*Antiq.* 18 : 8 3) seems to show that 40-41 A. D. was not a sabbatical year; he thinks that on this cycle it should be. On this cycle, however, the sabbatical year would be 39-40. In

[18] Cf. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 1901, p. 35, n.

[19] It is, of course, possible, that the mistake is in the text of Maccabees. As the war with Ptolemy must, if Simon was put to death before the sabbatical year, have extended into the 177th year of the Seleucid era, possibly the date of Simon's death was accidentally made a year too late. The author of 1 Maccabees was, however, a more careful historian than Josephus, and stood nearly 200 years nearer to the events; the error is not likely, therefore, to have been his. Wieseler endeavors to evade the difficulty by supposing that the Seleucid year began, like the Roman, with Jan., but that cannot be established.

view of this fact the statement of Josephus, that the Jews continued to fight Petronius, the representative of Caligula, even when the time for sowing came, thus leaving their fields untilled, gives all the greater emphasis to their religious zeal. The previous year they had had no crop because of the sabbatical year, and still they left their fields untilled.

So far as our data go, then, they establish a definite cycle of sabbatical years. The doubt about 136-135 is not sufficient to disprove the cycle. According to this cycle the year 53-54 A. D. was such a year.[20] Probably, therefore, the Epistle to the Galatians was written in the year 54 or 55.[21]

If thus the date of the Epistle is fixed, it remains to ask where Paul was at this time. The fragmentary inscription from Delphi, which has been made accessible in the last two years, necessitates a slight revision of the generally accepted chronology of this part of Paul's life. It is probable from that inscription that Gallio became proconsul in Corinth in the summer of the year 51, and Paul had been preaching in Corinth for some time before this (Acts 18 1-12). Deissmann[22] thinks, as does O. Holtzmann, that the text of Acts implies that Paul had been in Corinth eighteen months before Gallio came. Even, if the whole eighteen months had not passed, the text of Acts would imply that a considerable portion of that period had elapsed before the coming of Gallio. Paul could not, accordingly, have reached Corinth later than the summer of the year 50, and it may have been earlier. The eighteen months of his stay must have ended before the close of the year 51, and he may, as Deissmann thinks, have left Corinth as early as August or September of that year. Allowing time for his voyage to Syria and his visit to Jerusalem (Acts 18 18-22) the summer of the year 52 would find him travell-

[20] Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien*, p. 204, to whose calculation of the sabbatical years Lightfoot, Ramsay, and Zahn all refer, makes the sabbatical years one year too late. He counted the starting point of his argument in 1 Macc. 6 incorrectly. This he afterward corrected.

[21] Sabbatical years began in the autumn of the following years: 164, 157, 150, 143, 136, 129, 122, 115, 108, 101, 94, 87, 80, 73, 66, 59, 52, 54, 45, 38, 31, 24, 17, 10, 3, 4 A. D. 11, 18, 25, 32, 39, 46, 53, 60 and 67.

[22] See Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 257.

ing through Galatia again (18 23), and by the autumn of 52 he was settled in Ephesus for his three years sojourn there. We conclude, accordingly, that the letter was written from Ephesus toward the close of the year 54 or the beginning of 55 A. D.

These results agree with those of Gregory, who, on other grounds, thinks the Epistle was composed during Paul's three years of residence at Ephesus.[23]

[23] *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 662.

Studies in the Diction of the Psalter

Fourth Article

WALDO S. PRATT
HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

IF the method of analysis followed in the first three articles in this series has validity, it evidently should be still further extended, particularly with the hope of bringing to light some of the minor strains of expression that are found in the Psalter. The purpose of the present article is to indicate two of these natural extensions of the method.

Psalm 119 stands out in the Psalter as not only the longest and the most rigidly artificial of the poems (as to form), but as somewhat singular in contents and spirit. It is an elaborate acrostic, made up of eight-line strophes, each line within a strophe beginning with the same letter, and the strophes following each other till all the letters of the alphabet have been used ($22 \times 8 = 176$ lines or "verses"). As is generally known, there is also a fairly sustained effort to repeat certain terms at approximately equal intervals throughout the poem, the cycle of repetition usually corresponding to the strophes. Almost every line contains some term like "word", "law", "commandment" and the like, all being expressions referring to the authoritative revelation of God's will for the practical guidance of His "servants" in "the way" of right belief and conduct. The poem, then, is an extraordinary proclamation of loyalty to the Word of God, probably as set forth in Scriptures.

The prevailing tone is that of orthodoxy, absolutely certain of the rightness of its views, and strenuous in asserting and defending them. Through it runs, also, a vein of complaint over the malice and hostility of opponents. This latter has much similarity with the plaintiveness of the D poems (see second article), but seems not to be organically the same. In D there is no such constant exaltation of "the Law" or

any particular literary deposit, and the complaints there are more specifically social in character. The speaker in 119 is apparently an individual, though we cannot help supposing that he represents a class. If so, it suggests the group of literalists among whom typical Rabbinism was developed, though this poem is not as jejune and fantastic as mature Rabbinism often was.

The formal regularity of the poem practically forces us to consider it a literary unit, though in an acrostic it is always possible that there are materials incorporated that antedate the time of final composition. In this case, however, there is no reason for emphasizing this qualification.

In view of the peculiar character and form of this poem, with its remarkable length (1064 words, or about 5.6% of the whole Psalter), we may well use it as a means of testing whether lexically it represents a considerable strain of sentiment and utterance running through the total collection.

For this purpose we follow the same method as in our previous studies. We first inquire which of the "common" or "moderately rare" words in the Psalter vocabulary show a decided "preference" for this poem. The following list includes 35 "common" words, 10% or more of all whose occurrences are in 119, 25 "moderately rare" words, 20% or more of whose occurrences are there, and 2 "rare" words that are extraordinarily characteristic of 119:

Test-List Derived from 119.

אבד	12	זר	75	משפט	35	פַּחַד	20
אהב	21	זהב	26	נבט	13	פקוד	88
אור v.	13	חָיָה	53	נחם	25	צָרַף	25
אמונה	23	חק	70	נטה	14	צוה	13
אמרה	73	חרפה	10	נצר	42	קָרַב	25
אמת	11	יחל	32	סור	23	רדף	25
אני	13	ירה	25	עָבַד	26	שוש	29
ארח	33	כלה	18	עדה	74	שִׂיחַ	43
בָּגַד	20	כן adv.	14	עדות	69	שׂר	22
בוש	18	כף	10	עזב	14	שָׂכַח	28
בִּין	40	לב	14	עָוַר	18	שמר	30
דבק	25	למד	50	ענה I.	10	שָׁקַר	38
דָּבָר	36	מאד	26	ענה II.	29	תורה	69
דָּרַךְ	20	מען	13	עָנִי	30	תמיד	13
דרשׁ	21	מצא	11	עשק	33		
היא	29	מצוה	85	פֶּה	11		

In each case the figures indicate the percentage of the word's occurrences in 119 compared with its total occurrences in the Psalter.

These 67 words together occur about 480 times in 119, being 45% of its total text. In the whole Psalter they occur about 1665 times, being nearly 9% of its text.

For the most part this list differs from those previously noted. It includes from the L list (1913, p. 92) חיה, משפט, עזר, ענה I; from the D list (1913, p. 161) אבד, בוש, דרש, לב, מעז, ענה I, פה, רדף, שקר; from the E list (1914, p. 2) אור, חרפה, כלה, כן, פה, צוה. Evidently, then, it points toward a distinct usage of thought and expression.

For convenience, this list will be called P.

Assuming that these words offer a clue to a particular strain or style of writing in the Psalter, we inquire next as to their distribution among the several poems. If 119 is a striking example of a special type, what other poems are lexically most like it? This question is brought in at this point (as heretofore in these Studies), before noting what usages of the words are most characteristic of 119, simply that the statement may be as little affected as possible by whatever subjective opinions are brought into play in determining what the characteristic usages are. To save space, only the extreme parts of the full summary are given, namely, those poems in which these words are relatively many, and those in which they are few or wanting:

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
(Many)	25	—	—	—	—
	17, 19	—	—	—	143
	1	71	—	—	130
	9, 13	—	86	97	—
	27, 31, 39	45, 70	—	105	121, 125
	10, 33, 37, 38	69	—	99	116, 141
	6, 34, 40	—	—	101	111, 112, 127, 138, 142, 146
(Few)	3	43, 62, 66	—	96, 106	—
	24	60, 68	87	100	113, 115, 126, 149
	—	—	—	95, 104	136
(None)	29	—	—	—	114, 124, 150

Note that all the alphabetic poems have many of these words, except 145; as a group, they are much stronger than any other. Next, as groups, come D^1, D^3, the "royal" poems, K^1, E, D^2, A, K^2. Of the longer historical poems, 105 alone has many, while 106 has few. The only "royal" poem that is strong is 45, which is also the only strong poem in K.

Note, also, that if we consider the sections of the most divisible poems, several of these sections would appear above. Thus (using

the sections as in 1913, p. 103) decidedly strong sections are 18c, 19b, 22ab, 27b, 28b, 36a, 44b, 50b, 89acd, 90b, 102ac, 109b, 144a. Sections with none of these words are 18a, 60ac, 144b.

The poems and parts of poems here counted as strong constitute about one-half of Bk. I; less than one-quarter of Bk. II; less than one-eighth of Bk. III; somewhat over one-quarter of Bk. IV; over one-fifth of Bk. V (exclusive of 119 itself). The strength of Bk. I is extremely noticeable.

The next step is to observe that most of the words in the test-list appear in 119 only in certain specific senses, which need now to be isolated. Below is a concise summary, grouping the words in a simple classification, which in most cases indicates the meaning emphasized, and stating the number of times this meaning occurs both in 119 and in other poems (thus "25/10" means that the word in the preferred meaning occurs 25 times in 119 and 10 times in non-119):

The outstanding feature of 119 is the constant repetition of terms for God's thought or will as set forth in formal, literary ways. The identification of Yahweh with "the Law" is close, references to His attributes or actions being mingled with expressions about revealed truth without much distinction. Seven terms recur with studied regularity in almost every strophe, namely, תורה, 25/10; דבר, 23/23; מצוה, 22/4; משפט, 21/34; חק, 21/8; פקוד, 21/3; אמרה, 19/6—all but the last being similarly common in Deut.[1] With these stand עדה, 16/5; ערות, 9/4; דרך, 7/24; ארח, 1/5; פה, 3/4; and also צדק, 11/23; אמונה, 5/17; אמת, 4/29. Verbs of God's action, often in direct relation to His "word", include חיה, 16/12; למד, 12/10; ירה, "teach", 2/5; עזר, 3/11; נחם, 3/5; ענה I, 2/34; ציה, 2/9; אור, 2/9; עזב, 1/12. Taken together, these occurrences foot up 249/306. If they were relatively as frequent elsewhere as in 119, they would appear at least 4500 times in non-119.

Correlative with these are many terms referring to the speaker as he regards divine truth or the righteous "way" of conduct deducible from it. These are largely verbs—שמר, 21/12; אהב, 12/6; בין, 10/10; נצר, 10/3; שכח (usually negative), 9/9; יהל, 6/13; שית, 6/7; דרש, 5/12; בוש, 5/10; נטה, 4/3; סור, 3/10; כלה (in desire), 3/6; דבק, 2/2; נבט, 2/1; עזב (negative), 2/1; שוש, 2/4; ענה, "sing", 1/1; פחד, 1/4; קרב, 1/1; but also such nouns as עבד, 13/28; דרך, 5/12; ארח, 4/0; לב, 13/60; פה, 4/22; כף, 2/7; and the adverb of constancy, תמיד, 2/14. Interwoven with these are words referring to the opponents and evils by which the devout are assailed—שקר, 8/12; זד, 6/2; רדף, 5/9; ענה II, 4/10; עני, 3/7; חרפה (subjective), 2/12; שר, 2/7; עשק, 2/4; אבד, 2/3; בגד, 1/4; קרב (of

[1] Briggs also counts עדה in this series.

hostility), 1/1. These occurrences foot up 184/328. If these usages were as frequent elsewhere as in 119, they would appear about 3300 times in non-119.

A few usages may be added that may be stylistic—זהב (in simile), 2/1; על־כן or לכן, 5/13; עד־מאד, 4/2; מעון, illative, 4/10. אני is frequent (11 times), but without distinctive usage; this, with הוא and מצא (use undistinctive), is omitted from reckoning.

The sum of all these usages is 448/690; they form nearly 42% of 119, being proportionally more than ten times as frequent there as in the rest of the Psalter.

When these preferred usages are traced in non-119, they point to the following poems as lexically the nearest relatives of 119: 1, 7, 9, 13, 19, 25, 27, 33, 34, 37, 40; 44, 54, 69, 70, 71; 85, 86; 99, 101, 105; 111, 117, 130, 131, 138, 143, 147. They are but slightly found in 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 21, 24, 41; 46, 49, 52, 55, 59, 60, 62, 65, 68; 76, 79, 80, 84; 90, 92, 93, 95, 96, 100, 106; 107, 110, 113, 115, 116, 122, 126, 127, 128, 135, 139, 144. They are wholly absent from 8, 15, 29; 47, 58; 74, 75, 83, 87; 104; 114, 121, 123, 124, 129, 136, 137, 140, 150.

As regards groups of poems, the alphabetic group is by far the strongest (except 145), with D^1 and D^3, while A and K^1 are the weakest. As regards sections of poems, these words are found in 18 almost wholly in cd, in 19 wholly in b, in 22 one-half in a, in 27 mostly in b, in 28 wholly in b, in 90 wholly in b, in 109 mostly in b, and in 144 wholly in a.

So far as these lexical data go, it is evident that 119 has a singularly slight connection with the E element in the Psalter, but is closely related to D (so far as not included in E). The intertwining is so intimate as to raise the question whether P is not a special expansion of the characteristic sentiments of D.

There are two obvious objections to this identification. In D there is no frequent reference to "the Law" or what it stands for, except in poems that may be merely included in the total D collection without properly belonging to it. And in D generally the emphasis falls on the speaker's distress, with his acute sense of injustice and his passionate desire for relief (or vengeance), while in P it falls on his delight and confidence in communion with God through His word, an experience that pushes the sense of distress into the background.

In view of the apparent connection in texture between all the alphabetic poems (except 145) and of their difference as

a class from the D material in which several of them are imbedded, it is natural to infer that P represents either an earlier or a later stage of expression than D, but in either case a stage rather vitally connected with that of D. If P is earlier, then 9-10, 25, 34, 37 are vestiges of a style no longer dominant. If P is later, then these poems are interpolations in the D series. Considering the occurrence in Bk. V of 111, 112, 119, 145, the latter hypothesis is the simpler. In any case P illustrates the spirit of the synagogue rather than that of the Temple.

There are several other groups or series of poems that might be subjected to the same analysis as the foregoing, and the results are not without interest. But, rather than prolong the present discussion further, we shall content ourselves here with but one more special problem, namely, that of the so-called "royal" poems.

The "royal" group derives its name from the fact that in most of them the word "king" is used in a special sense; with this word "David" or "anointed" (משיח) is often associated, so that these also are used as means of identification. The poems usually counted in the group are rather curiously distributed—2, 18, 20, 21 in Bk. I; 45, 61, 63, 72 in Bk. II; 89 in Bk. III; 110, 132 in Bk. V. They have considerable differences among themselves, and yet they are also connected by marked resemblances in many details, so that it is not strange that they are usually thought to have had some common origin, or, at least, to represent a particular tendency of thought.

If a test-list is prepared of the words that show a preference for these poems, it proves to have some interest, especially as it brings into view about 30 words that have not occurred in the lists already presented. But, on the whole, the list seems hardly worth dwelling upon at length, since its implications are not so clear as those of other lists.

Using the list as a guide, we should find that the only poems, outside of the group, that are very strong in the words of the list are 144 (related to 18), 149; besides these, 8, 12, 13, 16, 24, 28, 46, 47, 48, 75, 93, 95, 97, 127, 128, 138, 145 are somewhat strong. On the

other hand, 19, 23, 38, 40, 55, 58, 70, 82, 104, 124, 142 are very weak, and 117, 129, 133 are barren. Among sections of poems, 27a, 29a, 36b, 90a are strong.

More useful results appear if we attack the problem in a different way. The crucial question is as to the force of the words "king", "David" and "anointed". But this can be approached only after some more general points have been touched upon.

There is some reason for connecting the group with the "David" series, either because the poems bear a "David" title or stand near to those that have such title.

Of the eleven poems, six are assigned to "David" (18, 20, 21, 61, 63, 110). Note, also, that 2 stands just before the long D series of Bk. I and may in some way belong to it (as hinted by some readings of Acts 13:33); that 72 stands close to the end of the D series in Bk. II and is followed by the remarkable colophon which closes that Book; and that 132 stands between two poems with "David" titles.

More important than this is the position of several of the poems. Two of them (72, 89) stand at the end of "books" in the completed Psalter, and both of these bear peculiar titles. If Bks. II-III were built up gradually, the presumption is that their final poems are comparatively late. As already noted, 2 appears to be in some way prefatory to the series that follows, and so, like 1, may well be later than that to which it is prefixed. 110 is the last of a small group of "David" poems in Bk. IV (108-110). 132, with 133, 134, which are linked with it by peculiar references to the priestly office (not found in preceding poems), is one of the last of the so-called "Songs of Ascents".

In the light of these phenomena, the location of 18, 20, 21, together with 19 (which, in its present form, seems to be late), opens up the question whether Bk. I may perhaps be made up of more than one division, so that these four poems may be addenda to a series that was once distinct from what follows. Some such stratification in Bk. I is hinted at by other facts—which, however, cannot well be taken up here.

Still more important, again, is the question whether any of the poems are composite. The longer ones (18, 89) are certainly made up of highly diverse sections, and in several

other cases there are peculiar details of rhetorical arrangement. If it were true in any cases that the verses containing "royal" references are not of the same texture as the rest of the poems in which they are found, it might have important bearings on their interpretation. At all events, each poem requires adequate scrutiny before being accepted entire into the "royal" list. Connected with this question is that of discovering any poems or passages outside of the usual "royal" list that present such similarities as presumably to be reckoned with that list. The determination of such additional materials may not be easy; but an effort in this direction should be made, if there is any likelihood of its yielding results. This critical survey of the field may seem superfluous in view of the very extensive literature on the subject. Yet the relation of the facts to the general line of argument in these Studies seems to warrant some reëxamination of the evidence.

For convenience, we shall take up the critical terms first, allowing the questions thus far suggested to develop in the process of the discussion.

Regarding the term "David" the question is whether it is used literally, of the personal David, as in Sam., Kgs. and Chr., or in some figurative sense, as seems to be the case in a few passages in the Prophets, as well as, presumably, in the Psalter titles. All of the Psalter references appear to depend upon II Sam. 7, and the natural inference from their form and context is that they all have the personal David in view more or less definitely. It may be, however, that the name "David" brings with it some degree of typical force, due to the fact that the historical narratives, being accepted as "Scripture", had acquired such a force as wholes. But of this we cannot be sure. It is simpler to assume that in the Psalter "David" always means the historical person.

"David" occurs 12 times—18:51; 78:70; 89:4, 21, 36, 50; 122:5; 132:1, 10, 11, 17; 144:10. In 5 of these there is also the epithet "servant". The Davidic line, under the terms "seed", "house" or "fruit of the body", is specified in 5 cases. Of the three references outside the "royal" list, note that 144:10 probably depends on 18:51, though it has a very different form; that 78:70 may have a close

relation to 89, as will be discussed at a later point; and that 122:5 may be related to 132.

Considering the emphasis upon David in the longer historical books, it is somewhat remarkable how few are the references to him elsewhere. Ezr. and Neh. have some topographical and liturgical allusions like those of Chr. (see also Cant. 4:4; Am. 6:5). The "city" or "tent" of David is mentioned in Is. 16:5; 22:9; 29:1; Am. 9:11. The Davidic "house" or "throne" occurs 4 times in Is., 8 times in Jer., 5 times in Zech. The epithet "servant" is found in Jer. 33 and Ezk. 34 and 37. A figurative sense seems necessary in Is. 55:3; Jer. 23:5; 30:9; 33:15; Ezk. 34:23, 25; Hos. 3:5. "David" in these represents an ideal conception—either the kingly office in the abstract, or the theocratic genius of Israel as a nation. Of these ideal conceptions there is no certain trace in the Psalter in connection with the name "David".

Regarding the term "anointed" the question is whether it is used individually, of David or some other person, or collectively, of Israel as containing the Davidic line and inheriting the Davidic promises. Since in Sam. it is frequently used of Saul and David (and in Is. 45 of Cyrus), it is natural to expect that in the Psalter it will be applied to an individual; and as in the Psalter it usually occurs in connection with "David" or "the king", it is also natural to assume that it is a synonym for one or both of these. There is reason, however, for doubting its equivalence with "David", and, if it is equivalent to "the king", it does not follow that its force must be individual. The trend of the evidence seems to be in favor of a collective meaning, being a name adopted by the nation or its more devout representatives.

"Anointed" occurs in the singular 9 times—2:2; 18:51; 20:7; 28:8; 84:10; 89:39, 52; 132:10, 17; and in the plural once—105:15, of Israel as a whole. In 132:10, "For Thy servant David's sake turn not away the face of Thine anointed", it is clear that a distinction is made between "David" and the "anointed" (cf. II Chr. 6:42); and probably a similar distinction underlies 132:17. So in 89:39, 52 the whole point of the argument depends upon assuming that the speaker, who seems to identify himself with the "anointed", is looking back to David as wholly distinct from himself and far removed from his times. In 2, 20, 28, 84 "anointed" is very closely connected with plurals in the context, thus implying that it is collective. In 18:51 all the three critical words occur together; here "king" and "anointed" are in parallel, and the two seem to be

synonymous with the collective phrase "David and his seed" (i. e., Israel).

Verbs of "anointing" occur in 2:6; 23:5; 45:8; 89:21; 92:11. In 89 the reference is to the personal David. In 2 and 45 the interpretation depends upon that of "the king". In 23 and 92 the allusion may be merely to festal customs; but, on the other hand, both poems may be interpreted collectively (92 can hardly be taken otherwise).

"Anointed" is very rare except in Sam. and Pss.—only in Lev. 4:3, 5, 16; 6:22 (all of priests); Is. 45:1 (of Cyrus); I Sam. 2:10, 35; Lam. 4:20; Hab. 3:13 (in all four cases almost certainly of Israel).

Regarding the term "king" three different interpretations are possible. First, it may refer to an actual, historic individual who was officially in power, as before the Exile, or during the Maccabaean period, or, just possibly, at an intermediate time, when some leader appealed to the national imagination. Second, it may refer to an ideal, future personage, conceived as embodying and fulfilling the "Messianic" hope. Third, it may refer to the nation as a whole, regarded as in some way set apart by God to be a leader among the nations of the world. The first would be analogous to the usage of "David" in the Psalter; the third would be analogous to the usage of "anointed"; the second would have analogies with both usages at once. Which of the three is chosen must depend upon a minute scrutiny of the poems, including not only a study of the expressions directly connected with "the king", but also some consideration of the probable integrity of the poems as they come to us.

"The king", in the singular and absolutely, and not applied to God, occurs 15-16 times—2:6; 18:51; 21:2, 8; 33:16; 45:2, 6, 12, 14, 15, 16; 61:7; 63:12; 72:1 (bis); 89:19?; with two cases in which the reference probably is to God—20:10; 99:4. (The references to *God* as King, which are not here considered, are 5:3; 10:16; 14:7-10; 29:10; 44:5; 47:3, 7, 8; 48:3; 68:25; 74:12; 84:4; 95:3; 98:6; 145:1; 149:2.)

Rulership is predicated of "the king" in 72:2, 4; 110:6; and various insignia are named, such as "throne" in 45:7?; 89:5, 30, 37, 45; 132:11, 12; "crown" in 21:4; 89:40; 132:18; "scepter" or "rod" in 2:9; 45:7; 110:2; and the figurative "horn" in 89:18, 25; 132:17. "Kingdom" occurs in 45:7. These words suggest links with 92, 122, etc. Most or all of them are also often applied to God,

thus strengthening the view that "the king" tends to be invested with divine attributes. Such attributes are conspicuous in 45 and 72 (links with 8, 84, 112, etc.)

Before looking at the poems one by one we may remark that they consist of four or five rhetorical forms of expression, namely, (a) Description, the statement of objective facts without reference by the writer to himself; (b) Personation, in which God, "the king" or others are represented as speaking (this being really a subdivision under the preceding); (c) Experience, in which the writer describes events or feelings as directly concerning himself; (d) Address, in which the writer speaks vocatively to a hearer, as to "the king" or others; (e) Prayer or Praise, in which God is thus addressed. All these rhetorical forms are common throughout the Psalter, but in the "royal" poems the relatively large amount of Personation and Address often gives them a marked dramatical force, while the strongly descriptive tone also allies them with the historical and narrative poems generally.

The dramatic citation of the words of God in 2, 89, 110, 132 calls attention to the fact that the number of such passages in the Psalter is not large, and that there are curious links between those that occur, suggesting that they represent somehow a common literary tradition. Setting aside the brief phrases of 27 : 8; 35 : 3; 87 : 6; 90 : 3, with the obscure passages in 32 and 60 = 108, every one of the remaining cases (12 : 6; 46 : 11; 50 : 5-23; 68 : 23-24; 75 : 3-4; 81 : 7-17; 91 : 14-16; 95 : 8-11; 105 : 11, 15) has some feature or quality that reminds us of expressions in the "royal" poems. Without taking space to discuss these at length, note especially the closing section of 91, which seems almost like a fragment of a "royal" poem. In general, the evident direction or application of these divine declarations, which is regularly to Israel as a nation, may have significance as to how "the king" is to be understood.

We may well take up first the two longer poems, 18 and 89, both of which contain sections that do not seem entirely homogeneous, although welded into an apparent unity. In both of these the word "king" occurs but once, but in 18 it is possible that its implicit force pervades at least half of the poem, if not the whole; in 89 it is certain that two-thirds of the poem are concerned with topics in the "royal" circle. Both of these poems have much critical importance, 18 because

it appears both in the Psalter and in the appendix to II Sam., and 89 because of its probable relation to the historical poems generally. Yet neither of them is likely to be selected as the most typical of the "royal" series, since as wholes they are not as vivid in characterization as some others. This very fact, however, may increase their value as evidence regarding the inherent nature of the conceptions that underlie the "royal" cycle.

In 18, "king" occurs only in v. 51, in parallel with "anointed", and the two in apposition with "David and his seed", both being linked with Yahweh by a possessive (cf. 2:6). This being a final verse and following a highly liturgical verse (introduced by על־כן), which much resembles closing antiphons in 7, 21, 30, 45, 52, &c., we naturally inquire whether both verses belong with what precedes, or but one of them, or neither of them.

We shall assume that the two verses cannot well be separated from each other, though they may not have had exactly the same origin. The probability is that they were not originally parts of the preceding poem. If not, however, they were added as in some effective way completing the preceding thought. Instead of interpreting the whole poem by means of these concluding verses, the only safe exegesis is to interpret them by means of the sense of the poem as it stands without them. Furthermore, with them is to be associated the opening of the poem (vv. 2-3 or 2-4), which has the same lexical texture as v. 50—a texture not found anywhere in the body of the poem.

The main poem, without its present introduction and conclusion, consists of at least three large sections, (a) vv. 4-20, recounting an experience of distress which was the occasion of a signal divine intervention, depicted under the figure of a theophany; (b) vv. 21-27, asserting that this intervention was occasioned by the essential worth or merit of the speaker; (c) vv. 28-49, declaring, on the one hand, the speaker's confidence in God's support, and, on the other, his complete triumph over opponents. The entire poem is cast in the first person singular, except for two slight touches (vv. 28, 32), but with one long piece of objective description (vv. 8-16, with v. 31). The question is as to whether "I" is a literal individual or in some degree collective. The analogy of Hab. 3, with various passages in the Psalter, indicates that the theophany passage refers to Israel, its germ being the memory of the Exodus. Similarly, the almost unconscious references in vv. 28 and 32 to "the afflicted people" and "our God", and the more positive claims of general supremacy in vv. 44-46, 48, with the general analogy of some equally militant passages in other poems, favor the presumption that the third section

is much more national than individual. With this it is easy to harmonize the middle section, which, by itself, is open to either a personal or a national interpretation. But this middle section bears clear marks of the style specially represented in the Psalter by 119, a style relatively late and associated with the orthodoxy of the class that regarded itself as the true Israel. The completed poem cannot be earlier than the period of this section, and its unifying thought cannot have been originally other than that of its several constituent parts. Hence we conclude that the whole was originally national in general intention. It may even have been once expressed in the plural number. But its adaptation to the story of David was easy, and thus it could be appended to II Sam.

If, now, we note the parallellism in v. 51 of "anointed" and "king", the interlocking of vv. 50-51, and the touch of indefinite perpetuity at the close, the conclusion is natural that "king" here means Israel.

In 89, "king" occurs only in v. 19, in an ambiguous construction. If, with "shield", it is an epithet of Yahweh, the passage falls outside of our present discussion. If, as probably ordinary usage would suggest, it means that both "shield" and "king" "belong to" Yahweh, then the question is as to the connection and meaning. For myself, though admitting that the line would naturally be read in the latter way, I cannot help querying whether the sense is not, "For to Yahweh belongs *the title* our Shield, and to the Holy One of Israel *the title* our King", simply because this seems to be more analogous to various similar passages in which these epithets are thus applied. I do not think that the contention is well founded that "shield" is a metaphor for "king", in spite of the inferences often drawn from 47:10; 84:10. However, since many critics are positive that "king" here does *not* refer to God, we will assume their point of view far enough to see to what it may lead.

The poem as a whole obviously divides into three sections: (a) vv. 2-3, 6-15 (or 6-19), a rather general tribute of praise to Yahweh the Almighty; (b) vv. 20-37, with 4-5, a striking amplification of II Sam. 7—the covenant with David as set forth by Nathan; (c) vv. 39-52, a vehement protest that this covenant has been broken in later times. These sections differ in texture. The first and second are further distinguished by a change of meter, as well as of topic and diction. Certain features in the second section provoke the question whether this may not be essentially a prolongation of the historic poem 78. That poem breaks off abruptly. This takes up the story at exactly the point there reached, and opens with a "then" which implies that there was some antecedent narrative. If this section is in any way to be associated with the historical poems, then it appears here as a sort of text or theme, upon which the

third section proceeds to dilate in accordance with the contradictory situation in which the writer finds himself—a situation that almost certainly belongs to the Exile.

Does v. 19 belong with the first section or with the second, or is it, perchance, part of a harmonizing inset connecting the two? For us here the question is important only if answered in favor of the second or third alternatives. Even then we may doubt whether "our king" means much more than "rulership among us". (We may note, by the way, that the possessive "our", with "king", is common only in address to God; of human rulers it occurs only in I Sam. 8:20; II Sam. 19:44; Hos. 7:5.)

In the light of these considerations, we may safely say that 89 does not give much positive help about the meaning of "king" in other poems.

The three other poems (2, 61, 63) in which "king" occurs but once are somewhat more illuminating. Yet in two of them there is some uncertainty whether the present text is not composite. Even if we do not allow the possibility of this, we can hardly be sure that an individual is meant. Rather, on the whole, close analysis favors a collective, national interpretation. Of the three, 2 is the most significant.

In 63, "king" occurs only in v. 12, in a phrase that is in a way curiously incidental, though also necessary to complete the total thought. The poem's topic is an intense longing after God, with memories of blessing received and worship rendered—all beautifully expressed in vv. 2-9. With v. 10 a disturbing factor enters, the soul-foes, which is developed in vv. 10-12. This latter section may be a later addition to the poem, since, though it may explain the need or distress implied in the first section, it is not really necessary. Now, in this second section 12a comes in like a chance side-remark, or even an interpolation. It serves, however, to bring in the name of God, giving 12b something to rest upon—"whoso sweareth by Him (i. e., *God*) shall glory". If vv. 10-12 or v. 12 alone are an appendix, "the king" must stand for some general conception, like Israel personified or its devout members. And if they are not an appendix, but original, it is easier, in view of the shift in v. 11 to the objective form, to hold that "king" represents a collective notion, with which the speaker identifies himself, rather than that it is his self-applied title as an individual.

In 61, "king" occurs only in v. 7, introducing the one thought that his life is without end. It is not clear whether the reference is objective or subjective, but the latter view is the easier, since vv. 6 and 7 seem to be intimately connected. But in that case "king" seems to be immediately defined as the same as "the fearers

of Thy name", the true worshipers, of whom the speaker is one, so that the royal promises are his. This poem offers several verbal links with other "royal" poems, like "Rock", "end of the earth" (though not exactly like 2:8; 72:8), &c., but is peculiar in its reference to "vows"—a word mostly confined to Bk. II (elsewhere in 22:26; 116:14, 18). The implications of the usage of this word are favorable to the collective interpretation of this poem, namely, as the expression of the devout as a body.

In 2, "king" occurs only in v. 6, in what seems to be the utterance of "the Lord" (cf. 89, 110) regarding the institution of a ruler in Zion. The "king" here may be either an individual or the nation, since Zion is the seat of both. But v. 7 is ambiguous. "I will tell, &c." may be the words either of this "king" or of the poet (cf. 45:2, 18). Most critics assume the former, making this a case of strong dramatic personation. But this view is not necessary, and has difficulties. It is hard to find other clear instances in the Psalter of such sudden personation. The view is defensible only if we assume that the "king" was the poet. The placing of the poem and its style both suggest that it is relatively late. Hence an individualistic reading forces us to make it the work of a Maccabaean prince. But the poet may also be one who conceives of *Israel* as the real inheritor of the promise, and who at the same time counts himself a part of the nation. His "I" and "me", as well as "king", would then be collective. We remember that his "anointed" in v. 2 seems to be collective, as usually in the Psalter, and that it is against this "anointed" that the angry plotting of "the nations" and their "rulers" is directed. This it is that justifies the bold expansion of the ancient promise in vv. 8-9, with the highly comminatory tone of vv. 9 and 12 (cf. 18:38-43; 21:9-13; &c.). Accordingly, we infer that here the "king" is Israel, in whose name the poet speaks.

We now come to the three poems (21, 45, 72) that seem to be fullest of deliberate characterization. In each of these "the king" is mentioned more than once, and his qualities are more or less emphasized in detail. Whether these, however, represent a view of his character and office that belongs with every other reference to him is not certain. All we can say is that here we have evidence of some elaboration of the "royal" conception, which either may have permeated it always or may have marked it at certain stages of development. The three poems have some obvious similarities, but they are also strikingly distinct.

In 21, "king" occurs in vv. 2 and 8, and the connection requires that its force be felt throughout vv. 2-8, if not as far as to v. 13.

It is possible that vv. 9-13 are addressed to Yahweh, since they contain expressions like those thus directed in other poems; but against this is v. 10bc. These verses show links with 2, just as the earlier section recalls 45. The whole makes a well-articulated exposition of a concept so definite to the poet's mind that he is at no pains to explain it fully. In all these regards it much resembles 45 and 72. But the militant tone is more that of 2 and parts of 18. Except for the assertion of perpetuity in vv. 5 and 7, there is no obvious reason in the poem why it may not be spoken about an individual. The argument for a collective, national interpretation rests chiefly upon analogy, though it is much strengthened by the fact that this poem, though mostly cast in the form of address to "the king", confines itself to statements that are notably lacking in sharp individual characterization.

In 45, "king" occurs repeatedly. This poem mentions an extraordinary number of persons—nearly fifteen individuals and classes—but they all gather about "the king" as the center. Many questions arise about the relations implied. Among them is the special problem of the "daughter" in v. 11; and is she the same as "the king's daughter" in v. 14; and is the father of the latter the same as "the king" named before and after? As I have elsewhere argued (JBL. 1900), the simplest solution of these and other problems is to suppose that an old court ode (perhaps of Hezekiah's time) has been reworked for religious use at a much later time. "The king", then, may be at one moment the original one and at another the name of a new conception. If we mark the verbal links with other "royal" poems, we find that they are numerous in vv. 3-8, 18, scattering in vv. 12-17, and absent from vv. 2, 9-11. In those poems there is nothing like the "daughter" here, and nothing, except in 72, like the details of courtly splendor. If the "daughter" is to any degree a figure for Zion (as may be inferred from analogies in the Prophets), the only Psalter parallel is in 9:15. The close similarity of other passages with "royal" poems justifies applying to many lines any interpretation found suitable in those poems. The assertions of endless power and blessedness comport best with a national interpretation. We therefore conclude that the recasting of the original ode was made under the general impulse that inspired the "royal" poems generally. Indeed, we may even argue that this poem was made directly to imitate 72, 21 and perhaps 18.

In 72, we have in v. 1 "the king" and "the king's son" in parallel. At first sight the two seem to be in contrast. Yet the presumption is always that terms in parallel are more alike than different, unless the whole parallellism implies antithesis. In this case the petition is certainly not that God should bestow "judgments" on one person and "righteousness" on another; and the sequel shows

that but one person is in view. The phraseology may have been occasioned by the relation between David and Solomon (whence the title), but the force of the compound expression is probably either the Davidic line or the nation. If Israel is the real topic of the poem, the conception of its mission corresponds strikingly with that of II Is., with its wide vision in space and time. And then the whole treatment is seen to culminate in the doxology of vv. 18-19, which in this case we may well regard as part of the preceding poem, both because of its likeness in thought and style, and because of the location of the colophon. If the doxology is part of the poem, the latter is certainly a glorification of the destiny of Israel.

In the above summaries no mention has been made of 20, 110 and 132. In 20, "king" occurs only in v. 10, where it must refer to Yahweh. In 110 and 132 "king" does not occur.

In 20, however, "anointed" occurs in v. 7. We have assumed above that its sense is defined by the plurals in v. 8, so that the latter part of the poem is national. But how about the earlier part, with its vocatives in the singular? To whom is this addressed? The personage in view is depicted as exercising priestly functions, reminding us of 110:4 and, more distantly, of 132:9, 16-18. There are also many verbal links with other "royal" poems. And it stands next to 21, with which it harmonizes well. For all these reasons, without giving any weight to "king" in v. 7, it is reasonable to conclude that 20 belongs in some way to the "royal" series and is to be read like other poems in that series. (It is possible, however, to take vv. 2-6 as a liturgical formula *adapted* to its present place; but even this hypothesis does not affect the sense of the completed poem.)

110 speaks at the outset of "my lord", a personage to whom, apparently, the whole poem refers. This has been taken as meaning David, at the beginning of the national history, and has also been identified as Simon Maccabaeus, near its end. The N. T. writers naturally make it mean Jesus. The objection to supposing David, or any early king, is the assertion about priestly dignity in v. 4. The objection to supposing Simon, or any other Maccabaean prince, is mainly that which holds against the Maccabaean hypothesis of the Psalter. Of course, for those who believe that most or all of the Psalter is extremely late, arising mainly in the second century B. C., there is no difficulty in assigning this to Simon's time, just as all the other "royal" poems are parceled out among the leaders of that period. But to those who believe that the hypothesis is untenable in the face of the phenomena of the Psalter as a whole (as has been argued in these Studies), the assignment seems unwarranted. That

this poem might be *applied* to Simon or John Hyrcanus is natural enough, and that coincidences with its phraseology may occur in extra-canonical writings. But such applications and coincidences are not proofs of the date and origin of the poem, any more than a few identities of expression between I Mac. and Pss. 74 and 79 prove that those poems refer to the devastation of Jerusalem by Antiochus. It is more in line with the comparative evidence to say that "my lord" here, like "the anointed" and "the king" elsewhere, means Israel, which, in the minds of its noblest interpreters, came to have both royal and priestly dignity among the nations. Of this view there may be some indication in 20.

132 requires little attention at this point, since its references to the priesthood are not explicitly connected with a personage, but with the eminence of Jerusalem as a center.

Without undertaking an exhaustive summary of the traits that are magnified in the conception of "the king", it will be enough to select three. The first of these is the perpetuity, under God, of his "life" or his rule. This is in some way intimated in all the "royal" poems except 2, 20 and 63. It is hard to believe that this would be so confidently asserted of any individual, unless the tone of the context in each case justifies regarding it as a piece of Oriental court flattery. Rather is it simpler to suppose that it is the expression of the unconquerable faith in the ideal Israel, chosen and anointed by God for a peculiar mission.

A notable difference between the references is this. The perpetuity of the Davidic *line* ("seed" or "throne") is affirmed in 18:51; 89:5, 30, 37-38, and perhaps echoed in 45:7 (if an emended text is accepted). But the perpetuity of "the king" himself is set forth in 21:5, 7; 61:7-8, and probably intimated in 45:3, 18; 72:5, 7, 17. The inference is that 18 and 89 represent an earlier stage of the thought.

A second feature in the picture of "the king" is the breadth of his dominion. Under varying terms this is presented as wide and inclusive, reaching to "the uttermost parts of the earth" and "all nations". If this universal empire rests upon memories of the empire of Solomon or the wide sway of any of his immediate successors, it is certainly extraordinary that there are no other hints of its derivation. If it be taken as a wild dream in the Maccabaean era, it is hard to harmonize it with the evidences in the writings of that time that the Jews

were aware of how little was the bulk and power of their state among the political forces about them. Rather are we to connect it with that sense of the inextinguishable potency in Israel of which the Prophets spoke, and which was in part the Gospel before the Gospel.

Here again we note a difference in the references. On the one hand, some emphasize the notion of violent struggle with "enemies", as in 2:8-9, 12; 18:38-48; 21:9-13; 45:5-6; 63:10-11; 89:23-24; 110:1-2, 5-6; these do not greatly differ in spirit or texture from the reactions against antipathy or contumely that are characteristic of D. On the other hand, a few seem to have a vision of peaceful tribute flowing in from foreign lands, as in 45:13; 72:8-11, 15, 17, or a supremacy without explicit violence, as in 45:17; 89:26, 28. In this case, perhaps, we may hesitate to trace a clear development in the thought. But the connection of the second group with II Is. is fairly evident.

A third feature is the attribution to "the king" of special qualities, either of superior dignity or of beneficence. He is not simply a king in name, but in truth, with whatever noble traits befit an ideal ruler. We might not specially notice the attributes of power, were they not expressed in terms that are elsewhere used of God. But the emphasis on justice and benignity is peculiar. If the two aspects belong together, "the king" is conceived of as at once mighty and good. It is true that his kindness seems to be directed toward "the poor and needy" and "the righteous"; but nothing more than this is to be expected.

The distribution of these features in the poems is limited. The epithets of power are mostly confined to 21 and 45, though, of course, implied elsewhere. The epithets of goodness are confined to 45 and 72, being conspicuous in the latter.

Here is an appropriate place to refer to the terms "son" and "firstborn" in 2:7; 89:27-28.

The three notable terms applied to the "king" are כבוד, הדר, and הוד. The first is elsewhere used as a purely human attribute only in 7:6; 8:6; 16:9; 30:13?; 49:17-18; 84:12; 112:9; 149:5?—excluding cases where it may be the name of the Presence of Yahweh; the second only in 8:6; 149:9; the third not at all. חן occurs only in 45:3 and 84:12. Of the insignia of royalty—throne, crown and scepter—there is no mention outside these poems except in 122:5.

It is possible to say that the terms of 72 supply a strong objection to the theory here being advocated, since, if "the king" is made

to mean Israel and if his goodness is to be directed toward "the poor and needy", etc., we make the poem say that Israel is to do good to itself, which is rather empty, if not nonsensical. But this objection is finical, since there is no doubt that the ideal Israel is distinguished in conception from the actual members of the nation.

If one works long in the details of these expressions about "the king", it is hard to avoid the belief that they are somehow directly connected with the many passages, scattered through the Psalter, in which the kingship of *Yahweh* is explicitly mentioned. If this connection exists, it implies that the thought bases itself upon the supreme power and control of God in the affairs of men, which in some measure He has delegated to Israel as His vicegerent. In other words, here is a particular illustration of the working of the doctrine of the Theocracy, which is one of the distinctive marks of Judaism.

The distribution of the explicit terms that are here used as clues is peculiar. They are relatively most frequent in Bk. IV, followed by Bk. II and Bk. I, and with Bks. III and V relatively weak. In Bk. I they are confined to poems between 5 and 29, except 35:24?. In Bk. II they are fairly well distributed throughout. In Bk. III they are found only in 74, 75, 82, 84, 89. In Bk. IV they are almost all in 93-99. In Bk. V they are mainly in 145-149. (This enumeration includes שפט and משפט sg.[2]) These terms are not found in "royal" poems except in 20:10; 45:7; 89:10, 15.

Probably the most striking passages are 7:9, 12; 9:5, 8, 9; 10:16, 18; 22:29; 24:7-10; 29:10; 45:7?; 47:3, 7-9; 67:5; 89:15; 93:1-2; 95:3; 96:10, 13; 97:1, 2, 5; 98:9; 99:1; 103:19; 145:11-13; 146:10; 149:2.

It is impressive to observe in these passages the accent upon the three notes of perpetuity, universal dominion and beneficent justice — precisely those that are characteristic of "the king" in the "royal" poems. In Bk. IV is a sonorous series of hymns of adoration in a specially triumphant key,

[2] These words are included because in the Psalter they seem to bear usually a rather special meaning, practically equivalent to "rule" or "govern" and "rulership" or "government" respectively. It is true that the function of "discrimination" and "judicial award" can also be attached to them in some cases. But in most cases the sense of executive administration is clearer than that of the mere disposal of judicial questions.

three of which begin with the exclamation "Yahweh reigneth (is King)", and all of which develop a theme of peculiar elevation. This series really extends from 92 to 100. Twice in it (96, 98) is found the culminating exclamation that "Yahweh *is come* to judge (rule) the earth in righteousness and truth (or, equity)", which may possibly rest upon some notion that at length the dominion of God is to become more visible and tangible than heretofore. Many traces of this notion can be found elsewhere, as in 145 and the stirring poems that follow. All these poems belong to the class that we have called "liturgical", but they have much individuality in that class, as if they expressed a single stage or aspect of the general liturgical impulse.

It may be significant that just before 92 lies the fragment at the end of 91 that has already been noted as like the "royal" poems.

It may also be significant that in 99:4 we have an obscure reference to "the king", ordinarily regarded as meaning Yahweh. But since the line is probably somewhat corrupt, it is possible that originally here there was a reference to the ideal spirit of Israel.

Whether or not the above suggestion that the "royal" poems are intimately connected with one group of the "liturgical" ones is accepted, it is probable that they belong to a late stage in the evolution of the Psalter. This is indicated by their placing in the several parts of the collection, and also by their association with the D poems. It is also shown by their lexical affiliations at some points with the L style in general. But this must not be understood to mean that there may not be in them an early element, even one that reaches back into the Exile. Attention has been called to some slight signs of development of thought in them, beginning with certain predications concerning the Davidic line as such, and passing over into what we have called a "national" appropriation of the Davidic covenant. It is possible that in 89 and 18 we have vestiges of the early stage of expression, later amplified in 72 by the accretion of elements derived from II Is., and then again modified by the influence of the bitter reactions against "enemies" that are evident in most of the D poems. If 110 properly belongs to the series, it suggests a still further

extension of the conception to include priestly dignity. From their tendency to adopt more or less liturgical phraseology, we may perhaps infer that the group as a whole in some way represents the priestly class—the Temple circle—whereas most of the poems of Bks. I-III seem to represent the circle of "the faithful" generally—that of the Synagogue.

One more remark has suggested itself as the material has been reviewed, though I have not had time to search into it properly. I think that there are signs that this particular strain of writing in the Psalter is rather closely connected with that found in certain poems scattered through the O. T. outside of the Psalter, particularly such poems as Deut. 32, I Sam. 2, Hab. 3, &c. Just how this apparent connection is to be estimated is not clear to me.

In short, in this feature of the "royal" poems, as in others, the general position of the Psalter is intermediate between the body of the O. T. (particularly the Prophets) and various extra-canonical writings (like Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Psalms of Solomon, &c.). It is hard to understand how anyone who is thoroughly familiar with the Psalter expression can assign it to the same period and atmosphere as any of the latter. They imitate and quote from the Psalter, just as the Psalter imitates and quotes from the Prophets. There are some lines of thinking and speaking, of course, that run unbroken through all three stages of development. But there is also a distinct progress or transformation of thought going on.

In the latest period of Judaic literature a characteristic feature is the centering of expectation upon some individual, either one actually in command or an ideal personage yet to come. This is the last stage in the growth of the Messianic ideal. Although something like this may not have been wholly wanting earlier, I believe that in the Psalter the dominant conception is that of Israel itself as "royal", or, at least, as constituting the royal line, so that to it the ancient promises are to be applied. The forms of expression imply that this ideal was personified, so that it was ready to be transferred to actual individuals. I believe that it was the vigor of the Maccabaean revolution, with its disclosure of the gifts of individuals to become leaders in action, like the "judges" of the

olden time, that did most to push the conception forward into its final personal form—that in which it stood at the time when Christ appeared. These late captains and statesmen were hailed as both kings and priests, thus uniting the traditions of Judah on the one hand and of Levi on the other. But back of all this lay a profound sense that in some way God had committed to *Israel* a portion of His own regal dignity, so that the ideal Israel was not only the inheritor of the promises, but even a sort of incarnate expression of the divine power and purpose.

At this point we bring these Studies abruptly to a close It is obvious that they might be greatly prolonged, since there are various kinds of data of the lexical class that have not been touched, and all the problems that have been here taken up merit far more extensive discussion. As stated at the outset, the one object of these articles is to call attention to certain phenomena that have not been as fully observed or reasoned upon as they deserve. Incidental to the display of these facts has been a considerable amount of comment from the writer's own point of view. This comment is meant to be more illustrative than conclusive. It shows how one mind works in adjusting itself to the implications of the phenomena, but it is put forth without forgetting that other minds may work very differently. All that scientific method demands is that all essential facts shall be observed accurately and that hypotheses to explain them shall comport with the observations. Every serious student should welcome the indication of flaws in his observations or in his inductions. Until such indication is made he must rest in whatever conclusions he feels to be demanded.

Accordingly, I venture to hold that lexical arguments suggest

(1) that there is a widely diffused body of "liturgical" material scattered through the Psalter, including not only whole poems, as especially in Bks. IV-V, but many superimposed verses and passages, especially in Bks. I-III—this material being relatively late;

(2) that, taken as a whole, the "David" poems represent the sentiment of an orthodox class that felt itself unjustly

persecuted for its opinions and practices, and that its most characteristic expressions are so located in the Psalter that we may infer that they, too, were superimposed upon a collection already existing (the D poems, for example, being generally later than the A and K poems);

(3) that the phenomenon of Elohism apparently implies that the oldest section of the Psalter is to be found in Bks. II-III, although the final editing was in the hands of a party that greatly exalted an extreme Yahwism;

(4) that the moralistic strain illustrated by the acrostic poems and the peculiar nationalistic feeling expressed in the "royal" poems give further indications of the complex situation of thought out of which the Psalter grew—both of these being imposed upon much already in existence, though not all of it being extremely late in date.

In the attempt to reason from the multitude of lexical data by which the several constituents of the Psalter are distinguished from one another, and also to compare them with similar data in other parts of the Old Testament, on the one hand, and in various extra-canonical books, on the other, we find ourselves more or less driven to the hypothesis that the Psalter largely represents the situations and the sentiments of a period relatively late in the post-exilic history, preferably the third century B. C. It must be late enough to allow for the development of a strong social and national self-consciousness, and for the incoming of a powerful external influence like that of Hellenism. It must not be so late as to raise difficulties in allowing time before the LXX translation was made, or in providing for the further evolution of parties and views that is indicated in extra-canonical writings. All weight must be given to the necessity for time in which these poems could not only be collected, but be recognized as canonical (probably through long-continued iteration in social worship). All weight must also be given to the absence in the Psalter of clear signs of the existence of just those political and religious parties that are conspicuous in the late second and the first centuries B. C. These considerations tell strongly against any extreme form of the Maccabaean hypothesis for

the Psalter, if they do not preclude that hypothesis in any form. But the Psalter is certainly not very far removed, except in a small proportion of its poems, from the Maccabaean time. Its tone and expression have enough similarity to later writing to suggest that it mainly represents a period preparatory to that of the Maccabees. Does not the third century B. C. meet the requirements of the problem? If so, then the Psalter is an invaluable source of information for a period otherwise extremely dark and uncertain. This general opinion can be held, of course, in such a way as not to stand in the way of recognizing any poems or parts of poems in the Psalter as representing much earlier periods, as far back as the Exile or even beyond. But the further back we go, the more stringently must we require that the evidence of antiquity shall be clear and definite.

The Cock in the Old Testament

JOHN P. PETERS
NEW YORK CITY

IN tracing the history of the domestic fowl, one is commonly confronted with the statement that there is no mention of the cock in the Old Testament, although it is evident, from the New Testament, that, in the first century of our era, it was a familiar and well-known bird in Palestine.

According to Rabbinic interpretation, however, the cock is mentioned twice in the Old Testament. The earlier of these two passages is Isaiah 22 17, the prophecy against Shebna, the Grand Vizier. The word here interpreted cock is the familiar Hebrew word גֶּבֶר, which regularly means "man" and more particularly "man as strong, distinguished from women, children and non-combatants, whom he is to defend; chiefly poetic,"—so the Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius.

This passage is a somewhat difficult one to translate. The גֶּבֶר has been introduced in a perplexing manner, apparently with the intention of a sort of a pun on the word קֶבֶר in the preceding verse.[1] Commentators, practically without exception, regard the word as having here its regular meaning. The Greek translators so interpreted it and apparently also the Syriac and Targum. Jerome, however, translates it by *gallus gallinaceus*, evidence that at his time the Rabbinical tradition was well established, as indeed it may be verified from extant sources. Elsewhere in Rabbinical literature it has the same meaning, according to Jastrow, who cites Yoma I. 8, 20[b]; Y. Shek. V, 48[d] bot.; and perhaps Y. Succ. V, 55[c].

[1] For fuller discussion of this passage cf. my article on The Cock in *JAOS.*, 1914.

Presumably the meaning cock was given to the word in Rabbinical literature as a derivation from the sense "male".[2] It was the obscurity of the passage which led to the interpretation of the word here in this unusual sense by the Rabbinical exegetes. There is no good ground, however, for attributing the meaning "cock" to the word גֶּבֶר in classical Hebrew, or to suppose that the cock was known by this name until some time after the commencement of our era.

The second passage in which, according to the Rabbinical interpreters, the cock is mentioned, is Job 38 36. The word here used is שֶׂכְוִי. This word is an *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*. The general sense of the passage is apparent from the context, which is a description of the "ordinances of the heavens," and more particularly of the workings of the clouds, the waters, the lightnings, &c. The corresponding word in the first half of the verse is טֻחוֹת, which occurs in one other passage in the Bible, Psalm 51 8, where it is translated, apparently correctly, "inward parts" and has for its correspondent סָתֻם, "secret". In our passage טֻחוֹת appears to mean those things which are hidden behind the clouds, in the inwards of the clouds, and its parallel, שֶׂכְוִי, in the second half of the verse, would have substantially the same meaning. It is translated in the English Bible "heart" (A. V.), "mind" (R. V.), with the suggestion in the margin of "meteor". This verse evidently caused much difficulty at an early date. The Septuagint rendering is a fanciful guess, showing plainly inability to translate. Jerome renders שֶׂכְוִי *gallus*, evidence that by his time the Rabbinic interpretation had been accepted. The whole context of the passage makes this translation quite impossible; it simply converts the verse into nonsense.

Jastrow, in his Dictionary of the Targumim, gives the word as meaning "cock", with a feminine form שְׂכְוִיָּא meaning "hen", but the passages quoted by him mention the word as a sort of curiosity in nomenclature, said to be used for the cock in some other place, Rome, Arabia, &c. In classical Hebrew certainly שֶׂכְוִי did not mean "cock", and the context proves that the cock is not mentioned in Job 38 36.[3]

[2] According to Jastrow it sometimes means *male member*.

[3] For fuller discussion and for origin of this interpretation cf. *JAOS.*, 1914.

There is, however, a passage in the Old Testament in which the cock is mentioned, which has been strangely overlooked by commentators and lexicographers. The passage in question is Prov 30 29-31. This is one of the collection of "three and four" riddles contained in that chapter. The Hebrew text, as it has come down to us in the Masoretic recension, is manifestly imperfect. It reads as follows:—

שְׁלֹשָׁה הֵמָּה מֵיטִבֵי צָעַד וְאַרְבָּעָה מֵיטִבֵי לָכֶת׃
לַיִשׁ גִּבּוֹר בַּבְּהֵמָה וְלֹא־יָשׁוּב מִפְּנֵי־כֹל׃
זַרְזִיר מָתְנַיִם
אוֹ תָיִשׁ
וּמֶלֶךְ אַלְקוֹם עִמּוֹ׃

The first two verses are complete and intelligible:—

> Three there be stately of march and four stately in going.
> The lion, lord of beasts, that turneth before none.

There should be, according to the analogy of the other riddles in this collection, besides the lion, three other creatures "stately of march", and symmetry requires that these should be described in lines in general of the same length and character as that describing the lion. There are, in fact, three creatures mentioned. The first is the זַרְזִיר. This word, an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, the Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius derives from זור meaning "press", "compress". It is followed by the Hebrew word for loins, מָתְנַיִם. The creature named has commonly been supposed to be described by these two words as "pressed together" or "well girt in the loins". The Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius suggests for this alleged animal the greyhound or war-horse, but notes that the older versions make it the "cock" and the Talmud the "raven". Further it notes that in New Hebrew the word זַרְזִיר means "starling", except in this passage, where it is interpreted as "war-horse". In Aramaic it means "starling". A similar word appears in Arabic, زرزور, with the same sense, but is probably a loan-word. The modern interpreters in general render the two words זַרְזִיר מָתְנַיִם "greyhound", "war-horse" or "well girt in the loins", except Toy in the International Commentary, who strangely omits this line altogether.

With regard to the third creature who marches well, there is no question. The word תָּיִשׁ is good Hebrew for "he-goat"; but the whole of the remainder of the line after the word he-goat, which should describe his march or the reason for including him in the riddle, is omitted.

The fourth creature is the king, but the words that follow, אַלְקוּם עִמּוֹ, make no sense whatever. Indeed, the first of them is not a word, but a collection of letters, so that Geiger thought it to be the proper name, Alcimus, and hence assigned the proverb to the Maccabaean period. Toy renders "the he-goat", with a series of dashes for the rest of that line, and "a king", with a similar series of dashes for the remainder of that line. Others have interpreted the last line as "the king against whom there is no rising", or "the king when his army is with him". The Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius inclines, apparently, to the latter meaning, equating אַלְקוּם with the Arabic القَوْمُ "people", and translating it "band of soldiers". Others have suggested that אַלְקוּם is a textual error for אֱלֹהִים.

The Greek, Syriac and Targum, the latter practically a duplicate in this passage of the Syriac, give an entirely intelligible text for these three verses, hopelessly defective in the Hebrew, and one to the correctness of which the remains of the Hebrew text seem to me to testify in the most unmistakeable manner. The Greek text reads:

Καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐμπεριπατῶν θηλείαις εὔψυχος
Καὶ τράγος ἡγούμενος αἰπολίου
Καὶ βασιλεὺς δημηγορῶν ἐν ἔθνει.

The Peshitto Syriac:

ܘܐܒܟܐ ܕܡܐܙܕܒܠ ܒܝܢܬ ܬܪܢܓܠܝܬܐ
ܘܬܝܫܐ ܕܐܙܠ ܒܪܝܫ ܓܐܪܐ
ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܠ ܒܝܬ ܥܡܡܐ

The Targum:

ואבכא דמיזדרביל בינת תרנוגלי
ותיישא דאזיל בית גיזרא
ומלכא דקאים וממליל בית עממיה:

The three agree, and may be translated as follows:—

"And the cock, strutting pompously among the hens;
"And the he-goat, leader of the flock;
"And a king that (standeth and[4]) speaketh among his people."

מת of the word מָתְנַיִם in the first line of the Masoretic text of verse 31 is a fragment of the participial form of a hithpael verb. עמו, the last word of the last line, is correct in the Hebrew and simply mispointed. עִמּוֹ "with him", for עַמּוֹ "his people". The second word of the last line, אלקום, as testified by the Targum, contains some part of the verb קום, to rise. For this we have also the testimony of the Vulgate version: *Nec est rex qui resistat ei.* In the other two lines of verse 31 the Vulgate reads *gallus succinctus lumbos; et aries,* following the Masoretic text. It would appear that by Jerome's time the Masoretic text had become, so far at least as the first and second lines of verse 31 are concerned, mutilated and unintelligible[5], as at present; but still the tradition remained that the cock was the creature named in the first line.

I think the evidence is sufficient to justify the translation of זַרְזִיר in the first line of verse 31 as cock. With this compare also the Arabic صَرْصَر or صِرْصِر "cock". זרזיר and صرصر are both words of the onomatapoetic type, and indicating the sound made by a bird. Originally probably such words were applicable to more than one bird. Ultimately the Hebrew and Aramaic words were applied to the starling; the similar Arabic onomatapoeticon was applied to the cock.

Presumably this passage dates the knowledge of the cock among the Hebrews and in Palestine as early as the third century B. C.

So far as archeological remains are concerned, the earliest evidence of the cock in Palestine or Syria is the Chthonic cock found by Dr. Thiersch and myself in the painted tombs in the Necropolis at Marissa.[6]

[4] Only in the Targum.

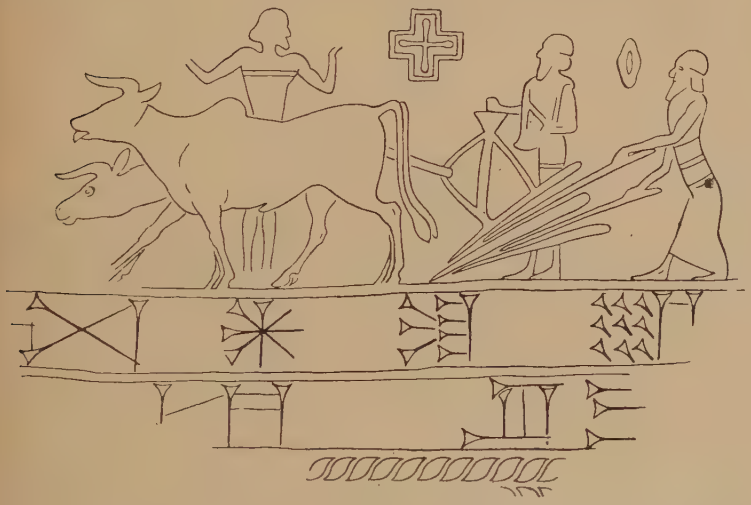
[5] For the reason of the elision and consequent mutilation of the Hebrew text cf. article in *JAOS.*

[6] I am indebted to Dr. Richard Gottheil for some kind help in the Aramaic and Arabic references.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

An Assyrian Illustration to the Book of Jubilees

IN the *Publications of the Babylonian Section* of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania Prof. A. T. Clay has published a reproduction and description of an Assyrian plow drawn by two oxen and attended by a gang of three men, one of whom is engaged at a funnel-shaped apparatus at the side of the plow;



this contrivance is doubtless a seeder, the seed being fed through into the turned up furrow. The seal belongs to the 14th century B. C. Similar representations are found on monuments of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, and this kind of plow still remains in use in Syria.

The device illustrates a hitherto obscure passage in the Book of Jubilees. In the 11th chapter of this book is described a

plague of ravens sent in Terah's day, which devoured the seed before it was turned into the earth by the plow. Then upon Abraham's birth, he was able to avert the birds by his mere word, and subsequently (to quote Charles' translation) "taught those who made implements for oxen, the artificers in wood, and they made a vessel above the ground, facing the frame of the plow, in order to put the seed thereon, and the seed fell down therefrom upon the share of the plow, and was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the ravens. And after this manner they made vessels above the ground on all the frames of the plows, and they sowed and tilled all the ground, according as Abraham commanded them, and they no longer feared the birds."

University of Pennsylvania.

James A. Montgomery.

A Hebrew Folksong

In his volume on Isaiah, Chapters I-XXXIX, in the International Critical Commentary, the Rev. George Buchanan Gray, D. D., thus describes the passage Chapter III 18-23 (p. 72): "A catalogue of one-and-twenty articles of women's finery: probably a prose addition to the poem: see small print n. above. Some of the terms are of uncertain meaning, and it is therefore difficult to say whether the catalogue is carefully compiled without any principle of arrangement, or an artistically constructed list." In the JOURNAL of this Society for 1885, under the title "Two Fragments of Hebrew Popular Melodies", I printed this passage in its verse form. Without comment and remark I venture to reproduce that poem here:

העכסים והשביסים והשהרנים
הנטפות והשרות והרעלות
הפארים והצעדות

[ו]הקשרים ובתי נפש והלחשים
הטבעות ונזמי האף (?)

המחלצות והמעטפות והמטפחות
[ו]החריטים [ו]הגלינים והסדינים
[ו]הצניפות והרדידים

It is so perfectly evident and unmistakeable a poem that there really is no excuse for the failure of the author of a commentary on Isaiah to recognize it as such, instead of describing it as "a prose addition to the poem", even if he does not read the JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE. As I pointed out in the note referred to, it was probably originally "a popular song, satirizing female dress". There is at least one other instance of the use by Isaiah of popular songs as texts for his prophecies, namely, Isaiah 5 1 and 2, to which reference is also made in the same note, and which again Gray misunderstands.

New York City.

John P. Peters.

Printed by W. Drugulin, Leipzig.

JOURNAL
OF
BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Volume XXXIII Part III 1914

The Inauguration of the Second Temple

PAUL HAUPT
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN my paper on the *Visions of Zechariah* (JBL 32, 109)[1] I stated that Zechariah concluded his first patriotic address with the assurance: *Zerubbabel's hands have laid the foundations of the Temple, his hands will also finish it.* This prediction was not fulfilled. The restoration of the Temple was begun about Sept. 1, 520,[2] but when the Second Temple was completed about April 1, 515,[2] Zerubbabel was no longer governor of Judah. His followers had attempted to place him on the throne of David; but the Persian Government nipped this insurrection in the bud. The satrap of Babylonia and Syria, Vištâna, came to Jerusalem in the spring of 519; Zerubbabel was tried for high-treason and, it may be supposed, put to death. Zechariah's expectations (Feb. 13, 519)[2] that the Davidic prince would be acquitted were not realized (JBL 32, 114).

We know from the poem of Haggai, which is preserved in Zech. 7 1-3+8 18 19[a]+7 4-6+8 19[b], that on Dec. 7, 518[2] the governor in Jerusalem was no longer Zerubbabel, but Bethel-sharezer who sent a royal herald (lit. *crier*)[3] to raise the question

[1] For the abbreviations see this JOURNAL (JBL) vol. 31, p. 115, n. 2.

[2] For these dates *cf.* JBL 32, 107, n. 1.

[3] We must read רַגֶּם מלך (the prefixed ו is due to dittography of the ר; *cf.* AJSL 26, 10). The Vulgate has *Rogommelech.* For Assyr. *ragâmu*, to cry, from which *Targum* and *dragoman* are derived, see KAT[2] 517;

whether it would not be expedient to abolish the fast in the fifth month commemorating the burning of the Temple at the hands of the Chaldeans in 586 B. C. In Paris the statue of the City of Strassburg is still covered with wreaths of mourning; but if the Bishop of Strassburg had continued to observe the day of the surrender of the fortress (Sept. 28, 1870) as a day of mourning, the German governor of Alsace-Lorraine would probably have sent an official message suggesting that this demonstration cease.

Priestly editors have endeavored to eliminate all allusions to Zerubbabel's ill-starred coronation. This has been done in the text of Ezra 4-6. In the line *royal majesty will he assume* (Zech. 6 13) the word *royal* has been suppressed, also the hemistich *thy throne is for ever* in Ps. 110 4 (JBL 32, 113). In Zech. 6 9-15 as well as in Zech. 3 the name of the high-priest *Joshua* has been substituted for the name of the Davidic prince *Zerubbabel* (JBL 32, 114 and 118).

In Ps. 132, which was written for the encenia at the inauguration of the restoration of the Temple about Sept. 1, 520, the last line of the second stanza must have been originally

Extend his sceptre from Zion that he conquer in the midst of his foes!

This revolutionary appeal has been replaced by a tame variant of v. 16. The received text of Ps. 110 2

מטה עזך ישלח יהוה מציון רדה בקרב אויביך׃

seems to be based on a combination of the original text of that line,

עזך ישלח מציון ורדה בקרב׃

and the suppressed line in Ps. 132 10,

שלח מטהו מציון וירך בקרב אויביו׃

Both Psalms may have been written by the same patriotic poet.[4]

Ps. 132 was referred to Zerubbabel by Gustav Baur in the

Kings 117, 30. Assyr. *ragâmu* is not identical with Heb. רעם, although Assyr. *raggu* may be the Heb. רע (KB 6, 380; ZDMG 65, 565, l. 17). Assyr. *ragâmu* is connected with Arab. رجس *rájasa*, to roar, thunder (رعد, هدر). *Cf.* my remarks on דהרות, Jud. 5 22 in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*.

[4] For Ps. 110 *cf.* Haupt, *Micah* (Chicago, 1910) nn. 45, 28, 10 on VIII (AJSL 27, Oct. 1910). In n. 10 on VIII 516 is a misprint for 519.

fifth edition of De Wette's commentary (1856) p. 594. This was done long ago by Bar Ebhrâyâ (1226-1286) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (360-428).[5] Graetz (1883) expressed the same view. De Wette admitted that this psalm might have been sung at the inauguration of the Second Temple, but he maintained that it was originally composed for the dedication of the Solomonic Temple. Our Psalm is one of *The Songs of The Return* (שיר המעלות) which originated in the period of the Return from Babylonia (המעלה מבבל, Ezr. 7 9).[6]

The other poems of this collection are written in lines with 3+2 beats, but the lines of Psalm 132 have 3+3 beats (OLZ 12, 68, n. 7). This poem falls into two sections, each section is composed of two five-line stanzas. Franz Delitzsch thought that this psalm consisted of four ten-line stanzas (his *lines* are *hemistichs*).[7] The first stanza was correctly given by De Wette, also Kamphausen's strophic arrangement in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk* (1868) was nearly correct. The best arrangement of the Hebrew text was given by Julius Ley in his *Grundzüge* (1875) p. 183.

There are no lacunæ in the poem, as Olshausen supposed; but a number of verses have been misplaced: vv. 6-8 must be inserted before vv. 13-18, and v. 11^b should be placed between vv. 17 and 18; v. 10 should follow vv. 11^a and 12. After v. 11^b had been placed before v. 12, the names *David* and *Judah* were replaced by pronouns of the second person. Verses 8, 9, 10^b, 1^a are quoted, with slight modifications, in 2 Chr. 6 41 42. Of course, v. 9 had been substituted for the suppressed line at the end of the second stanza long before the time of the Chronicler.

For the imperative זכור at the beginning of the poem we must substitute the future יזכר. The ו of זכור may be a corruption of the transposed initial י, unless it is merely due to dittography of

[5] *Cf.* Baethgen, *Psalmen* (1892) p. 404; third edition (1904) p. 393; Sellin, *Serubbabel* (1898) p. 185, below. For Sellin's book *cf.* the second page of the comments on my translation of Is. 40 in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (1902).

[6] See AJSL 2, 98; 11, 27; JBL 19, 67; 26, 44, l. 6; ZDMG 61, 289, l. 20; *Numbers* 49, 25; *Kings* 266, 45; ZAT 34, 145.

[7] Delitzsch's statement is repeated in Emil Taube's *Praktische Auslegung der Psalmen* (Berlin, 1884).

the ר (AJSL 26, 10). The imperative instead of the future is due to זָכְרָה in 2 Chr. 6 42. If יהוה in v. 1 were vocative, we should expect לך instead of ליהוה in v. 2.

Instead of עֲנוֹתוֹ we must read עַנְוָתוֹ. I pointed out in JBL 31, 120 (and 135) that we must read עַנְוַת instead of עֲנוּת in Ps. 22 25 and עַנְוָתֵנוּ in Ps. 90 8 15 instead of עֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ and עֲנִיָּתָנוּ. The patriotic poet does not speak of David's affliction or humility (𝔊 τῆς πραΰτητος αὐτοῦ = עַנְוָתוֹ)[8] but of the labors of Solomon in connection with the building of the First Temple. After ענות we must insert שלמה or בנו, not לטובה (Neh. 5 19 13 31) or עבדך (2 Chr. 6 42). The Davidic dynasty may count on Jhvh's favor because it built the First Temple, and the Davidic scion Zerubbabel is displaying as much zeal in inaugurating the erection of the Second Temple, despite the hard times, as his great ancestor did in the palmy days of Judah. *For the sake of Thy servant David do not repulse Thine anointed* (v. 10) means, Fulfil the hopes of Zerubbabel and his followers, and place him on the throne of Judah, for he is a Davidic scion, and David and his successors have always been loyal to Thee.

Hero of Jacob (𝔗 תקיפא דיעקב) is the translation used by Cheyne in his translation of the Psalms in the Parchment Library (1884). The original meaning is *Bull of Jacob*, i. e. the national god of Israel, who was worshiped at Beth-el in the form of a bull.[9] *Of Jacob* was originally an appositional genitive (JBL 29, 101, n. 45). After the Exile this ancient name was used as a poetic designation for Jhvh, just as *Israel* (and *Joseph*, &c.) was used for *Judah*.[9]

Before v. 3 (lit. *If I enter my dwelling lodge*, &c.) we must supply the ancient oath, *The Lord do so unto me and more also* (GK[28], § 149, b; § 167, a; WdG 2, 172, D; AJSL 23, 236, n. 57) which was originally, it may be supposed, accompanied by two dramatic gestures indicating piercing of the heart and subsequent decapitation and gibbeting (2 S 4 7; 2 Macc. 15 35;

[8] Perles, *Analekten*, p. 65, prefers the reading עַנְוָתוֹ.

[9] See Haupt, *Micah*, n. 17 on I (AJSL 27, 19). The *horns of the altar* seem to be a survival of this ancient Israelitish bull-worship (DB 1, 77[a]; EB 134, 5). *Cf.* nn. 57 and 81 on my translation of the Song of Deborah in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*.

EB 1959, b; EB[11], 12, 917[b]). In our days hanging is indicated by touching the neck.

For *lie down on my resting couch* the version in the Book of Common Prayer has *climb up into my bed*; the royal bedstead was so high that it was necessary to use bed-steps for ascending it; 𝔗 has therefore אין אסיק על דרגש מצעי. I have shown (AJSL 26, 7) that דרגש, *bed-steps* must be restored in Am. 3 12 instead of דמשק. The word דגש (for דרגש) *to step* is found also in Egyptian (ÄZ 50, 88). Egyptian bed-steps are figured in Riehm's *Bibl. Handwörterbuch*, vol. i (1893) p. 225 and in the *Calwer Bibellexikon* (1912) p. 88.

V. 4 is quoted in the gloss Prov. 6 4 (BL 26, n.*).

For עֵדֹתִי זוֹ we must read עֵדֻתִי זוּ (Jerome, *testificationem meam quam docuero eos*) or (following 𝔊 τὰ μαρτύριά μου) עֵדְוֹתַי זוּ; the omission of the ו after the ד may be due to haplography (AJSL 26, 10). In Ps. 122 4, on the other hand, we find עֵדוּת לישראל instead of עֲדַת ישראל (AJSL 2, 99). For עֵדוּת see *Proverbs* 45, 49; OLZ 12, 66.

The relative pronoun זוּ is indeclinable; *cf.* the dialectic ذو, e. g. *bi'rî ḏû ḥafártu*, the well which I dug (WdG 1, 272, C).

Before the second line of v. 12 we had better prefix the *Waw apodosis* (*Est.* 50, *ad* 14). Not only דריו are often confounded, haplographed and dittographed, but also ו, ג, and ז, *e. g.* מֵרוֹז (Jud. 5 23) and מֵרוֹם (Josh. 11 5 7) are corruptions of (מְגִדּוֹ(ן.

Verses 6 (which Kautzsch considered to be beyond translation) and 7 refer to the entire congregation of the faithful Jews assembled in Jerusalem when Zerubbabel laid the foundations of the Second Temple. They have come from the cultivated regions as well as from the uncultivated districts (𝔊 ἐν ταῖς δασέσι τοῦ δρυμοῦ). But it is not necessary to suppose that the two lines were sung by the entire congregation. Paulus, *Clavis* (Heidelberg, 1815) p. 488 explained שׂדי יער as the *Berg- und Waldland von Judah*, ἡ ὀρεινή, Luke 1 39. Also De Wette remarked: *Vielleicht enthielt der Vers ursprünglich keine nomina propria; der Dichter wollte sagen: in Wald und Flur.*

Thy powerful ark (GK[28], § 135, n) is the shrine containing the Law (JED). 𝔗, correctly, ארון די ביה אוריתך. The shrine

containing the Law (JED+P) in modern synagogues is still called ארון הקדש.[10] According to Paulus' *Clavis* ארון העז is *der mächtige Gesetzschrank, wo die zehn Gebote, das Gesetz als Repräsentant des Nationalregenten Jehovah selbst, lagen.* 𝔊 has ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ ἁγιάσματός σου for ארון עזך; but we need not substitute ארון קדשך for ארון עזך (JAOS 27, 122).[11] In Ps. 134 2 we find simply ק[ה]דש instead of ארון הקדש; worshipers in the modern synagogues still face the Ark during the principal prayer (EB[11] 26, 291[b], below). We need not prefix ארון to הקדש in Ps. 134 2, but we must append שמרים (*Purim*, 14, 40) to בלילות at the end of the preceding verse.

The horn is a symbol of strength, power, or triumph; *cf.* 1 S 2 1 (ZDMG 58, 621) and Luke 1 69. *I'll raise* (lit. *I'll cause to sprout; cf.* Dan. 7 8) *there a horn of David* means *I'll cause a vigorous scion of the House of David to arise there.*

The hemistich *Mine anointed* (i. e. *the Davidic dynasty*) *shall not be extinct* means literally, *I have set up a light for mine anointed* (David). Lamps seem to have been kept burning before the Teraphim (images of ancestors).[12] *Cf.* DB 3, 24[b], also Hupfeld and Duhm *ad loc.* The eternal lamps in the synagogues (נר תמיד) and Catholic churches may be a survival of this ancient usage (EB[11] 10, 400[b]; 16, 675). In cuneiform texts we find *Bel may snatch away his descendants so that he may have no nâq mê* (HW 479[a]; AL[5] 171[b]) *i. e.* no one to pour out water for the dead; *cf.* Delitzsch, *Das Land ohne Heimkehr* (1911) n. 28. The Babylonian curse *May he have no one to pour out water* means *May his family become extinct*, and the

[10] *Cf.* GJV[4] 2, 524; DB 4, 633; EB 4836; תיבה is now used for the lectern near ארון הקדש.

[11] 𝔊 has τὸ ἁγίασμά μου also for נזרו at the end of the Psalm; *cf.* B. Oppenheim, *Die syr. Übersetzung des fünften Buches der Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 53.

[12] This word should be pointed תְּרָפִים (for *tarrâphîm*). On the other hand, פְּרָשִׁים. *horses* is a mistake for פָּרָשִׁים (*Est.* 61, †). *Târâphîm* means *Providers*; it is connected with טרף, *food* (originally *prey*; cf. AJSL 26, 11) just as *Penates* is derived from *penus*, provisions. The ט instead of ת (*cf.* تَرْفَة, *târfe*) is due to the ר (*cf.* ZDMG 64, 706, l. 31). The identity of תרף and טרף was pointed out long ago by Fürst. There is no etymological connection between תרפים and רפאים.

Hebrew execration *May he have no one to keep the lamp burning*[13] has the same meaning, whereas *I have set up a light for mine anointed* is equivalent to *I will not suffer the family of mine anointed to become extinct.*

The promise in v. 15, *Her poor I'll sate with bread*, was not superfluous when the foundations of the Second Temple were laid; the people were not living in affluence at that time.

The cohortative (אשׂביעה instead of אשׂביע) improves the rhythm.

For צידה at the beginning of this line we must substitute ציון (*cf.* Nestle, ZAT 14, 320; HSAT[3] 2, 236; GB[15] 675[b]).

Her priests I'll clothe with salvation means: When the people pray to Jhvh: הושיעה־נא, the priests will make intercession so that the prayer of the people will be heard. The hemistich *Let Thy priests be clothed with right*, on the other hand, in the variant (v. 9) means: The priests will be endowed with righteousness so that they will be able to give correct answers to the questions of the people. V. 9 implies: The priests will be able to give the people correct decisions, and v. 16: The priests will be able to make the prayers of the people efficacious.

[13] In 1 K 11 36 we must read לפניו instead of לפני, and 1 K 15 4 must be translated according to *Numbers* 53, n. a.

The whole poem may be translated as follows:

Psalm 132.

A i 1[a] [a]Jhvh ‹will› credit to David
all the ‹zeal› displayed by his son›
2 Who solemnly promised to Jhvh,
and vowed to the Hero of Jacob:
3 "I'll not enter my dwelling lodge,
lie down on my resting couch,
4 I'll not grant sleep‹› to mine eyes,
or slumber to my lashes,
5 Till I find a place for Jhvh,
an abode for the Hero of Jacob."

ii 11[a] JHVH solemnly promised to David—
it is fixed, He will not revoke it—
12 "If thy sons observe My religion,
My Law which I shall teach them,
Their sons, too, shall for ever
sit (as kings) ‹up›on thy throne."—
10 For the sake of Thy servant David
do not repulse Thine anointed!
9[b] ‹*Extend his sceptre from Zion*
that he conquer in the midst of his foes›!

B iii 6 "In fertile fields we heard it,
it reached us in ‹the› woodland:
7 "To His abode let us go,
and worship at His footstool!"—
8 Ascend[β] to Thy resting place,
Thou and Thy powerful ark!
13 JHVH selected Zion,
chose it for His abode:
14 "This is my rest for ever;
here will I dwell; I chose it.

iv 15 I'll pour out blessings on Zi‹on›,
her poor I'‹ll› sate with bread.
16 ‹›Her priests I'‹ll› clothe with salvation,
her faithful will shout for joy.[γ]
17 I'‹ll› raise there a horn of David,
mine anointed shall not be extinct:
11[b] An offspring of ‹David's› loins
will I place ‹up›on ‹Judah's› throne;
18 His foes ‹will› I clothe with disgrace,
but o'er him will sparkle his crown."

(α) 1 The Songs of The Return (β) 8 JHVH
(γ) 9[a] Let Thy priests be clothed with right, Let Thy faithful shout for joy!

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

2 1 3

A i 1 [α]‹י›זכר יהוה לדוד את־כל ‹עֲנ›וֹת‹ בנ›וֹ:
2 אשר נשבע ליהוה נדר לאביר יעקב:
3 אם־אבא באהל ביתי אם־אעלה על־ערש יצועי:
4 אם־אתן שנ‹ה› לעיני לעפעפי תנומה:
5 עד־אמצא מקום ליהוה משכנות לאביר יעקב:

ii 11[a] נשבע יהוה לדוד אמת לא־ישוב ממנה‹:›
12 אם־ישמרו בניך בריתי וע‹ד›תי ז‹ו›־אלמדם
‹ו›גם בניהם עדי־עד ישבו ‹ע›ל־כסא לך:
10 בעבור דוד עבדך אל־תשב פני משיחך
‹שלח מטהו מציון ויֵרדְ בקרב איביו›:

B iii 6 הנה שמענוהָ באפרתה מצאנוהָ בשדי ‹ה›יער:
7 נבואה למשכנותיו נשתחוה להדם רגליו:
8 קומה[β] למנוחתך אתה וארון עֻזך:
13 כי־בחר יהוה בציון אוה למושב לו:
14 זאת־מנוחתי עדי־עד פה־אשב כי־אויתיהָ:

iv 15 צי‹ון› ברך אברך אביוניה אשביע‹ה› לחם:
16 ‹כ›הניה אלביש‹ה› ישע וחסידיה רנן ירננו:[γ]
17 שם־אצמיח‹ה› קרן לדוד ערכתי נר למשיחי:
11[b] מפרי בטן ‹דוד› אשית ‹ע›ל־כסא ‹יהודה›:
18 אויביו אלביש‹ה› בשת ועליו יציץ נזרו:

(α) 1 שיר המעלות
(β) 8 יהוה
(γ) 9 כהניך ילבשו צדק וחסידיך ‹רנן› ירננו:

The Seventy-Second Psalm

WILLIAM G. SEIPLE
NORTH JAPAN COLLEGE, SENDAI, JAPAN

THE Seventy-second Psalm is generally considered Messianic. Jewish interpretation, as reflected in the Peshiṭta, the Targum, the Talmud and the Midrashim,[1] and the mediaeval commentators Rashi (1040-1105), Ibn Ezra (1092-1167) and Ḳimḥi (1105-1170), referred it to the Messiah, while early Christian exegesis, as we learn from the Vulgate and Church Fathers like St. Jerome[2] and Theodoret, found in it, in one way or another, an allusion to the Christ. Mediaeval commentators, like Calvin and Melanchthon, and more recent commentators, like J. D. Michaelis, E. W. Hengstenberg, Franz Delitzsch, Briggs[3] and others regard it as *typically* Messianic, referring it historically to Solomon or some other reigning king but in a spiritual sense to the Messiah or the Christ. But in the *Critical Notes on the Books of Kings* (*SBOT*), p. 227, l. 36 f., Professor Paul Haupt considers this psalm a poem celebrating the accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285 B. C.). The *King* spoken of in the first verse is Ptolemy Lagi, the "second Nebuchadnezzar"; and the *King's son*, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the "second Cyrus".[4]

[1] Cf. B. Pick, "Old Testament Passages Messianically Applied by the Ancient Synagogue" *Hebraica* (= *AJSL*), 2, 134-5.—For the abbreviations see this JOURNAL, vol. 29, p. 112, and the references quoted there.

[2] Cf. H. B. Swete, "St. Jerome on the Psalms", *Expositor*, June 1895, pp. 425-6.

[3] Cf. E. W. Hengstenberg, *Commentar über die Psalmen*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1851), p. 270, and C. A. Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy* (1886), pp. 137-8.

[4] Cf. also *JHUC*, No. 163, p. 54a below and p. 69, n. ‡.

A number of other scholars also refer this psalm to the same period. As early as 1831, Hitzig in his *Begriff der Kritik*, p. 108, referred this psalm to Ptolemy Philadelphus. Olshausen[5] thought that verse 10 referred to one of the Ptolemies but could not agree with Hitzig, as he questioned whether such an identification of the "oppressed" with the people of God, as we have in v. 2, was justifiable as early as the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Reuss[6] assigned the psalm to the time of the early Macedonian rulers, before the Maccabean uprising, i. e., to the period of the Ptolemies. Cheyne in 1891 referred the psalm to Ptolemy Philadelphus and thought it "was most probably composed in Jerusalem before the release of the Jewish captives—not long after the accession of Philadelphus in his father's lifetime, B.C. 285."[7] Wellhausen thinks the king mentioned in the psalm is an Egyptian and consequently assigns it to the period of the Ptolemies.[8] Smend concludes from verses 8-10, where the limits and extent of the king's dominion are mentioned, that the description suits one of the Ptolemies.[9]

Various other views have been proposed. Because of the superscription, the great mediaeval Jewish commentators, Rashi, Ibn Ezra and David Kimḥi, regarded David as the author of this psalm and the king referred to in it as Solomon. The great Reformer, John Calvin, considered it the last prayer of David for his son Solomon, who probably put it into poetic form. Venema (1762), Keil, Hengstenberg, and Professor Franz Delitzsch assigned the authorship of the psalm to Solomon. The superscription of our psalm, however, cannot be taken as furnishing any genuine historical evidence of its author or date.[10]

5 Cf. J. Olshausen, *Die Psalmen erklärt* (Leipzig, 1853), p. 305.

6 Cf. E. Reuss, *Geschichte d. Heiligen Schriften d. A. T.* (2nd ed., Braunschweig, 1890), p. 558.

7 Cf. T. K. Cheyne, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (Bampton Lectures of 1889), London, 1891, p. 144.

8 Cf. J. Wellhausen, *The Book of Psalms* (*SBOT*, English), New York, 1898, p. 193.

9 Cf. R. Smend, *Lehrbuch d. Alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (2nd ed., Freiburg i/B., 1899), p. 376, footnote 2.

10 The great Syrian theologian and Biblical scholar, Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia, more than 1500 years ago, could not regard the super-

Although the title ascribes the authorship to Solomon, he is neither the writer nor the subject of the psalm. It has been ascribed to Solomon, on account of a certain general resemblance of the picture of imperial sway which the psalm presents with that of Solomon's empire in 1 Kings 3-10.[11] The phrases "the king" and "the son of the king" are taken to refer to David and Solomon respectively. The gift of righteous judgment for which request is made in v. 1 is supposed to refer to the wisdom and justice of Solomon. Verses 7 and 8 are supposed to describe his peaceful and extended rule, while v. 10 is taken to be an allusion to the visit of the Queen of Sheba (cf. 1 Kings 10 1 ff.).

Ewald assigned this psalm to the times of Josiah (640-608 B.C.) or even later.[12] Graetz was inclined to refer it to Hezekiah on his accession to the throne (720 B.C.). In this he was followed by Halévy, whereas Dillmann assigned it to the period following Isaiah's activity (740-701 B.C.).[13] Briggs (*Psalms*, 1907) makes it a prayer composed for the occasion of Josiah's accession to the throne. Driver in his *Introduction* (8th ed., 1898), p. 385, makes it pre-exilic but the latest of the royal psalms (2, 18, 20, 21, 28, 45, 61, 63, 72).

Toy and G. Buchanan Gray both consider the psalm post-exilic, the former placing it between the years B.C. 500 and 300, and the latter making it "a product of the period after the Exile but before the Maccabees and not later than the end of the

scriptions of the Psalms, either in the Hebrew or the LXX, as original and authoritative, a view that is now generally recognized. Cf. T. K. Cheyne, "Early Criticism of the Psalter in Connection with Theodore of Mopsuestia", *Thinker* (June, 1893), pp. 496-8, and F. Baethgen, "Siebzehn makkabäische Psalmen nach Theodor von Mopsuestia", *ZAT*, 1886, pp. 261-288; 1887, pp. 1-60.

[11] Jewish tradition regards Solomon as the author also of Ps. 127, Prov., Cant., Eccles., and the apocryphal books of the Wisdom of Solomon and The Psalms of Solomon, cf. C. H. Toy's *Proverbs* (1899), pp. xix-xx.

[12] Cf. H. Ewald, *Die poetischen Bücher des alten Bundes* (2nd ed., Göttingen, 1840).

[13] Cf. J. Halévy, *Revue Sémitique*, 1896, pp. 333-6, and A. Dillmann, *Handbuch d. alttestamentlichen Theologie* (edited by R. Kittel), Leipzig, 1895, p. 528.

fourth century".[14] W. Robertson Smith referred the psalm to the Persian period, "the last days of the Achaemenian empire", during the civil wars under Artaxerxes III Ochus (B.C. 361-336).[15] G. Beer thinks it may be post-exilic and perhaps refer to one of the great kings of Persia.[16] Baethgen, who, following Giesebrecht, omits vv. 8-11 as a later insertion, makes the rest of the psalm an ode belonging to the later period and commemorating the accession of an Israelite king to the throne, but thinks it cannot be determined to which king it refers.[17]

Others put the date of our psalm as late as the Maccabean period. Professor Church in Church and Seeley's *The Hammer*, p. 370, seems inclined to apply it to Judas Maccabaeus. Duhm[18] refers the psalm, with the exception of vv. 5-11, which he considers a later insertion, to a native Israelite king after the Exile, and thinks it was composed under the Hasmonean kings for ritual purposes, perhaps in the time of Aristobulus I (104-3 B.C.) or his brother Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.). S. Weissmann, in the *Jüdisches Literaturblatt*, May 13, 1886, sees an allusion to the Jewish name of Hyrcanus II, who was high priest from 79-40 B.C., in the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον יְנוֹן v. 17.

The language of v. 2, where the entire Jewish nation are spoken of as "oppressed" (עניים) precludes a Solomonic date for our psalm, as such a condition of affairs does not harmonize with the ideal picture of the wisdom and justice of Solomon's reign. There can be no reference here to a pre-exilic king, either of Israel or Judah, as the conditions set forth in the psalm distinctly presuppose the post-exilic period, when the Jews felt the burden of foreign domination with all its attendant ills. The language, too, of the rest of the psalm bears the stamp of a late date. Cf. the parallel in v. 8 to Zech. 9 10 (late Maccabean, so

[14] Cf. C. H. Toy, *JBL*, 7, 53 and 18, 162; and G. Buchanan Gray, *JQR*, 7, 679.

[15] Cf. *OTJC* (1895), p. 221, and article "Psalms", *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed. (1886), 20, 31a.

[16] Cf. G. Beer, *Individual- und Gemeindepsalmen* (Marburg, 1894), p. 59f.

[17] Cf. F. Baethgen, *Die Psalmen* (2nd ed., Göttingen, 1897), p. 218.

[18] Cf. B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen erklärt* (Freiburg i/B., 1899), p. 189.

Prof. Haupt) and the allusion in v. 17b to Gen. 22 18 and 26 4 (640 B.C.).

With the settlement of the question of post-exilic date, there arises another question, viz., whether the king here mentioned is a native Israelite or a foreigner. Reuss[19] thinks there is no mention of a later Jewish king, "for to which of them could the greatest flatterer promise the tribute of Arabia and Ethiopia, of the isles and western possessions?"

The expression "Thy people" in v. 2 seems to be a clear reference to a foreign king. The king appears distinct from the people of God. Wellhausen, in a note on the phrase "Thy people" in the English translation of the Psalms (*SBOT*, p. 193) remarks: "Not: *his* people. They do not look upon themselves as belonging to the monarch for whom they pray. They are a spiritual, non-political people (*Thy* people = Thy pious ones), taking no part in the kingdom and its government". Baethgen admits that the wishes and hopes expressed in vv. 8-11 are so great that we can hardly understand them, if they are referred to an Israelite king, particularly one who lived in a time of oppression, but thinks it improbable that the patriarchal promises of Gen. 22 18 and 26 4, to which allusion is made in v. 17b, should be applied by a pious Israelite to a foreign king.[20]

In v. 15, constant prayer is made for the sovereign. Passages like Ezra 6 9 and 7 23 show us that the post-exilic Jewish community prayed for their sovereigns. Accordingly v. 15b of our psalm finds a striking parallel in Baruch 1 11, where prayer is made for the heathen kings Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar: *καὶ προσεύξασθε περὶ τῆς ζωῆς Ναβουχοδονοσὸρ βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος καὶ εἰς ζωὴν Βαλτασὰρ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*. Cheyne, in commenting on Ps. 72 15 in his *Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter*, p. 154, n. *i*, says: "An occasional special prayer for a Jewish sovereign can be understood, but scarcely that constant repetition of prayer and blessing (Ps. lxxii. 15), except for a foreign ruler of whom much spiritual good might be hoped, but little as yet could be known".

From v. 8, where The River, i. e., the Euphrates, is mentioned

[19] Cf. above, n. 6.

[20] Cf. above, n. 17.

as one of the boundaries of the king's realm, we conclude that there is no reference here to any of the Chaldean, Persian, or Seleucid kings, as, for all of these kings, the Euphrates was an inland stream. From the extent of the king's sway as given in v. 10, an Egyptian king seems to be meant. According to Hitzig, it is neither Inarus, Nectanebus, nor any of the Egyptian kings who tried to throw off the Persian yoke.[21] Wellhausen considers Pharaoh Necho (610-595 B.C.) out of the question. Only the Ptolemies (323-31 B.C.), then, remain for consideration; and because of the extent of the king's dominion in v. 10, one of the first three Ptolemies must be referred to. The phrase "the son of the king" v. 1 cannot refer to Ptolemy Lagi, who was not the son of a king. If we refer the psalm to Ptolemy III Euergetes, we cannot explain the terms of praise in v. 14 f. Accordingly, only Ptolemy II Philadelphus is left.[22]

Our psalm was perhaps presented and recited in Greek at Alexandria by an Alexandrian Jew in 285 B.C., when Ptolemy Lagi appointed his son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, as co-regent, just as Ps. 45 was perhaps presented in Greek by the high-priest Jonathan at the wedding of King Alexander Balas of Syria with the Egyptian princess Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy VI Philometor, at Ptolemais in 150 B.C.[23] Hebrew translations of these two poems may have been later inserted and preserved in the Psalter. The expression מעשי "my poem" Ps. 45 2 seems to be a translation of the Greek *ποίημα* and to point to this.[24]

Our psalm was perhaps written as an expression of the Jewish hopes which Ptolemy's reputation warranted. Ptolemy I Soter, at the age of eighty-two, had abdicated in favor of his younger son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, and died two years later (283 B.C.). An allusion to this event may be seen in the expression *the king's son* v. 1. According to Professor Haupt, the phrase

[21] Cf. F. Hitzig, *Die Psalmen* (Leipzig und Heidelberg, 1863), p. 114.

[22] Cheyne assigns also Ps. 45 to Ptolemy Philadelphus, on the occasion of his marriage with Arsinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus, king of Thrace, cf. his *Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter*, p. 170 f.

[23] Cf. Paul Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902), p. 22, n. 7 = *AJSL*, 18, 212.

[24] Cf. Paul Haupt, "The Poetic Form of the First Psalm", *AJSL*, 19, 136, n. 11, end.

משפטיך למלך־תן *Bestow on the King Thy justice* at the beginning of our psalm has the double meaning of *Endow the King with Thy justice* and *Punish (give it to) him for all he has done to us.*[25]

Punishment is desired for the aged king, Ptolemy I Soter, who, in 312 B.C., took advantage of the Sabbath law to attack and capture Jerusalem, when the Jews were unarmed, and subsequently adopted rigorous measures and carried away very many Jews as prisoners of war to Egypt (cf. Jos. *c. Ap.* I. 22 and *id.*, *Ant.* XII. 1 and Schürer *GJV* [1909], 3, 34).

According to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 1), Ptolemy Philadelphus ransomed with his own money 120,000 Palestinian Jews who had been made prisoners of war by his father and sold into slavery, spending for this purpose more than 460 talents (=$496,800) and paying for each captive 120 drachmas (=$21.60). In the pseudepigraphical Letter of Aristeas,[26] §§ 15-27 and particularly § 37, the number of captives is "more than a hundred thousand" and the price for each twenty drachmas. Thus he "delivered the crying needy" (v. 12) and "redeemed their lives from oppression" (v. 14a), for "their blood was precious in his sight" (v. 14b). Our psalm was probably composed after the news of the release of the captives came to Jerusalem. Josephus tells us (*Ant.* XII. 5) that the high-priest Eleazar, in his reply to the king's letter, says that from feelings or heartfelt gratitude sacrifices were offered for Ptolemy and his family immediately on receipt of the news, and that the people prayed for the king and the prosperity of his kingdom. Cf. v. 15 and Letter of Aristeas, § 45: "We therefore straightway offered sacrifices on thy behalf and on behalf of thy sister and thy children and thy 'friends', and the whole people prayed that thy undertakings

[25] On similar equivocal phrases in Semitic, cf. "Critical Notes on Kings" *SBOT*, p. 227, l. 31; p. 216, l. 17; and Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902), p. 43, n. 30; p. 48, n. 36; and p. 52, n. 4.

[26] For translations, cf. German by Paul Wendland in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen d. A. T.* (Tübingen, 1900) 2, 1-31 and English by H. St. J. Thackeray, *JQR*, 15, 337-391. For text, cf. Paul Wendland, *Aristeae ad Philocratem epistula* (B. G. Teubner, Leipzig, 1900) and H. B. Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (1900), pp. 499-574.

might ever prosper, and that Almighty God would preserve thy kingdom in peace with honor, and that the transcription of the holy law might be to thy profit and carefully executed".

In v. 8 the king's dominion is to extend "from sea to sea", i. e., from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, and "from The River to the ends of the earth", i. e., from the Euphrates to the Pillars of Hercules, or Strait of Gibraltar. The description by the poet Theocritus of the conquests of Ptolemy Philadelphus (Idyl XVII 86-92) reminds us very strongly of vv. 8-11 of our psalm:

> καὶ μὴν Φοινίκας ἀποτέμνεται Ἀρραβίας τε
> καὶ Συρίας Λιβύας τε κελαινῶν τ' Αἰθιοπήων.
> Παμφύλοισί τε πᾶσι καὶ αἰχμηταῖς Κιλίκεσσι
> σαμαίνει, Λυκίοις τε φιλοπτολέμοισί τε Καρσί,
> καὶ νάσοις Κυκλάδεσσιν, ἐπεί οἱ νᾶες ἄρισται
> πόντον ἐπιπλώοντι, Θάλασσα, δὲ πᾶσα καὶ αἶα
> καὶ ποταμοὶ κελάδοντες ἀνάσσονται Πτολεμαίῳ.

"Yea, and he taketh him a portion of Phoenicia, and of Arabia, and of Syria; and of Libya, and the black Aethiopians. And he is lord of all the Pamphylians, and the Cilician warriors, and the Lycians, and the Carians, that joy in battle, and lord of the isles of the Cyclades—since his are the best of ships that sail over the deep—, yea all the sea, and land and the sounding rivers are ruled by Ptolemy".[27]

Polybius tells us that the empire of the first Ptolemy included Egypt, the coast of the Red Sea to Berenike and the Elephant Coast, Cyrene, Palestine, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Rhodes, the "free" cities of the coast of Asia Minor, and the islands of the Aegean Sea. For a century, the Ptolemies controlled the Cyclades and the adjoining coasts, together with Palestine and Coele-Syria.

Ptolemy II received from his father Egypt, the adjacent parts of Arabia and Libya, Cyrene, Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine and Cyprus. By conquest, he extended his rule over the Aegean Sea with its coast cities and islands and also over Caria, Pam-

[27] Cf. Andrew Lang's translation of *Theocritus, Bion and Moschus* (Golden Treasury Series), London, 1901, p. 95.

phylia, Cilicia, and Lycia. At one time during his reign, Egyptian garrisons were stationed even as far as the Euphrates.[28]

We may be quite certain that the tribute from the conquered countries flowed into his coffers, cf. v. 10. Of this we have a striking confirmation in Theocritus, Idyl XVII, l. 95 f.:

> ὄλβῳ μὲν πάντάς κε καταβρίθοι βασιλῆας·
> τόσσον ἐπ' ἄμαρ ἕκαστον ἐς ἀφνεὸν ἔρχεται οἶκον
> πάντοθε. . . . . .

"And in weight of wealth he surpasses all kings; such treasure comes day by day from every side to his rich palace." He was indeed the wealthiest ruler of his time. Appian tells us in his *Prooemium*, chapter 10, that, according to the royal archives (ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀναγραφῶν), Ptolemy II, at the end of his reign, had an army of 200,000 infantry, 40,000 cavalry, 300 elephants, 2,000 war-chariots, weapons for 300,000 men, 2,000 minor war-vessels and 1,500 men-of-war, including quinqueremes, and the material for double this number, 800 sloops with gilded beaks and sterns, the enormous sum of 740,000 Egyptian talents in his treasury, and an annual income of 14,800 talents and 1,500,000 measures of grain.

The early Ptolemies made special efforts to attract trade and commerce with India, Arabia, and Ethiopia to Egypt. To this end, several cities were built on the Red Sea, the Arab pirates routed, and Pharaoh Necho's canal made once more navigable.[29] Mahaffy in his *Story of Alexander's Empire* (New York, 1892), p. 121 f., gives us the following picture of the commercial life of Alexandria, this great center of Hellenism and Semitism, at this time: "It was the great mart where the wealth of Europe and of Asia changed hands. Alexander had opened the sea-way by exploring the coasts of Media and Persia. Caravans from the head of the Persian Gulf, and ships on the Red Sea, brought all the wonders of Ceylon and China, as well as of Farther India, to Alexandria. There, too, the wealth of Spain and Gaul,

[28] Cf. J. P. Mahaffy, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (London, 1899), pp. 42, 54, 68.

[29] Cf. J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (2nd ed., Gotha, 1877), 3, 52-55.

the produce of Italy and Macedonia, the amber of the Baltic and the salt fish of Pontus, the silver of Spain and the copper of Cyprus, the timber of Macedonia and Crete, the pottery and oil of Greece—a thousand imports from all the Mediterranean—came to be exchanged for the spices of Arabia, the splendid birds and embroideries of India and Ceylon, the gold and ivory of Africa, the antelopes, the apes, the leopards, the elephants of tropical climes. Hence the enormous wealth of the Lagidae, for in addition to the marvellous fertility and great population —it is said to have been seven millions—of Egypt, they made all the profits of this enormous carrying trade."

Ptolemy II explored Ethiopia and the southern parts of Africa and brought back for his zoological gardens specimens of curious fauna. Pliny in his *Natural History* (VI, 29: *qui Troglodyticen primus excussit*) is authority for the statement that Ptolemy II was the first to explore the coast of the Troglodytes, the cave-dwellers of Ethiopia.

Ptolemy II was a diplomat rather than a warrior. He never took the field in person, but gained his victories by political combinations and bribes from his enormous wealth. He had his emissaries and supporters everywhere. Besides this, he enjoyed the support and friendship of many kings (cf. v. 11). In 273 B.C., after the defeat of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, by the Romans, he sent a friendly embassy to them. His ambassadors were received with great enthusiasm and accorded every distinction, for he was then the most powerful monarch in the world.

The late date of our psalm, the fact that the king mentioned therein is king of the Jews but a foreigner, who is favorable to them, and the extent of his kingdom—all unite in confirming our conviction that the psalm must refer to Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Both the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kings granted religious freedom and certain political rights to the Jews.[30] Particularly

30 See E. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes* (1902), III, 20, 65 f., 87, and article "Alexandria" in *Jewish Encyclopaedia* I, pp. 361-8, J. P. Mahaffy, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (London, 1899), pp. 32-79; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides* (Paris, 1903) I, 50 f., 223; and articles on "Ptolemy" and "Ptolemy II" in *EB* and Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

in Egypt, the Jews played a prominent rôle in public life. The early Ptolemies were, in the main, favorably disposed toward them, and under some of the later Ptolemies, Jews attained to high positions of trust.

Shortly after the founding of Alexandria, Alexander the Great is said to have induced many Jewish colonists to come there by granting to them the right of citizenship, and even to have established Jewish settlements in Upper Egypt. Mahaffy thinks this hardly probable. At any rate, Ptolemy I Soter carried off great numbers of Jews as captives to Egypt. His lenient policy toward the captives, however, induced many of their co-religionists to come and settle there. During his reign, not less than 30,000 Jewish soldiers were stationed in garrisons throughout the land. Cf. Letter of Aristeas, § 13: "Of which number he armed about thirty thousand picked men and settled them in the fortresses in the country".

No other Ptolemy, however, in fact, no other king, carried his kindness toward the Jews so far as Ptolemy II Philadelphus. He figures in Jewish tradition as the liberator of all the Jewish captives in his realm (Jos. *Ant.* XII. 2) and the patron of the Temple, to which he sent a number of costly presents (Jos. *Ant.* XII. 4). It may have been part of the diplomacy of Ptolemy II to make friends with the Jews in order to win and hold at least the southern part of Syria. Probably because of the growing numbers and importance of the Jewish population in Egypt, he is said to have authorized a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. This version is known as the Septuagint from a tradition recorded in the Letter of Aristeas that it was a translation made all at once by seventy or, more exactly, seventy-two officially appointed translators. The tradition runs as follows.[31]

In the early years of the reign of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the librarian Demetrius Phalereus, who was in charge of the famous Alexandrian Library, suggested to the king that he should have prepared for the Library a Greek translation of the Jewish law-books. For this purpose, Ptolemy sent to Palestine

[31] Cf. also Bar Ebhraya's *Chronicles*, Paris edition, p. 37, and Roediger's *Chrestom. Syriaca*, p. 13 (No. IV).

for translators. Seventy-two men,[32] six from each of the twelve tribes, were sent to Alexandria by the high-priest Eleazar of Jerusalem and put by twos in thirty-six cells on the island of Pharos. They are said to have completed their task in seventy days to the entire satisfaction of the king and his librarian, and to have been sent back to Palestine with expensive gifts and high acknowledgment of their services.

This story is no longer regarded as historical[33] in all its details, but is undoubtedly so far correct, that at least the Pentateuch was translated during the reign of Ptolemy II and possibly under royal patronage. A. Bouché-Leclercq, however, in his work, *Histoire des Lagides* (Paris, 1903), I, p. 223, thinks that the Septuagint version was not made by the orders of Ptolemy II, nor in his time, nor for the Library, but that it was the voluntary effort of Alexandrian Jews, who were working for the large number of their co-religionists who did not know Hebrew.

Ptolemy III Euergetes is said to have offered sacrifices in the Temple at Jerusalem. On an inscription found in Lower Egypt and given by Schürer *GJV*, 3, 66, n. 27, Ptolemy III is represented as granting the right of asylum to a proseuche, or oratory. Some of the synagogues also seem to have enjoyed the same right. This is of interest as showing that the Jewish houses of worship were placed on an equality with the heathen temples.

Ptolemy VI Philometor showed his kindness toward the Jews in permitting them to build a temple at Leontopolis. According to Josephus (*c. Ap.*, II. 5), Ptolemy VI and his consort Cleopatra "entrusted their whole kingdom to Jews, and the commanders-in-chief of the army were the two Jews Onias and Dositheus". Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy VI, in a war against her son, Ptolemy Lathyrus, appointed two Jews, Helkias and Ananias, sons of the high-priest Onias, who built the temple

[32] Note the curious coincidence between the number of translators and the number of our psalm in the Psalter.

[33] The Letter of Aristeas, from internal evidence and its tendency to laud the Jews, shows that it is not contemporary with the events it narrates but is the work of an Alexandrian Jew, writing about 200 B. C. (so Schürer). Wendland, Willrich and Thackeray put it even later. See literature cited in n. 26.

at Leontopolis, as generals in her army (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. 10 and 13).

Under the earlier Ptolemies, the Jews formed so large a portion of the population of Alexandria that a separate section of the city, east of the palace, was assigned to them. Of the five districts, into which the city was divided, two were known as Jewish districts, because inhabited mostly by Jews. Josephus tells us (*B. J.*, II. 18, 8) that the fourth, or "delta", district was populated by the Jews. Although even at this time the Jews were isolated, this isolation was not strictly enforced, for synagogues and Jewish dwellings could be found all over the city. The Alexandrian Jew enjoyed a greater measure of political independence than his co-religionist elsewhere. In Alexandria the Jews formed an independent political community, ruled by an ethnarch. Here they occupied a more influential position in public life than anywhere else in the ancient world. They held public offices and positions of honor, and by their riches and education constituted a large and influential portion of society. So great was their wealth that they were able to make frequent pilgrimages to Jerusalem and send many rich gifts to the Temple.[34]

Neither Olshausen nor Hupfeld found any regular stanzas in our psalm. Hengstenberg divided it into two stanzas: I a, vv. 1-5; I b, vv. 6-10; and II a, vv. 11-15; and II b, vv. 16-17. De Wette arranged it in five stanzas, vv. 1-4, 5-7, 8-11, 12-14, and 15-17. Delitzsch also has the same number, but a different grouping of the verses: vv. 1-4, 5-8, 9-11, 12-15, and 16-17 (so Cheyne, *Book of Psalms*, London, 1888). Ewald divided the psalm into three stanzas, vv. 1-7, 8-15, and 16-17[35] (so also A. B. Davidson, *Biblical and Literary Essays*, London, 1902, p. 161). W. E. Barton (*The Psalms and Their Story*, Boston, 1898, Vol. I, p. 175) has five stanzas, viz., vv. 1-5, 6-8, 9-11, 12-14, and 15-17. The arrangement by Zenner-Wiesmann (*Psalmen*, Münster i/W,

[34] Cf. Hugo Willrich, *Judaica*, Göttingen; Schürer's review in *TLZ* (1900), p. 587; Wilcken, *Griech. Ostraka aus Ägypten u. Nubien* (Leipzig, 1899); *TLZ* (1901), p. 65; and Max L. Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (Berlin, 1897), esp. chapter 1: *Mitherrschaft u. Sammtherrschaft.*

[35] Cf. H. Ewald, *Die poetischen Bücher des alten Bundes* (2nd ed., Göttingen, 1840), part 2, p. 114.

1906-7) is as follows: I a, vv. 1, 2, 3; I b, vv. 4, 6, 5; II, vv. 7, 8, 10, 9, 11; III a, vv. 12, 13, 14, 15; and III b, vv. 16 and 17.

Bickell makes the meter heptasyllabic throughout but cannot discern any arrangement in stanzas.[36] Briggs in his *Messianic Prophecy* (Edinburgh, 1886), p. 138, footnote, considers the psalm a hexameter with occasional pentameters and tetrameters, and divides it into three strophes,[37] or stanzas, omitting v. 12 as an interpolation. In his *Psalms* (1907) he arranges the psalm in two stanzas, vv. 1-7 and 13-17a, each of seven hexameters, and omits vv. 8-12 and 17b as a series of glosses, consisting of citations or adaptations of earlier writings, added in Greek or Maccabean times "to give the psalm a Messianic meaning and to adapt it for public worship". Duhm[38] divides the psalm into nine stanzas, containing each four poetic stichs, or rather hemistichs, with three beats to each hemistich. Vv. 10 and 15a he omits as glosses. Baethgen (*Die Psalmen*, 3rd ed., Göttingen, 1904) makes the prevailing meter double trimeter (*Doppeldreier*, i. e., 3+3 beats), vv. 3, 5, and 17c hexameters (*Sechser*, i. e., three dipodies), and v. 10 two pentameters (*Fünfer*, i. e., 3+2 beats). According to Cheyne (1904) the poem consists of trimeters, i. e., hemistichs of three beats each.

According to Professor Haupt's arrangement of the text, our psalm consists of three stanzas, each of two couplets with 3+3 beats in each line. Verses 4, 12, 13, 7, 3, and 17a should be omitted as glosses and וידכא עושק v. 4 and לעם v. 3 as tertiary glosses. V. 3 may have originally stood in the margin as a gloss to v. 16 but a copyist may have taken it as a gloss to v. 2 and put it immediately after it. Originally vv. 6 and 8 may have been grouped together, as both begin with ירד. Verses 12 and 13 are simply a continuation of the gloss v. 4. The doxology, vv. 18-19, and the colophon, v. 20, form no part of the original poem and are not in metrical form.

[36] Cf. G. Bickell, "Die Hebräische Metrik", *ZDMG*, 34, 557, and 35, 421, and *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, part 3 (Innsbruck, 1883), p. 131.

[37] According to Professor Haupt, the term *strophe* should be used only of quantitative, not of Hebrew accentual, poetry, cf. his article on "The Poetic Form of the First Psalm", *AJSL*, 19, 132, n. 4.

[38] Cf. B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen erklärt* (Freiburg i/B., 1899), p. 187, and *Die Psalmen übersetzt* (Freiburg i/B., 1899), pp. 106-8.

The Hebrew text should be arranged as follows:

עב

A	i	1	α"יהוה" משפטיך למלך־תן	וצדקתך לבן־מלך:
		2	ידין עמך בצדק	ועניך במשפט: β
	ii	14	γמתך δ יגאל נפשם	ויקר דמם בעיניו: ε
		15	ויתפללו בעדו תמיד	וכל היום יברכוהו:
B	iii	6	ירד כמטר על־גז	כרביב מזרף ארץ: ζ
		16	יהיה פשת־בר בארץ	ηירעש כלבנון פריו: θ
	iv	17	ויציצו מעיר כעשב ι	ויתברכו־בו כל הגוים κ:
		5	λיאריך שמו עם־שמש	ועם־ירח לדור דורים:
C	v	8	וירד מים עד־ים	ומנהר עד־אפסי ארץ:
		9	לפניו יכרעו צרים	ואויביו עפר ילחכו:
	vi	10	מלכי תרשיש ואיים { }	ו μשבא ν אשכר יקריבו {ξ}:
		11	וישתחוו־לו כל מלכים	וכל גוים יעבדוהו:

(α) 1 לשלמה (β) 4 ישפט עניי עם יושיע לבני אביון οο:
(γ) 12 כי־יציל אביון משוע ועני ואין עזר־לו:
13 יחס על־דל ואביון ונפשות אביונים יושיע:
(δ) 14 ומחמס (ε) 15 ויחיו ויתנו־לו מזהב שבא
(ζ) 7 יפרח ביומיו צדיק ורב־שלום עד־בלי ירח: (η) 16 בראש הרים
(θ) 3 ישאו הרים שלום ππ וגבעות תלבנה בצדקה: (ι) 16 דארץ
(κ) 17 יאשרהו (λ) 17 {לפני־שמש ינין שמו} יהי שמו לעולם { }
(μ) 10 מלכי (ν) וסבא (ξ) מנחה ישיבו

(ππ) 3 לעם
(οο) 4 וידכא עושק

This may be translated as follows:

Psalm 72

A i 1 [α]Give the king Thy justice, O Jahveh,
and Thy righteousness unto the king's son!
2 He will govern Thy people with righteousness
and rule Thine oppressed with justice.[β]
ii 14 [γ]He will redeem their lives from oppression,[δ]
in his sight their blood will be precious.[ε]
15 They will ever pray for him
and bless him a[ζ]l the day.

B iii 6 He will descend like rain on the mown meads,
like a shower that waters the land.
16 [η]In the land there will be a rich harvest,
[θ]its crop will wave like Lebanon.[ι]
iv 16.17 His loins will sprout like grass,[κ]
with him[x] will all nations bless themselves.[x]
5 [λ]His name shall endure with the sun
and with the moon for ever and ever.

C v 8 May he rule from sea to sea,
from the River to the ends of the earth.
9 Before him foes will bow
and his enemies lick the dust.

(α) 1 By Solomon

(β) 4 He will rule the oppressed of the people, he will save the sons of the needy.[οο]

(γ) 12 He'll deliver the crying needy, the humble and him who is helpless.
13 He'll have pity on the poor and needy, and the lives of the needy he will save.

(δ) 14 that is violence (ε) 15 So that they live and give him of the gold of Sheba.

(ζ) 7 In his days shall righteousness flourish, and welfare thrive till the moon fade.

(η) 16 on the top of the mountains

(θ) 3 The mountains will bear welfare,[ππ] and the hills will run with righteousness.

(ι) 16 of the land (κ) 17 they will call him happy.

(λ) 17 In sunshine his name will bud, his name shall be forever.

(οο) 4 and crush the oppressor (ππ) 3 to the people

vi 10 The kings of The Isles and Tarshish
and [μ]Sheba [ν]will offer tribute.{[ξ]}
11 All kings will bow before him,
all peoples will do him service.

(μ) 10 the kings of (ν) or Seba (ξ) bring a gift

Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text

V. 1.–Five of Kennicott's MSS omit לשלמה, cf. J. B. de Rossi, *Variae Lectiones Veteris Testamenti* (Parmae, 1788), p. 50. Cheyne, in the article "Psalms", *EB*, 3943-4, considers it an error for "Of Salmah",[39] which he refers to the Salmæans, whom he considers a North Arabian clan forming one of the divisions of the temple singers. It was probably prefixed because of מלכי שבא v. 10. A scribe may have thought of the Queen of Sheba and her visit to King Solomon, cf. 1 Kings 10 1 ff. Briggs considers it a "pseudonym of the author composing from the point of view of Solomon".

אלהים is a redactional change and must be replaced by יהוה. So also Baethgen (1904) and Briggs. For a similar redactional change, cf. Ps. 14 2 and 53 3.

𝔊, 𝔖, and Hier. point to a singular משפטך but 𝔗 הלכת דינך agrees with 𝔐. Baethgen, Wellhausen (*Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, Berlin, 1899, VI, p. 178), Duhm, and Buhl (Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, 1909) read the singular.

On the poetic omission of the article with מלך and בן־מלך, even though definite kings are referred to, cf. Ps. 21 2 and 45 2 and GK, § 126, h. The monosyllables תן and מלך in the phrases למלך־תן and לבן־מלך must be treated as enclitics and closely connected with למלך and לבן, both of which receive the tone because they are emphatic by contrast. Cf. Sievers' *Metrische Studien*,[40] §§ 163, 1 and 263.

[39] Cf. Wellhausen's and Winckler's readings of Cant. 1, 5: קדר ‖ שלמה. Cheyne, in the new edition of his *Book of Psalms* (1904), vol. I, p. xlviii, § 13, suggests also as a preferable emendation "Of Ishmael".

[40] *Abhandlungen der philol-hist. Classe d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, vol. 21 (1901).

וצדקתך may take two beats because of its length. Delitzsch and Cheyne (*Origin of the Psalter*, p. 156) consider this a catchword determining the relative position of Pss. 71 and 72, since it occurs both in 71 24 and 72 1. Cheyne (1904) suggests the reading צדקתיך on the basis of Ps. 103 6.

V. 2.–Instead of ידין, 𝔊 undoubtedly read לדין (*κρίνειν*). Buhl prefers to point וְיָדֵן.

For בצדק Briggs would read צדקה. For עמך בצדק, 𝔏 has *populos in tua justitia* (= עמים בְּצִדְקָךְ) and H-P give two variants *ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ σου* and *ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου*.

Halévy proposes the reading ועניו for ועניך (*Revue Sémitique*, 1896, p. 333).

If we insert ישפט after ועניך, it gives us the necessary three beats to the hemistich and restores the poetic parallelism. It may have been omitted by haplography (so Briggs, who, however, would put it after במשפט).

V. 4 is a gloss to v. 2. V. 4a is in the same meter as v. 2 (3+3). ישפט in v. 4 is perhaps written with Pesiḳ to call attention to its omission in v. 2. וידכא עושק is a tertiary gloss to v. 4. Duhm, Baethgen (1904), Briggs, Buhl, and Zenner-Wiesmann (*Psalmen*, Münster i/W, 1906-7) also omit it. Cheyne (*EB*, 3954, footnote 4) regards this clause and also ייראוך עם־שמש v. 5 as corruptions of "He shall crush the folk of Cusham" (עם כשם). In 1904 he considers ידכא עושק a variant to ייראוך עם־שמש v. 5 and emends v. 5 so as to read: "He will crush the folk of Cusham and destroy the race of Jerahmeel" (וישמיד בני ירחמאל). 𝔊 puts all the verbs in v. 4 in the imperative.

V. 3.–This is a prosaic explanatory gloss to v. 16. לעם is a tertiary gloss. We must insert תלכנה before בצדקה. This may be a quotation from some other poem. The person who added this, probably a Palestinian glossator, may have been conscious of the double meaning of בר in פשת־בר v. 16, both "grain" and "purity". Cf. Arabic *burr* "pious, just, righteous, honest" and *burr* "wheat".

For לעם 𝔊 reads *τῷ λαῷ σου* and is followed by 𝔖 and 𝔏. Cheyne (1904) omits it as dittography for לום. For לעם וגבעות בצדקך, Buhl suggests ועלו גבעות צדקה.

According to 𝔊, בצדקה, instead of standing at the end of

v. 3, is put at the beginning of v. 4: *ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρινᾶ*. $\mathfrak{G}^{\text{Ald}}$ and $\mathfrak{G}^{\text{Cpl}}$, however, read *καὶ οἱ βουνοί*, with which $\mathfrak{I}$ and Hier. *et colles justitiam* agree. $\mathfrak{S}$ has זדיקותך, as if it had read צדקתך. Houbigant (*Notae Criticae*, Frankfurt a/M, 1777, Tom. II, p. 58) considered the letter ב superfluous. J. B. Köhler in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, XIII (1783), pp. 144-158, thought that ב was either pleonastic, or else we must supply mentally a verb like תבאנה from the preceding. Böttcher in his *Neue exegetisch-kritische Ährenlese* (edited by F. Mühlau, Leipzig, 1864), Part II, p. 266, believing that there was something wanting between גבעות and בצדקה, of which ב was a remnant, supplied תַּצְמַחְנָה. This Hupfeld considered quite superfluous. For בצדקה Graetz read רב צדקה, supposing that ר had fallen out of the text before ב. Delitzsch suggested תפרחנה as the missing verb. Wellhausen, Cheyne (1904), Duhm, Briggs and Zenner-Wiesmann read simply צדקה. Briggs considers ב an interpretative gloss. Duhm cancels it as a scribal error caused by the similar expressions in v. 2. Halévy reads בְּרָכָה.

Ehrlich takes שלום to mean "security" as in Zech. 8 10, and considers the preposition in לעם as indicating the genetive-relation, so that שלום לעם would mean "general security". From the latter half of the verse he supplies ב as belonging to ישאו, explains the phrase נשא ב as meaning "to partake of, share in" on the basis of Num. 11 17 and Job 7 13, and renders the verse as follows:

> *dass die Berge der herrschenden Sicherheit teilhaft werden, und die Hügel der Gerechtigkeit.*

V. 4.–For general remarks on v. 4, cf. last paragraph of note on v. 2.

Cheyne (1904) reads עמך for עם. On the poetic omission of the article with עם, cf. Ps. 22 7 and 45 13.

הושיע may be construed either with the accusative, as in Ps. 6 5, or with the dative (ל), as here and in Ps. 116 6. According to Duhm, the construction with the dative is an indication of late date.

V. 5.–The emendation וְיַאֲרִיךְ on the basis of $\mathfrak{G}$ *συμπαραμενεῖ*, and $\mathfrak{I}$ *permanebit* for $\mathfrak{M}$ יראוך was first suggested by Job

Ludolf in his edition of the Ethiopic Psalter in 1721 and has since been adopted by Houbigant, Lagarde, Bickell, Brüll (*Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte u. Litteratur*, 1885, p. 71), Cheyne (*Book of Psalms*, London, 1888), Nowack (Hupfeld-Nowack, *Die Psalmen*, 3rd ed., Gotha, 1888), Kautzsch (*Beilagen*, Freiburg i/B, 1896), Oort, Buhl, Baethgen, and Ehrlich. Most scholars construe this verb without an object in the sense of "to live long" and cite Eccles. 7 15. Hupfeld, Graetz, Wellhausen, and Halévy read יִרָאוּהוּ.

Cheyne (1904) considers יָרֵד דּוֹר דּוֹרִים: "a careless scribe's three attempts to write יוֹרִיד".

Ewald thinks a verse has fallen out between vv. 4 and 5, cf. *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, V (1853), p. 173. Beer (*Individual- und Gemeindepsalmen*, Marburg 1894, p. 59 f.) considers v. 5 a marginal gloss that has crept into the text. Baethgen regards it as a later insertion, breaking the connection between vv. 4 and 6. Duhm pronounces vv. 5-11 not genuine and as disturbing the connection between vv. 1-4 and v. 12 ff.

In view of שְׁמוֹ in v. 17, the first part of which verse is a gloss to v. 5, we must insert שְׁמוֹ, which has been omitted before עִם־שֶׁמֶשׁ, perhaps by haplography. We should read וְעִם יָרֵחַ, instead of לִפְנֵי יָרֵחַ, as the latter may be due to לִפְנֵי שֶׁמֶשׁ in v. 17. The first and second clauses of v. 17 should be transposed, and the second clause, לִפְנֵי־שֶׁמֶשׁ יִנּוֹן שְׁמוֹ, regarded as an incorrect poetic explanatory gloss to v. 5, and the first clause as a correct prosaic gloss to the same verse.

In the phrases עִם־שֶׁמֶשׁ and וְעִם־יָרֵחַ in v. 5, עַל־גֵּז v. 6, עַד־בְּלִי v. 7, עַד־יָם v. 8, עַל־דֶּל v. 13, and כִּי־יָצִיל v. 12, the monosyllabic prepositions עַד, עַל, and עִם and the conjunction כִּי are proclitic and throw the tone on the following word, cf. Sievers, §§ 144-5 and 149, 2.

v. 6.–α' renders עַל־גֵּז by ἐπὶ κουράν. $\mathfrak{G}$ σ' and the other Greek versions give ἐπὶ πόκον, with which $\mathfrak{S}$ על גזתא, $\mathfrak{L}$ *in vellus*, and Hier. *super vellus* agree. Graetz proposed the emendation גַּזּוֹ. Cheyne (1904) emends כִּמְטַר עַל־גֵּז to *Maacath and Amalek* (!).

On the authority of $\mathfrak{G}^{\text{Cyr}}$ and $\mathfrak{G}^{\text{Alb}}$ ὡσεὶ σταγὼν ἡ στάζουσα and $\mathfrak{S}^{\text{ph}}$ ואיך טופתא אידא דנטפא, we may change the traditional division of the consonantal text, as at the time the text of our

psalm was written there was *scriptio continua* and no *matres lectionis*, join the final ם of 𝔐 כרביבים with the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον זרזיף, point it as מְזֵרֵף, and read the sg. כרביב. Cf. Prof. Haupt's paper "Lea und Rahel", *ZAT*, 29, 286, n. 5, where the participle מזרף is referred to a stem זרף, which is identified with the stem זלף and is found also in the Syriac *zârîftâ*, "shower of rain". The word מזרף, because followed by ארץ, has recessive accent and should be accented on the penult, cf. GK, § 29, e, and Sievers, §§ 169-176, particularly § 174, 1 and 2.

Baethgen, who retains 𝔐 זרזיף as a noun in the sense of "shower" or "sprinkling", gives examples of similar quadriliteral, or pluriconsonantal, forms in ancient and modern Syriac with the repetition of the first radical in the third place.

Wellhausen thinks a verb is concealed in 𝔐 זרזיף. Hupfeld proposed the emendation יזריף, which was adopted by Bickell and Cheyne (1888). Graetz, following Krochmal, read ירעיפו (*befruchten*). Halévy suggests יַרְווּ "saturates, waters", and Duhm proposes the reading זִרְזְפוּ. So also Buhl, who gives also alternative readings זֹרזפי and ירזיף, and compares Syr. זרף to Heb. זרם. Briggs reads זֹרזפי and regards the י in זרזיף as transposed. Cheyne (1904) emends the second clause to *Rehobothites and Zarephathites*. Ehrlich retains 𝔐 and considers זרזיף a predicate noun and ארץ in the accusative depending upon the idea of motion expressed in זרזיף.

V. 7.—With the majority of modern commentators, including Hare, Street, Lagarde, Oort, Graetz, Krochmal, Wellhausen, Duhm, Baethgen, Cheyne (1904), Ehrlich and Buhl, we must read צדק for 𝔐 צדיק, on the authority of the ancient versions 𝔊, 𝔍, Hier., and 𝔖 and three MSS. Briggs suggests either צדק or צדקה with a preference for the latter, as in v. 2 it is also ‖ שלום.

Cheyne (1904) emends בימיו to באדמה.

Hitzig considered ורֹב שלום a corruption of דִּבֶּר שלום which, together with v. 8, he regarded as a quotation from Zech. 9 10. Halévy thinks the second hemistich of v. 7 is corrupt and reads יֶרֶב for ורֹב, an emendation also suggested by Lagarde. Cheyne (1904) considers vv. 7b and 8 glosses to v. 6 and emends 7b to ויֹריד ישמעאל וירחמאל and v. 8 to יֹריד ישמעאל וירחמאל וג׳. Ehr-

lich reads וְרַב and עַד for 𝔐 עד and renders *Und volle Sicherheit herrsche auch in mondloser Nacht.* Briggs omits ורב as an interpretative gloss to שלום. Buhl suggests וְרַב or וְיֶרֶב. The former emendation is to be preferred.

For ירח Buhl would read חק as in Isa. 5 14.

This verse is an explanatory gloss to v. 6. The monosyllable וְרַב is proclitic, because of its close connection with שָׁלוֹם, and gives it the tone, cf. Sievers, § 162, 1b.

V. 8.–Giesebrecht, Baethgen, Beer and also Duhm consider vv. 8-11 a later insertion. Briggs adds also v. 12 and v. 17b. According to Duhm and Baethgen, v. 8 is taken almost word for word from Zech. 9 10. Duhm considers 𝔐 וְיֶרְד a scribal error caused by יֶרֶד at the beginning of v. 6, and substitutes וּמָשַׁל from Zech. 9 10.

𝔖 נהרותא and 𝔈 *'aflâg* "rivers" may be *plurales amplificativi* for *the great river,* the Euphrates, cf. *Crit. Notes on Prov.* (*SBOT*), p. 34, l. 31, and *Crit. Notes on Kings* (*SBOT*), p. 295, l. 3.

In the phrase עַד־אַפְסֵי אָרֶץ, because of the proclitic preposition עַד (cf. Sievers, § 145), we should expect the tone to rest on the final syllable of אַפְסֵי. But then we should have two accented syllables following each other, as אַפְסֵי אָרֶץ. According to GK, § 29, e, the tone could not rest on the first syllable of אַפְסֵי, because it is closed, but we know from GK, § 29, g, that our rule is not without its exceptions. On the question of the recession of the accent, cf. also Sievers, §§ 169-176, particularly § 174, 1 and 2. Sievers suggests in § 175 changing the accent of the second word, in this case אָרֶץ to אֶרֶץ, but this is impossible as ארץ is a monosyllable (cf. GK, § 84, a). It is only fair, however, to Professor Sievers to state that he considers the segholates dissyllabic,[41] cf. *Metrische Studien,* § 193, 6.

V. 9.–𝔖 גזרתא points to a reading אִיִּים for 𝔐 צִיִּים. Cheyne (1904) reads מִצָּרִים and for 𝔐 ואיביו, וערבים. Olshausen's emendation צָרִים restores the parallelism and is to be preferred. This has been adopted by Graetz, Hupfeld, Halévy, Dyserinck, Bickell, Cheyne (1888), Oort, Siegfried-Stade, Wellhausen,

[41] They are dissyllabic in certain modern Arabic dialects, cf. *kelleb* or *kalb.*

Duhm, and Briggs. Because of the preceding לפניו, it is not necessary with Buhl to read צריו.

V. 10.–Cheyne (*EB*, 4899, article "Tarshish") emends *Tarshish* to *'Ašḥûr* or *'Aššûr* and defines it as "a N. Arabian district of somewhat uncertain extent, also known perhaps as Geshur". In 1904 he reads *Jerahmeelites and Asshurites* for מלכי תרשיש ואיים and omits *Jerahmeelites* as an incorrect variant to *and Asshurites*.

Bickell and Cheyne regard סבא as a later insertion, cf. *EB*, 4342, article "Seba", and Cheyne (1904), where he reads שבאים.

Hitzig considered אשכר a corruption of אשפר, which occurs in 2 Sam. 6 19 and 1 Ch. 16 3. The meaning of אשפר, however, is doubtful. For אשכר, Cheyne (1904) reads אַשְׁחַר חָרֵץ, considers it a gloss on תרשיש, and omits מלכי v. 10b as dittography.

We must omit מנחה ישיבו as a prosaic explanatory gloss to אשכר יקריבו v. 11, as well as מלכי before שבא and also וסבא as glosses.

V. 11.–Instead of כל־מלכים, 𝔏 read *omnes reges terrae*, with which $\mathfrak{G}^{\text{cpl}}$ and $\mathfrak{G}^{\text{Alb}}$ agree.–Cheyne (1904) regards v. 11 as a gloss to v. 10b.

The monosyllabic pronominal forms לו and בו in the phrases וישתחוו־לו v. 11, עזר־לו v. 12, ויתן־לו or ויתנו־לו v. 15, and ויתברכו־בו v. 17b are enclitic and throw the tone on the preceding syllable, cf. Sievers, § 165.

V. 12.–Beer (*op. cit.*, p. 59 f.), following Giesebrecht and Baethgen, thinks this verse is most naturally connected with v. 7.

𝔊, Hier., 𝔖 read משוע for 𝔐 משׁע. So also Ehrlich, in the sense of "magnate". Cheyne (1904) reads מְעוּשָׁק.

This and v. 13 are to be omitted as mere repetitions of the thought of v. 14. Briggs omits v. 12 as a gloss and a mere variation of v. 4. Vv. 12-13 may be illustrative quotations from some other poem, added by a later hand.

V. 14.–Duhm considers מתוך and ומחמס variants and omits the latter (so also Buhl). Cheyne (1904) thinks that מתוך probably represents *Maacath* and חמס is a corrupt form of *Cusham*, which is a gloss to *Maacath*. We must, however, point מתך

(from stem תכך, cf. Syr. *tûkâ*) with Hitzig and Duhm.[42] ומחמם is an explanatory gloss to the more unusual word מתוך, with *Waw explicativum*, which frequently accompanies glosses (so also Baethgen and Briggs).

Instead of ויקר, we should point ויִקַר with Olshausen and compare 2 Kings 1 13. α′ καὶ τιμηθήσεται seems to point to a reading וְיִקַר.

For דמם, 𝔊θ′𝔏𝔗 read שמם. 𝔊^{Cyl} and 𝔊^{Ald} have τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.

V. 15.–Cheyne (1888) considers this verse a quotation from an intercessory prayer for the king, which was written by one scribe in the margin and incorporated into the text by another. Baethgen adopts this view for the first clause only and in his third edition (1904) finds a confirmation of his view in the different meter (*Vierer* = tetrameter, i. e., 2 + 2 beats) in this clause from that of the rest of the verse (*Doppeldreier* = double trimeter, i. e., 3 + 3 beats). Buhl omits this clause as a later addition and Beer as a marginal gloss incorporated in the text. Duhm finds in it two distinct glosses, the first of which, ויחי, he thinks is taken from Ps. 49 10 (Heb.) and refers to the poor man, while the second has the king or the Messiah as its subject. Briggs inserts the words המלך לעולם after ויהי: "It is probable that an ancient copyist used ויחי for the longer formula, and that a later scribe misunderstood his abbreviation".

Cheyne (1904) considers ויחי a variant to יהי v. 16, and "they give him of the gold of Sheba" a paraphrase of v. 10b. For כל־היום ויתפלל בעדו תמיד, he reads ויפליט עבדיו מאדום and for מִירחמאלים יפרקֵנו ,יברכנהו.

Ehrlich reads for ויחי the Pi'el וִיחַי "may he live!" and compares German *leben lassen* and Arabic *ḥayya*, II *ḥayyâ* "to greet, salute". He considers the subject of this verb as well as the suffix in לו and the subjects of the verbs יתפלל and יברכנהו as indefinite.–Graetz puts all the verbs in this verse in the plural and emends לו to למו.

Max L. Strack in his *Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (Berlin, 1897),

[42] On a similar use of תוך for תך, cf. 2 Sam. 1 25a and Professor Haupt's paper "David's Dirge on Saul and Jonathan", *JHUC*, No. 163, p. 57a, n. 27.

pp. 12-17, considers כל־היום יברכנהו as an explanatory gloss, added by an orthodox Jew to prevent the preceding clause from being taken to mean divine worship of the king.

We must omit the first part of v. 15 as an explanatory gloss, appended to v. 14 by some reader, in the same style as ויזכא עושק v. 4.–For the sgs. יתפלל and יברכנהו, we should in each case read the plural.

V. 16.–For 𝔐 יהי we should read יהיה.–For the *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* פסת, Lagarde, Graetz, Cheyne and Wellhausen propose שִׂפְעַת "fullness". Hupfeld cites this emendation with approval, cf. Hupfeld-Nowack *Die Psalmen* (3rd ed., Gotha, 1888), p. 205. Duhm's conjecture of מִסַּת "sufficiency" on the basis of the Syriac מסתא "contentment" (1 Tim. 6 6) is unsatisfactory. Cheyne (1904) reads משפט. פסת has been referred to the stems פשה (Arabic *fašā*, Mishnic פסה) and פסס *to spread out* but it is probably phonetic reading for פְּשַׁת from a stem נפש, akin to Assyrian *napâšu* "to be abundant", Aram. נפַּשׁ "to be numerous", and Arabic *nafise* "great riches". Cf. Peshiṭta סוגלא דעבורא = Assyr. *napâš ebûri* "abundance of grain" and the footnote by Professor Haupt in *BA*, 5. 471 f. The form פְּשֶׁת, then, which we should perhaps read instead of פְּשַׁת, may be referred to this verb, or, as verbs Primae Nun and Primae Waw frequently interchange, to a stem *napâšu* (for *ŋapâšu*). פְּשֶׁת, then, would be formed from a biconsonantal theme פש, just as Heb. שְׁנָה, which is usually referred to ישן (for ושן), and Syriac שנתא with the same meaning, cf. Nöld., Syr. Gr., § 105. If we retain the pointing פְּשַׁת, we may compare with it the analogical post-Biblical word טְפָה "drop" from נטף.–The words בר and שמש in פשת־בר and לפני־שמש v. 17a receive the tone after their constructs, which are regularly proclitic, cf. Sievers. §§ 158 and 159, 2. Cheyne (1904) considers 𝔐 בר miswritten for בארץ and reads יחי for 𝔐 יהי. בראש הרים must be omitted as a gloss by a Palestinian reader, as there are no mountains in Egypt. For בראש Cheyne (1904) reads כִּבְרוֹשׁ.

Ewald, assuming a hypothetical stem ראש (*gipfeln*) as identical with רעש, emended 𝔐 ירעש to יראש, cf. *Jahrbücher d. Bib. Wissenschaft* (Göttingen, 1853) 5, 173. Graetz proposed the emendation יֵעָשֵׂר "may it be rich (or abundant)". Duhm reads

דֵּי עשב לפניו for 𝔐 ירעש כלבנון and translates די עשב by *Kraut genug*. On the basis of Job 5 25 and 21 8, he joins לפניו with 𝔐 ויציצו מעיר, which he emends to צֶאֱצָאֵי מֵעָיו, places 𝔐 פריו after מעיו, and renders the whole: *Vor ihm* (dem Könige) *seien die Sprösslinge seines Leibes, seine* (Leibes-)*Frucht.*—For 𝔐 ירעש, Cheyne (1904) reads יַשְׁרֵשׁ "it will strike root". Buhl thinks ירעש corrupt and would put the Sôph Pāsûḳ immediately after it.

For 𝔐 פריו, Wellhausen reads פרי as a genetive depending on לבנון and renders it *a Lebanon of fruit* "a hyperbolical plural of *fruit-tree* = a vast number of fruit-trees". Baethgen (*Die Psalmen*², 1897) emends it to יפרו "may they be fruitful", connects it closely with what follows, and thinks that יפרו was perhaps originally a gloss to 𝔐 ויציצו. In his third edition (1904), he gives up the idea that יפרו was a gloss. For 𝔐 כלבנון פריו, Cheyne (1904) reads כְּאֶרֶז בַּלבנון, supposing that כארז has fallen out, owing to the resemblance of ארז to ירעש.

For 𝔐 ויציצו מעיר, Graetz proposed the emendation ויציצו ערים. For 𝔐 ויציצו מעיר כעשב הארץ, Cheyne (1904) reads ויציץ כעשב הארץ, omitting מעיר as a corruption of וערים, which he considers a variant to הרים. For 𝔐 ויציצו, Ehrlich reads ויֵצאו.—𝔐 מעיר is probably haplography for מֵעָיו. We may omit הארץ as a gloss.

Briggs (*Psalms*, 1907) omits בר as an explanatory gloss, reads שֶׂה for ירעש, regarding it as probably representing יֵרַע־שה "may sheep pasture", of which ירע then would be an explanatory gloss to שה, and renders the first part of the verse: *May there be an aftergrowth in the land, on the top of the mountains sheep.* For 𝔐 כלבנון פריו he reads בלבנון פרים *kine on Lebanon,* basing his emendations on 𝔊 ὑπέρ = ב and that ו is "often error for מ". מעיר he changes to מִיַּעַר and renders the last clause of the verse: *And may flowers bloom out of the forests as herbs of the field.*

Baethgen (1904), for metrical reasons, thinks a foot is lacking after הארץ at the close of the verse and that we must supply some word like יפרח or יצמח (*sprosst*).

V. 17.—For remarks on the first two clauses of v. 17, cf. first paragraph of note on v. 5.

The last clause of v. 17, with the insertion of the article before גוים and the omission of יאשרהו as an explanatory gloss to the preceding, should be put after the last clause of v. 16 to form the first line of the second couplet (vv. 17 and 5) of the second stanza (vv. 6, 16, 17, 5) of the poem.

Cheyne (1904) omits 𝔐 שמש and considers it a distortion of שמו, written too soon. For לפני, he reads לפניך, emends ינין to יכון (so also Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Graetz, Ehrlich, and Briggs on the authority of 𝔊, 𝔍, 𝔗 and one Heb. MS), and renders: *Before Thee let his name endure.* Duhm thinks we have a conflate reading in 𝔐 יהי שמו לעולם, for which 𝔊 shows the original text. He accordingly substitutes ברוך for שמו (Buhl ברוך for יהי) and considers 𝔐 ינין a mistake for יניץ from a stem נוץ = נצץ. Cheyne (1904) considers this latter emendation "an improbable Aramaism". Buhl in Gesenius-Buhl's *Hebr. u. Aram. Handwörterbuch* (15th ed., 1910), s. v. נין, infers from 𝔊 *διαμενεῖ* the reading יָדוּן "remain" from דון on the basis of Gen. 6 3. Nestle conjectures a form from לון or לין, see *ZAT*, 25, 201.

For the second שמו, which Briggs omits as a copyist's error, Ehrlich conjectures שִׁמְשׁוֹ and interprets it as meaning "his lucky star", comparing Jer. 15 9 and Kiddushin 72b: עד שלא כבתה שמשו של עלי זרחה שמשו של שמואל "before Eli's star was extinguished, Samuel's star rose".

Beer considers the whole of v. 17a a marginal gloss, incorporated into the text, and Briggs v. 17b a gloss based on Gen. 12 3 18 18 and 22 18.

On the authority of 𝔊, Kautzsch, Cheyne (1888), G. Buchanan Gray (*JQR*, 7, 679, n. 2), Duhm, Briggs and Buhl supply כל־משפחות הארץ, the latter putting it after יאשרהו, Graetz כל עמי הארץ, and Wellhausen, Baethgen and Ehrlich כל־משפחות האדמה. Cheyne (1904) supplies simply משפחות.

With Wellhausen we may omit יאשרהו as a gloss to the preceding יתברכו־בו.

V. 18.—Verses 18 and 19, which form the doxology and are no part of the original poem, have no metrical form as they stand. In order to give them a regular meter, we should have

to omit יהוה אלהים v. 18a, שם 19a, and כבודו 19b. Zenner-Wiesmann omit vv. 18-20.

𝔐 אלהים is omitted by five MSS, 𝔊 and 𝔖. Briggs considers it a "conflation of Elohistic and Yahwistic editors".

V. 19.–It is perhaps better with Duhm, GK, § 121, e, and Cheyne (1904), following 𝔊 Num. 14 21 to read Ḳal ימלא instead of Niph'al.

V. 20.–The colophon is wanting in seven MSS. On the form כָּלוּ, Pu'al with *ŏ* for *ŭ*, cf. GK, § 52, q.

It is not necessary with Graetz, T. K. Abbott in *Hermathena* VIII (1893), p. 76, Cheyne (1904) and Ehrlich to read תהלות for 𝔐 תפלות.

According to Cheyne (1904) 𝔐 דוד בן־ישי has come from *Arab-Ethan the sons of Ishmael*. He considers 𝔐 בן־ישי a corruption of בני ישמעאל, which he makes a gloss or variant on ערב איתן, derived from 𝔐 דוד. In his opinion, the colophon, which originally referred to what he terms the "Ethanic Psalter", a collection of the earlier psalms entitled "Of Arab-Ethan", was transferred to the end of Ps. 72 to include it also, although it was originally entitled "Of Ishmael", and later on the words, "the sons of Ishmael", were appended to "Arab-ethan".

B. Jacob, in an article entitled "Die Reihenfolge der Psalmen", *ZAT*, 18, 100, n. 1, maintains that 𝔐 תפלות דוד should be translated *Ended are prayers of David* (i. e., there now follows a series of others), not *the prayers of David*, but, as Nöldeke has shown in *ZAT*, 18, 256, it can only be rendered *the prayers of David*, as the construct is made definite by the following proper noun. *Prayers of David* would have to be expressed by תפלות לדוד, cf. *a son of Jesse* בן לִישי, GK, § 129, c.

The Titles of the Psalms

GEORGE R. BERRY
COLGATE UNIVERSITY

THE specific purpose is to consider the significance of the titles of the psalms in relation to the chronological arrangement of the smaller collections.

In Briggs' Commentary on the Psalms, as is well known, is given a very full and generally satisfactory view of the smaller collections which preceded the present psalter and on which it was based. This is derived from the titles, the dominating idea being that several titles, principally those that have often been thought to denote authorship, are the titles of these small collections, the title of the collection having been given to the individual psalm when it was used in another collection, or at the final compilation of the whole psalter. In Briggs' chronological arrangement of the collections, however, no consideration is given to the order of arrangement of the titles. Presumably some system was observed in this matter, the new title being either prefixed or affixed to those already present. My suggestion is that is was prefixed, and that thus, with certain limitations, the titles show the chronological arrangement of the collections. Obviously, as will appear, if there was any custom it must have been this, it could not have been that of affixing the title.

The order of arrangement which Briggs gives is chronological, except that in some cases, as will appear, he dates two collections at approximately the same time, and is as follows: Miktam, Heb. מִכְתָּם, 6 psalms, middle Persian period; Maskil, Heb. מַשְׂכִּיל, 13 psalms, late Persian period; David, Heb. לְדָוִד,

74 psalms, late Persian period; Korah, Heb. לִבְנֵי־קֹרַח, 11 psalms, early Greek period; Asaph, Heb. לְאָסָף, 12 psalms, early Greek period; Mizmor, Heb. מִזְמוֹר, 57 psalms, early Greek period; Elohistic psalter, no title, psalms 42-83, middle Greek period; Director's psalter. Heb. לַמְנַצֵּחַ, 55 psalms, middle Greek period; Hallels, Heb. הַלְלוּיָהּ, 18 psalms, Greek period, enlarged in Maccabean period; Pilgrim psalms, Heb. שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת, once שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת, 15 psalms, 120-134, middle Greek period.

The Hallels and the Pilgrim psalms have no titles besides these, and hence were in no other collection. Four of the Pi'grim psalms have in the present text, to be sure, the title David, but this must be a mistake, as Briggs says. No psalm is in both Maskil and Mizmor. No psalm is in more than one of the following: David, Asaph, Korah.

The principle above indicated makes possible the chronological arrangement of all the collections except the Elohistic psalter, the Hallels, and the Pilgrim psalms, these exceptions being for the reason just indicated. These three collections are, therefore, not here considered. The arrangement of the other collections, according to the principle indicated, is as follows: Miktam, David, Asaph, Maskil, Mizmor, Korah, Director's. Maskil and Mizmor might be transposed, as no psalm occurs in both; also David and Asaph, for the same reason. The order of titles is fairly uniform in favor of this arrangement. The exceptions form only a small proportion, and are probably due to textual causes, some dislocation for that reason, in the nature of the case, being inevitable. The regular order and the exceptions are as follows. The regular order, David Miktam, four times, the reverse twice; the regular order Maskil David five times, the reverse once; the regular order Mizmor David twenty-nine times, the reverse seven times; the regular order Maskil Asaph twice, the reverse none; the regular order Mizmor Asaph seven times, the reverse twice; the regular order Korah Maskil twice, the reverse once; the regular order Korah Mizmor five times, the reverse once, not considering psalm 88, which has two complete inconsistent titles, the first, Mizmor Korah, being usually considered a later addition; the regular order Director preceding all others in all cases, fifty five times, psalm 88 being

understood as just stated. The place of the musical directions is in harmony with this view, and in fact favorable to it. These, in twenty nine psalms, were doubtless added in the Director's psalter, as Briggs says. Except in psalm 46, where they come after Korah as well as Director, and are followed by שִׁיר, these musical directions in every case immediately follow Director.

The Sabbath in the Old Testament

(Its Origin and Development)

THEOPHILE JAMES MEEK

JAMES MILLIKIN UNIVERSITY, DECATUR, ILL.

THE question of the Hebrew Sabbath is still one of the vexing problems of Old Testament study, despite Langdon's declaration that "the origin and meaning of the Hebrew Sabbath are philologically and historically clear" (*Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms,* p. XXIII). The conclusions presented in this paper may not be without their difficulties, but to the writer, at least, they seem best to represent the evidence as at present known. It may be of interest to note that they were arrived at quite independently of Zimmern, Meinhold and others, with whose conclusions it was afterwards found they are in general agreement.

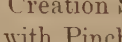
It was Zimmern in 1904, in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft", who first suggested in print that the Sabbath was originally the day of the full moon. Meinhold followed him in 1905 with a more elaborate treatment of the thesis, *Sabbat und Woche im A. T.,* and again in 1909 in the "Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft". The hypothesis has been accepted by Beer (*Sabbath: Der Mishnatractat Sabbat*) and by Marti (*Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion,* etc.), but has not received the consideration from English-speaking scholars, I believe, that is its due.

Sabbath in Babylonia

The origin of the Sabbath is certainly not to be found with the Hebrews themselves. Ultimately it is "to be traced back

to those nomadic ancestors of the Hebrews and the Canaanites, who paid chief homage to the moon, whose benign light guided them in their night journeys over the plains of northern Arabia" (Kent, *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents*, p. 257). The Sabbath most probably harks back to the remotest Semitic antiquity and like taboo, sacrifice, ancestor-worship and the like, was evidently an institution shared by all.

The name, Sabbath, first appears in Babylonia and as an institution may, in fact, be traced back to the early pre-Semitic inhabitants of that land, the Sumerians. In a bilingual tablet, K. 6012 + K. 10684, containing a list of the days of the month, the equation Ú-XV-KAM = *ša-bat-ti* (line 13) appears, i. e. the 15th day of the month was known in Babylonia as the *šabattu*, and further, it is the only one of the month that is so named (see Pinches, *PSBA*, 1904, pp. 51 ff.). Now the Babylonian month was a lunar month of approximately 30 days and the 15th day, or the middle of the month, would be the day of the full moon. We would infer, then, that the *šabattu* was identical with the day of the full moon and with it alone.

This is further suggested by all the references to the Sabbath in Babylonian literature that are at present known. In another bilingual text, C. T. XII 6, 24, we have the equation Ù (Sumerian for "day") = *ša-bat-tu*, i. e. the Sabbath was to the Babylonians "the day" par excellence, one of the great festival days of the month. In the Creation Story, Tablet V 18, the signs,  are evidently, with Pinches and Zimmern, to be read *ša-bát-tu*, instead of [*âm*]*u XIV-tu* as formerly. The usual determinative after numerals in this tablet, as elsewhere, is *kam* not *tu* (cf. Creation Story, Tablet V 17, *VII-kam*; Gilgameš Epic, Tablet X col. III 49, *ûmu XV-kam*; etc.). With this restoration line 18 would read: "On the [Sa]bbath thou (the moon) shalt be equal (in both) halves". Likewise in the Gilgameš Epic, Tablet X col. III 49 the 15th day or the Sabbath is evidently the day of the full moon.

The *šabattu* was not a day of rest, on which work was prohibited, for many contract tablets are dated on that day (Küchler, *Die Christliche Welt*, 1904, p. 296; Johns, *Expositor*, Nov. 1906; Wilson, *Princeton Theological Review*, 1903, p. 246). In C. T.

XVIII 23 it is called *ûm nuḫ libbi* i. e. a day for the pacification of the anger of the deity, an appropriate day for penance.

The Sabbath used to be, and by many scholars still is, identified with the Babylonian "favorable, unfavorable days", which for the intercalary month of Elul fell on the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21th, and 28th days, (IV R. 32 f.), but there is absolutely no evidence that these have any connection whatsoever with *šabattu*. Indeed, as we have noted, there is as yet no evidence anywhere that *šabattu* was applied to any day other than the 15th, and to assign this term to other days, as Jastrow[1] and many scholars do, is the purest assumption and is based upon a preconceived idea as to what the Sabbath was. Neither is there any evidence that the terms *šabattu* and *nubattu* have any connection with each other.

With the Babylonians the Sabbath was manifestly a full moon festival and the etymology of the word would seem to confirm this. The root *šabâtu* in V R. 28 e. f. is equated with *gamâru*, "to complete, fulfill, bring to an end", or intransitively, "to be complete". *Šabattu*, then, could mean the day on which the moon was complete or full.

Sabbath in Early Israel

If the Sabbath was the day of the full moon with the Babylonians, we would expect it to be the same with the early Hebrews, to whom it was more or less indirectly communicated. Here again the evidence would seem to confirm our expectations. The word שַׁבָּת is probably contracted from שַׁבַּתְתּ (so Olshausen, König, Driver, W. R. Smith, Cook, ecl.). The root שבת (cf. Isa. 14 4, 24 8) in its transitive form means "to sever, put an end to"; in its intransitive form "to desist, come to an end, be at an end, be complete" (Arabic, سَبَتَ, "to cut off, intercept"). The grammatical form of שַׁבָּת, according to some, suggests a transitive sense, "the divider", i. e. apparently the day that divides the month, the 15th or the day of the full moon. Meinhold (*ZATW*, XXIX, 101) takes it in the intransitive sense and argues for שַׁבָּת the meaning "the complete,

[1] E. g. in *A. J. Th.*, II, pp. 312 ff.

the full" moon. So many derivations of the word, however, have been given (for a summary see Beer, *Sabbath*, p. 13, note 3), that little help can be expected from the word itself, until more positive evidence is forthcoming. It is, at any rate, not to be identified with נוח, "to rest, repose". The idea of rest is a later meaning that was read into the word.

All our evidence would seem to indicate that the Sabbath in early Israel had nothing whatever to do with the seventh day of the week. The observance of the seventh day was probably early, for it is prescribed in both J (Ex. 34 21) and E (Ex. 23 12), but it could not possibly have been earlier than the settlement of the Hebrews in Canaan, when they began first to engage in agriculture. A periodic rest for a nomadic people is an impossibility, but an economic necessity for a people engaged in agriculture and the like. It probably had no relation to the moon and with the Hebrews came to be arbitrarily designated as every seventh day because of the sacredness attached to the number seven and the sense of completeness which it expressed (see further Meinhold, *Sabbat*, pp. 13-14; Hehn, *Siebenzahl und Sabbat bei den Babyloniern und im A. T.*). In Ex. 20 8ff. and Dt. 5 12ff., where the Sabbath is identified with the seventh day, all modern scholars are agreed that the law stood originally, "observe (variant 'remember') the Sabbath to sanctify it". Ex. 20 9-11 is the addition of a late P redactor and Dt. 5 by the large majority of scholars is placed in or near the Exile. In any case it is a late amplification of the earlier, more simply expressed law. In no other passage in the pre-exilic literature of the Old Testament is it even suggested that the Sabbath is to be identified with the seventh day. Jer. 17 19-27, since the time of Kuenen, has been universally regarded as a scribal gloss from a period as late as the days of Nehemiah. The only other references to the Sabbath in pre-exilic literature (with the exception of those mentioned in the following paragraph), II Kings 11 16, 18, throw no light upon its origin.

On the other hand the Sabbath in early Israel is very intimately connected with the new moon and is uniformly coupled with it, e. g. Am. 8 4ff., Hos. 2 13, Isa. 1 13ff., II Kings 4 23 (cf. also the reminiscences of this association in the later literature,

Ez. 45 17, 46 3, Ps. 81 3, Neh. 10 34, Isa. 66 23, I Chron. 23 31, II Chron. 2 3 8 13 31 3). Just so in Babylonian literature the first and the fifteenth days are grouped together (Radau, *Early Babyl. History,* p. 315; Pinches, *PSBA,* XXVI, 59). The Harranians had four sacrificial days in each month, at least two of which were determined by the conjunction and opposition of the moon (*Encycl. Brit.*, 11th edition, XXIII, 961). The ancient Hindus observed the new moon and the full moon as days of sacrifice. The full moon as well as the new moon had evidently a religious significance among the ancient Hebrews (cf. Ps. 81 3), for, when the great agricultural feasts were fixed to set dates, the days selected were the full moons.

"Wenn nun in alter Zeit in Israel Neumond und Sabbat neben einander genannt werden, so kann der Sabbat damals nicht der Tag der 4 Mondphasen gewesen sein. Denn dann wäre ja auch der Neumond ein Sabbat! Auch konnte der Sabbat nicht schon der vom Mondwechsel getrennte letzte Tag der siebentägigen Woche sein. Denn dann fielen ja Neumond und Sabbat gelegentlich zusammen: es sind aber verschiedene Feste! Dann bleibt also für den Sabbat nichts anderes übrig, als im Unterschied zum Neumond an den Vollmondstag zu denken" (Beer, *Sabbath*, p. 12; cf. further Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche*, pp. 3 ff.). Eerdmans' objection, that the Sabbath is not expressly called the full moon, is of little moment, for שבת is as explicitly full moon as חדש is new moon.

To give further credence to this hypothesis, there is evidently in Lev. 23 11 (P) a trace of the fact that the 15th or the day of the full moon was at one time known as the Sabbath. "Denn der 'nach dem Sabbat' (מחרת השבת) kommende Tag, an dem der Priester beim Mazzenfest die Erstlingsgarbe für Jahwe weiht, kann nur innerhalb der 7tägigen Festwoche vom 15.-21. des 1. Monats fallen. Wäre der Sabbat hier der letzte Tag der 7tägigen Woche, und fiele ein Sabbat auf den 14., der aber noch nicht zu der Festwoche zählt, so würde der erste Sabbat der Festwoche selbst erst auf den 21., also den letzten Tag der Festwoche fallen, so dass der 'Tag nach dem Sabbat' gar nicht mehr zu der Festwoche gehören würde! Ganz anders, wenn eben der 15. als der Vollmondstag der Sabbat ist. Dann ist

der 16., als 'Tag nach dem Sabbat', am besten geeignet für die das Fest einleitende Weihe der Erstlingsgarbe" (Beer, *Sabbat*, p. 13).

The fact that Ezekiel so roundly rebuked the previous generations for desecrating the weekly Sabbath (Ez. 20 13, 16 21 24 22 8, 26 23 38) indicates very clearly that it was not observed in the earlier period, probably because it was unknown. Just so Deuteronomy condemned the Hebrews of his day for worshipping at high places, regardless of the fact that he was the first to prohibit such worship.

The full moon would constitute a most appropiate occasion for a sacrificial feast, for the moon has always had a large place in Hebrew thought, indeed in Semitic thought generally (cf. Baudissin, *Mond bei den Hebräern*). It was supposed to exert both a good and a bad influence on plants, animals and men (cf. Ps. 121 6). As nomads and shepherds. the Hebrews regarded the night as benevolent, the day with its withering heat as malevolent. Most of their journeyings, as with the Arabs today, were made at night, and it was natural, then, that they should pay homage to the moon that lighted their way. In Jer. 7 18 8 2 44 17 ff. we have references to the worship of the moon (cf. also Judges 8 21, 26, Isa. 3 18, II Kings 23 5, Dt. 4 19 17 3, etc.). The ancient Semites universally worshipped the moon and the stars, (cf. Hommel, *Der Gestirndienst der alten Araber*; B. D., III, 434, etc.). The old non-agricultural Germans observed the new moon and the full moon as religious festivals (Tacitus Germania II). The Passover was set to the full moon in the spring (Ex. 12 22) and probably had some connection with the moon originally (see Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche*, p. 30). The Hebrew traditions connect the early movements of the race with a number of places intimately connected with moon worship, e. g. Ur and Haran (where the moon-god, Sin, was worshipped); the wilderness of Sin, which the Hebrews are said to have entered on the 15th (the full moon) day of the month (Ex. 16 1)! The new moon was always observed as a religious festival (I Sam. 20, II Kings 4 23, Am. 8 4 f., Hos. 2 13, Isa. 1 13 ff., etc.). It is not at all unlikely, therefore, that the full moon was similarly observed (cf. Ps. 81 3), and that this full moon festival was known as the Sabbath.

Gressmann (*Mose und seine Zeit,* pp. 461 ff.) believes that the origin of the Sabbath is to be found in Ex. 16 23 ff., which he regards as an ancient saga of the Hebrews. But this passage is universally regarded as part of the late priestly writings. Its account is so completely out of harmony with all the ancient sources which we have noted, that it can scarcely be believed that we have an old tradition preserved here. It is P's interpretation of an incident in Israel's history and is quite in line with his views elsewhere.

The manner in which the Sabbath was observed lends further support to the belief that it was originally a full moon festival and differentiates it very sharply from the Sabbath as we know it in post-exilic times. The older laws only demand such cessation from daily toil as among all ancient peoples naturally accompanied a day set apart as a religious festival. "The Greeks and the barbarians have this is common that they accompany their sacred rites by a festal remission of labor" (Strabo X 3 9). On both the new moon and the Sabbath there was a remission of general business (Am. 8 5). The animals and servants were not needed for ordinary toil and could be used for other purposes (II Kings 4 22 f.). But the Sabbath was not a day of absolute rest, for it was on this day that the guard in the Palace and Temple were regularly changed (II Kings 11) and Jehoiada carried through a revolution against Athaliah on the Sabbath and considered it no desecration of the day (II Kings 11). Like the new moon it was one of the stated religious feasts of the Hebrews and was a day of joy and festivity (Hos. 2 11, cf. I Sam. 20 4 ff.); it called men to the sanctuary to make sacrifice (Isa. 1 13); it was a good day to visit a prophet (II Kings 4 22 f.). So many people were accustomed to visit the Temple on that day that soldiers were required to police the crowds (II Kings 11, cf. Isa. 1 11 ff.). It was in a much later period that the idea of rest and complete cessation from all labor was attached to the Sabbath. Like so many of the other religious institutions, which the Hebrews held in common with their Semitic kinsmen (e. g. circumcision, sacrifice, new moon, etc.), it came in time to acquire with them distinguishing features of a marked kind and to assume a new character.

Sabbath in the Pre-Exilic Prophetic Period

The Sabbath continued essentially the same through the pre-exilic prophetic period, except in one particular. Both it and the new moon seem to have fallen into disrepute with the prophets, evidently because of their association with the moon. The prophets were the mighty mouth-pieces of the Yahweh religion and looked askance upon any institution that savored of heathen association. Hence all forms of astral religion were denounced by them (Am. 5 21, Hos. 2 13, Isa. 1 13, Jer. 8 2 19 13, Zeph. 1 5, cf. also Isa. 47 13): were absolutely prohibited by Deuteronomy (Dt. 4 19 17 3); and Josiah, stimulated thereto by Deuteronomy, attempted to stamp it completely out of the land (II Kings 23 5). This antipathy of the prophets to astral religion even went to the extent of causing them to give historical explanations for the feasts, e. g. in the case of the Feast of Unleavened Bread and Passover (Ex. 23 15 34 18 12 1 ff., Dt. 16 1 ff.). The New Moon festival is completely ignored by Deuteronomy or struck out altogether and yet up to that time it was considered a most important feast (cf. I Sam. 20 4 ff., II Kings 4 23, Am. 8 5, Hos. 2 13, Isa. 1 13). Deuteronomy proper (i. e. Ch. 12-26), nowhere mentions the Sabbath and this is particularly striking in view of the fact that he gives a very complete calendar of feasts in Ch. 16. "Es wäre ja geradezu unerhört, dass eine schon auf Mose zurückgehende, das ganze Volksleben durchziehende Einrichtung, nämlich die siebentägige Woche mit einem Sabbat genannten Ruhetag am Schluss, die in nichts mehr den Zusammenhang mit dem Mond verriet, so gänzlich von den deuteronomischen Gesetzgebern ignoriert wäre" (Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche*, p. 8).

The prophets were great social reformers and little interested in the ritual. With them the element of rest, that was attached to the Sabbath, was given first place, that of worship was made secondary, evidently because of its heathen association. In this probably is to be found the beginning of a movement whereby the Sabbath was separated altogether from the moon and identified with the seventh day and complete rest prescribed for its observance (cf. Dt. 5 13 ff.).

Sabbath in the Exilic Period

From what has been said about the attitude of the prophets to the Sabbath, it might be expected that the institution would have disappeared altogether in the period of the Exile. But the very reverse is the case. It was emphasized as it never was before. And this is a fact not hard to explain. The exilic period was in many respects a reaction against that immediately preceding it. Under the influence of the priest-prophet Ezekiel and his school the ritualistic feature of the Yahweh religion was tremendously emphasized. The Yahweh religion stood in such dire peril that it seemed necessary to accentuate its peculiar forms and institutions in order to perpetuate its existence. Hence we have in this period the production of such legalistic writings as the Holiness Code (Lev. 17-26 in large part) and the Book of Ezekiel (particularly Ch. 40-48)—the forerunners of the elaborate Priestly Code of later years. These legalistic writers, in contradistinction from the prophets, were careful to preserve all the institutions of ancient Israel and in their old ritualistic form.

Another reason for the important place given to the Sabbath during the Exile grew out of the Deuteronomic reform. That had closely bound all the religious feasts to the now-destroyed temple and sacred city. Hence they necessarily, for a time at least, fell into abeyance in so far as their observance was concerned. The Sabbath Deuteronomy had not mentioned and it alone could be observed by all the exiles wherever they were. It met a deep need and kept alive their faith in the Yahweh religion. Indeed for many it became the symbol of the ritual as a whole. Its observance became the distinctive mark of a loyal member of the race and was one of the few things that remained to differentiate them from their heathen neighbors. No wonder, then, that it bulked so largely in their thought and literature.

It was in the Exile or in the years immediately preceding it that the Sabbath became dissociated from the moon and came at length to be identified with the seventh day (Ez. 46 1, cf. Ex. 31 15 H^P). We have already noted what was probably the

beginning of a movement in that direction. The prophets had vigorously denounced all astral religion. Hence such feasts as the New Moon and Sabbath became odious to them. On the other hand an observance like the seventh day as a period of rest and worship was quite acceptable. The exilic leaders were as much concerned as the prophets to differentiate Israel's religion from all others but they chose to do it in a different way, viz. by a revival of the earlier ritualistic conceptions. Accordingly they were careful to preserve all of the old but dissociated from anything that savored of heathen practice. Hence it was that the Sabbath was revived but now in a new association. It became identified with the seventh day and in course of time grew to be one of the most ritualistic of Jewish institutions.

It is not difficult to conceive how this change came about. It was exactly in line with the general tendencies of the times. The similarity of the words Sabbath (שבת) and seven (שבע) might have had something to do with it, and likewise the meaning of the word Sabbath. In any case it is no more difficult to understand how the term could have been taken over from the full moon festival and applied to the seventh day than it is to understand why it should have been taken over from the seventh day in Christian times and applied to the first day. With the Christians it received a significance radically different from what it previously had and its earlier connection was soon completely lost and forgotten.

The observance of the Sabbath in the Exilic period was altogether in harmony with what we have already said about the period. The primitive ritualistic conception was revived and enlarged, and the necessity of abstaining from labor emphasized, not for man's sake, as the prophets would have put it, but as an element of worship—an end in itself. It was regarded as a sign between Yahweh and his people (Ez. 20 12, 20, Ex. 31 13 H^P); it was to be observed as a holy day (Ez. 44 24, Ex. 31 14 H^P) and was not to be desecrated as it had been by former generations (Ez. 20 13-24 22 8, 26 23 38); it was to be strictly observed (Lev. 19 3b, 30 26 2) and to that end sacrifices were prescribed for it (Ez. 44 24 45 17 46 1-5, 12). It was altogether a day of abstinence and no longer one of joy and festivity.

Sabbath in the Post-Exilic Period

In the post-exilic period the ritualistic character of the Sabbath was accentuated to a greater degree than ever and it was very definitely connected with the seventh day (Ex. 35 1-2 31 15-17, Lev. 23 3, Ex. 16 22-26, all from the P document). The tendency was to make the Sabbath a central and saving institution, until in the Mishnah it was given first place among the feasts. The restrictions with regard to its observance became ever more and more detailed and casuistical, e. g. it was unlawful for one to leave his house on the Sabbath (Ex. 16 29) or to carry burdens (Jer. 17 19-27); one could not make a fire on the Sabbath (Ex. 35 3); what food was needed for the Sabbath must be prepared on the day previous (Ex. 16 23); in fact all manner of work was prohibited (Ex. 20 10, Lev. 23 3). It was to be a day of complete rest and cessation from all toil and business of every kind (Neh. 10 32 3 15 ff.). Indeed the priestly law-givers did not cease until they had made labor on that day a capital offence (Ex. 35 2, Num. 15 32-36). Not only was it a day holy to Yahweh (Ex. 16 23 31 15 35 2), but its consecration was a law which Yahweh had promulgated at creation (Gen. 2 2 f., Ex. 20 11). In this connection, however, it is of interest to note that P never represents the patriarchs as observing it or being at all cognizant of its existence. He probably believed that it was not communicated to the Hebrews until it was delivered by Yahweh to Moses at Sinai (cf. Neh. 9 14). As a holy day the Sabbath was to be kept holy by the people and free from all profanation (Ex. 20 10-11, Lev. 23 3, Isa. 56 2, 4, 6 58 13), and special offerings were prescribed for its observance (Num. 28 9 f., I Chron. 23 3 f., II Chron. 2 4 8 13 31 3, Neh. 10 33).

It is just a little surprising that the Sabbath is nowhere mentioned in the Psalms or in the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament. It may be that these writers followed more nearly in the footsteps of the earlier prophets and to them, as to the prophets, the priestly emphasis upon the ritual was more or less repugnant and they would have none of it. Their sympathies, at least, were decidedly not with the movement whereby the Sabbath lost completely its early joyousness and festivity

and came finally to be the severest kind of burden, fettered by every manner of restriction and loaded down with ritual. Little wonder that Jesus found the Sabbath of his day unbearable and continually rode rough-shod over its absurd restrictions and by one stroke swept them aside: "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath", (Mk. 2 27).

The Oracle against Edom

(Isa. 63 1-6 and 59 16-17)

FREDERICK C. HARDING

YONKERS, N. Y.

THE purpose of this paper is to show grounds for making certain changes in the arrangement of Isa. 63 1-6 and to show the relation between this passage and Isa. 59 16-17.

It is generally recognized that Isa. 63 1-6 does not belong with the context but is an independent oracle with at least one line missing. It is also widely held that the waw consecutive should replace the simple waw wherever the latter occurs and that ואשברם should be changed to ואשברם in vs. 6a2. To these propositions this paper agrees.

There are, however, other phenomena that have not received sufficient attention and the rearrangement to be proposed is the result of an attempt to solve the problems which these phenomena raise. The references are to Kittel's text in which each line consists of two trimeter members.

The characters 6a2 (see above) will illustrate the method of reference to be followed. They refer to the verse, the line and the member respectively.

The emendations suggested and discussed in this paper are:—

A. A line similar to vs. 3c2 should be added to verse 6a.
B. Lines b-c of vs. 3 should be deleted.
C. Isa. 59 17 should be included in this oracle between vss. 5 and 6.

A. The reason for adding a line similar to vs. 3c2 to vs. 6 can best be shown by comparing vs. 3b-c with vs. 6.

Vs. 3

b "And I trod them in mine anger,
And I trampled them in my fury;
c Their juice splashed upon my raiment,
And I have defiled all my garments,"

Vs. 6

a "And I trampled peoples in mine anger,
And I crushed them in my fury;
b And I spilled to the earth their juice,
. . . . . .

It is obvious that the second member of line b in vs. 6 is missing and that without it the poem ends abruptly.

Since it is not likely that the oracle originally lacked this member and since vs. 3b-c1 practically duplicates what remains in vs. 6 it is quite probable that the missing member originally corresponded with the second member of vs. 3c with perhaps verbal differences as in the other corresponding members.

B. The reasons for deleting vs. 3b-c are many. There are defects affecting both the interpretation and the structure of the poem for which they in their present position are responsible.

1. Vs. 3b1 is metrically deficient.

The measure is trimeter throughout with this and one other exception. That the author was not indifferent to the meter is very evident, especially in vs. 5b2 where the הוּא emphatic seems to have been dictated by metrical rather than by grammatical necessities.

This raises the question as to whether the deficiency in vs. 3b1 and another in vs. 1b2 are intentional. Another word is to be desired in vs. 1b2 to bring out the parallelism between it and the first member of the line, otherwise the two members run together and might pass for a single pentameter line. Some commentators add כֹּחַ after רַב but it is better to add אֲנִי *before* רַב. The verse would then read:—

"I that speak in righteousness,
I mighty to save."

This makes a strong parallelism and it is easy to see that a copyist may have overlooked the repeated word, or possibly thought it unnecessary, and so allowed it to drop from the text.

The deficiency in vs. 3b1 is more important because it is associated with a grammatical difficulty which the restoration of the meter might clear.

2. Vs. 3b is grammatically obscure.

This obscurity reveals itself when we seek the object of the verbs "trod" and "trampled" in this line.

The pronominal suffix "them" has apparently the "peoples" of the preceding line for its antecedent. But these are mentioned only to declare their absence. Cheyne therefore thinks that the trampling of these "peoples" was subsequent to, and not identical with, the treading of the wine-press. If this view is correct then vs. 3b-c is not a description of the event mentioned in the preceding line, but of something which happened afterwards, and the splendid figure of the wine-press becomes a subordinate feature; the real stage of action being some distant field where the vintner wreaks vengeance on those who failed to come to his assistance.

Apart from the improbability that a poet would thus sacrifice a figure for which he had so carefully prepared the way, there is positive evidence, in his use of the verbs "trod" and "trampled" and especially in his use of the word "juice" as a metaphor for blood, that he had no intention of doing so. Since, then, the "trampling" takes place in a wine-press it seems reasonable to suppose that vs. 3b-c is a description of the event mentioned in the preceding line.

But how can the peoples who are "trampled" be absent? The fact is we need another word not only to complete the meter of vs. 3b1 but also to enable us to make the necessary distinction between the absent "peoples" and the contents of the wine-press. Fortunately we are not left to conjecture what this word is, for vs. 6a1 supplies it. The interesting thing is that the needed word is "peoples" and it suggests the opinion that whoever is responsible for the present condition of the text substituted the pronoun in vs. 3b1 because the word "peoples" already occurred in the preceding line. If vs. 3b-c is to be retained, this word must be restored.

While, at first glance, this does not appear to help the situation, a closer inspection will show that it does, for it enables us to make the distinction we are seeking.

The "peoples" who are "trodden" and "trampled" may have been Israel's near and troublesome foes whom Yahweh as the Vintner had determined to crush. The absent "peoples" would then be more distant nations among whom he looked for a servant; some rising or risen world power that would crush Edom and the "peoples" Edom typified and yet spare Israel, as others had crushed Israel and spared Edom.

The use of the same word to designate two classes of nations somewhat obscures this distinction, but the suffix pronoun in vs. 3b1 utterly obliterates it. It is awkward, too, that such a word should occur in successive lines, but this is no argument against the emendation, rather is it an argument to be added to those which follow for deleting vs. 3b-c, since this strophe occurs again in a more appropriate place.

3. Vs. 3b-c interferes with the strophical arrangement.

With another member added to vs. 6b there are three distinct tetrastich strophes in trimeter measure: vss. 1a-b, 5 and 6. The rest of the passage can be arranged in any one of several ways; there is no obvious and natural strophical structure.

Such a structure appears at once if vs. 3b-c is deleted; vs. 4 connects just as well with 3a as it does with 3c and the entire passage falls into a series of tetrastich strophes with the exception that vss. 1c and 2 are best left apart to form independent distichs, the one ending the first section and the other beginning the second.

4. Vs. 3b-c anticipates the climax and so obscures the progression of events.

If these lines are omitted there is a fine progression to a splendid climax. The answer to the watchman's question begins in vs. 3a: The vintner *has* trodden a wine-press as the watchman surmised, he has trodden it alone. Vs. 4 gives the reason why in the absence of aid he had trodden it *alone*: the day of vengeance had come, i. e. the grapes were ripe and gathered for crushing and the task could be no longer postponed. Vs. 5 tells how amazed the vintner was that none of his servants appeared

to undertake or even to help in the work, and how therefore it was necessary for him to come in person and execute judgment. Vs. 6 forms the climax with its description of the terrible finale. The interpolated strophe not only destroys this fine progression but it destroys, too, the climactic effectiveness of the final strophe, since it completely answers the watchman's question before all the details are in. Vs. 6 is thus made to appear as a mere repetition of the finale already described in vs. 3b-c, but repeated here because of the added details in vs. 5.

But verse 5 is an integral part of the picture, and to regard it as an afterthought is to miss the author's entire purpose. It is the grim solitariness of the vintner as well as the terribleness of the destruction that he desires to depict. This he mentions in vs. 3a1, amplifies in vs. 3a2, and dramatically emphasizes in vs. 5.

If vs. 3b-c is omitted, the "aloneness" of the vintner stands out in strong relief and is strikingly impressive, but if retained the picture is blurred because the connection between vs. 3a and vs. 5 is obscured.

There should remain little doubt that vs. 3b-c did not originally occur in its present position and the real question is as to whether it should be substituted for vs. 6 or simply be used to complete that verse.

The reasons for adopting the latter course form the final reasons for deleting vs. 3b-c.

5. In the word אנאלתי *vs. 3c2 introduces an alien idea.*

As to the form of this word opinion is divided; some explain it as an Aramaic form, hiphil first pers. perf., others as a mixed form. The latter are probably right, the preformative of the imperf. being added to a verb in the perf. to indicate that it should be read as an imperf. in conformity with the preceding verbs. This note was made, most likely, by those responsible for the present pointing of the waw in this passage.

The quarrel here is not with the form but with the word itself, for it makes the vintner say that his raiment is "defiled" and this does not harmonize with the description of that raiment given by the watchman in vss. 1-2.

The watchman mentions the garments four times. In vs. 1b

he calls them "glorious" and it is probable that חָמוּץ in vs. 1a is meant to convey the same impression.

In any case he nowhere uses a word involving the idea of "defilement". Either the idea does not occur to him or he carefully avoids suggesting it. Under these circumstances the vintner's use of גאל is suspicious.

The difficulty is usually met by understanding it to mean simply "stain" or "soil", but it has this meaning only in a moral or ritual sense. According to Driver (*LOT.*, 418, note) its primary meaning is "to assert (by purchase) a right, hence fig. to reclaim, rescue, esp. from servitude, oppression".

Thus it came to mean to free, to liberate, and since holy things were not free to the uninitiated, גאל gained use to describe things common, profane, things not acceptable to Yahweh (cf. Mal. 1 7, 12) or persons ritually disqualified from eating of "the most holy things" (cf. Ezra 2 62-63). In Isa. 59 3 the word occurs in the phrase כִּי כַפֵּיכֶם נְגֹאֲלוּ. Here even if it is translated by the word "stain" it still carries the idea of defilement, for it is not the actual stains that the prophet condemns or of which he speaks, but the guilt of shedding innocent blood.

There is no warrant for understanding גאל to mean "defile" apart from this moral or ritual implication, and to translate it otherwise is arbitrary.

The usual connotation of the word is against its use here, for it is only innocent blood that defiles in this sense. Mere blood does not defile, else the blood of the sacrifice would defile the altar. Nor does the blood of the guilty defile, for when the land is defiled by the blood of the innocent the blood of the guilty is the only thing that can cleanse it; cf. Numb. 35 33.

Independently therefore of the lack of consistency in calling the garments glorious in one line and defiled in another, there are two reasons for doubting whether this word originally appeared in this poem:—

a. The blood on the garments is not that of the innocent but of the guilty.

b. In the terms of the metaphor, the garments are not stained with blood but with juice.

6. Vs. 3b-c was probably wanting in the Septuagint.

So far only internal evidence has been considered and it shows that all the real difficulties concentrate in these two lines. It is not surprising therefore to find that the external evidence is also against their retention.

The heading of this section does not mean that there are not two descriptions of the treading of the wine-press in the Sept.; for there are, and they occupy the same relative positions there that they do in the Masoretic text.

Both descriptions, however, agree with that given in vs. 6 rather than that in vs. 3 b-c. These passages are quoted from Swete's edition.

Vs. 3b-c:

καὶ κατεπάτησα αὐτοὺς ἐν θυμῷ μου
καὶ κατέθλασα αὐτοὺς ὡς γῆν
καὶ κατήγαγον τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν (εἰς γῆν)

Vs. 6:

καὶ κατεπάτησα αὐτοὺς τῇ ὀργῇ μου
καὶ κατήγαγον τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν εἰς γῆν

It will be seen that vs. 3 b-c in the Sept. almost exactly duplicates vs. 6 of the Masoretic text. Incidentally κατέθλασα in the second member of vs. 3b in the Sept. confirms the change of שכר to שבר in the second member of vs. 6a in the Masoretic text. It is possible too that ὡς γῆν in vs. 3 b 2 above is a corruption of ὀργῇ μου. The only reference to the garments in the Sept. codices is in Cod. Sin. where a very early corrector, perhaps the original copyist himself, has written in the word ἱμάτια in vs. 6. Strangely it does not take the place of γῆν but of αἷμα which is manifestly wrong. This is a vague hint that such a word existed in the MSS. back of the Sept., but that its relation to the context was indistinct.

On the basis of the foregoing arguments it is fair to conclude that vs. 3 b-c was originally an interpolation of vs. 6 (at an earlier point in the poem) which in the Masoretic text has become a paraphrase. We are indebted to it for preserving the reference to the garments, but after using it to complete vs. 6 it should be deleted.

The attempt may now be made to supply the missing member

in vs. 6. The exact wording is of course more or less a matter of conjecture but perhaps not altogether so. For instance we may be reasonably certain that it had the word *garments* and that it carried on the figure of the wine-press.

The subject would therefore be נִצְחָם which in vs. 6b is made to spurt down to the earth, i. e. to the floor of the wine-press, and would reach the garments by "splashing up". It is not necessary to repeat נִצְחָם since it occurs as the object in the preceding measure, and all that we need to complete the missing measure is a verb in the 3. pers. and a preposition expressing the idea of "splashing upon". Such a verb and preposition appear in vs. 3c1 where וַיֵּז עַל so exactly meets the requirements of the words we are seeking; where indeed the whole measure so fits the needs of the situation; that it is a question if it should not be regarded as the one which originally completed verse 6. It is here that the element of conjecture comes in, for we have the whole of vs. 3c from which to select.

The verb גאל need not be considered, for, aside from the objections already urged, it does not suit the figure so well as נזה. The only real element of conjecture is as to whether the subject was repeated and which of the two words for garments was used.

The line reads better without the repetition of the subject and with the inclusive phrase כל־מלבושי.

Transferring the new measure to the end of vs. 6 the last line would read:

וָאוֹרִיד לָאָרֶץ נִצְחָם
וַיֵּז עַל כָּל־מַלְבּוּשַׁי

If this is not an exact restoration of the original it is probable that it does not essentially differ from it.

C. *A unity in Isa. 63 1-6 and Isa. 59 16-17.*

The following considerations suggest the inclusion of Isa. 59 17 between vss. 5 and 6 of Isa. 63.

a. Vss. 16-17 of Isa. 59 form a poetic fragment which does not unite with the context.

b. This fragment does unite with Isa. 63 at the place designated.

a. *1. Vss. 16-17 do not unite with vss. 1-15 a.*

Isa. 59 1-15a is a prophecy addressed to a people distressed and distracted. The point of the prophecy is that the distress is not due to any lack of power or willingness in Yahweh (cf. vs. 1) but to the sins of the people (cf. vs. 2).

These sins are catalogued in vss. 3-8 though it is doubtful if these verses are a unity. In vss. 9-11 the prophet identifies himself with the people and voices their complaint of the unhappy conditions, and in vss. 12-15a he voices their confession. The people is Israel and the prophet is dealing with existing conditions.

In vs. 15b the waw consecutive of the imperfect following a waw consecutive of the perfect and a participle marks an abrupt transition from a description of the present to a narrative of the past. The unusual feature is not the fact of the transition but that it involves an illogical situation; for vs. 15b implies that the conditions described as present in vs. 1-15a were the cause of events narrated as past in vs. 16-17, and so makes present conditions cause something to happen in the past. Neither grammatically nor logically do the two sections unite.

2. Vss. 16-17 do not unite with vss. 18-21.

The imperfect with waw consecutive in vss. 16-17 is followed by pure imperfects in vs. 18, which causes another abrupt transition, this time from the past to the future.

If vss. 16-17 are a description of the way in which Yahweh prepared himself to execute the judgment described in vs. 18, the third pers. perf. should continue at least through that verse. But the two sections do not belong together, vs. 16b shows that the judgment is past and vs. 17 is a part of a description of how it took place. The judgment in vs. 18, however, is yet in the future. The redactor attempts to unite the judgment in vs. 16-17 with the preceding section by means of vs. 15b. The Sept. includes this redaction and unites vs. 17 and 18 in a peculiar way. It omits the second member of vs. 17b and continues into vs. 18 without punctuation as follows:—

"And he wrapped on a garment of vengeance
And his clothing / was as one repaying a recompense."
(καὶ τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ / ὡς
ἀνταποδώσων ἀνταπόδοσιν).

The sign / indicates the place where 17b1 runs into vs. 18. Whatever textual conditions lie behind this translation it is at least possible that this represents an attempt to bridge what was felt to be a noticeable gap.

The fact that the redactor and the Sept. translator both seem to have noticed the lack of connection between vss. 16-17 and the context supports the contention that they constitute a fragment which does not belong in ch. 59.

b. The connection between 59 16-17 and 63 5 is widely recognized, but the exact nature of this connection seems to have escaped observation. The view argued here is that 59 16 is a free quotation in the third pers. of 63 5, and that 59 17 is similarly a quotation of a verse which once followed 63 5. The first of these propositions can be demonstrated by a comparison of the two verses involved.

Isa. 59 16:

"And he looked but there was no man,
And he was astounded but there was no attacker;
Therefore his own arm got him victory,
And his righteousness it sustained him."

Isa. 63 5:

"And I looked but there was no helper,
And I was astounded but there was no supporter;
Therefore mine own arm got me victory,
And my fury it sustained me."

It is clear that both in structure and ideas these strophes are alike. The wording too is such as to show dependence of one upon the other.

The hithpael of שמם in the second measure of both strophes is of itself convincing and the הִיא emphatic in the fourth measure should not be overlooked.

The first measure is the only place where the verbs differ and there they are practically synonymous.

The other differences are interesting. אֵין אִישׁ may have come from 63 3a. מַפְגִּיעַ in the second measure is translated in the Sept. as though it were סוֹמֵךְ as in the second measure of 63 5, the same word ἀντιληψόμενος being used at both places. צְדָקָתוֹ in the fourth measure can hardly be correct since צְדָקָה is a part of the apparel in the first measure of vs. 17. The verbal differences favor the priority of 63 5 and the dependence of 59 16 upon it. The chief difference is the change in the person of the verb; but since from the above considerations one of these strophes must have been a quotation of the other, the congruity of 63 5 with its context suggests that *it* is the quoted, and the other the quotation, in which the change is made to the third pers. in the effort to make it fit its new position.

If vs. 16 is a quotation of Isa. 63 5, then, because the two strophes belong together, vs. 17 is in all likelihood a quotation of a strophe which at the time of the quoting appeared between vss. 5 and 6 of ch. 63. This is confirmed by the fact that when it is given this place it is found to fit exactly in meter, strophical form, subject matter, and position. Now, the watchman's reference to the glorious garments is filled with meaning, and the manner in which the vintner uses the opportunity to display the splendor of his array and, at the same time, to tell how he prepared himself for his fearful task, is a stroke so deft and sure as to establish beyond question the author's genius.

The reconstructed poem is a literary gem and is in itself a strong argument for the changes which have been proposed and defended on purely critical grounds, as this translation will show.

Watchman.—

"Who is this coming from Edom,
Brilliant of garment from Bozrah;
This glorious in his raiment,
Marching in the strength of his might?"

Vintner.—

"I that speak in righteousness,
I mighty to save."

Watchman.—

"Wherefore the red on thy garments,
And thy raiment as one treading a wine-press?"

Vintner.—

"A wine-trough I have trodden alone,
And of the nations none was with me;
For a day of vengeance was in my heart,
And the year of my deliverance was come.

And I looked but there was no helper,
And I was astounded but there was no supporter;
Therefore mine own arm got me victory,
And my fury it sustained me.

And I put on righteousness as a coat of mail,
And a helmet, salvation on my head,
And I put on garments of vengeance for clothing,
And I wrapped on zeal as a cloak.

And I trampled the peoples in mine anger,
And crushed them in my fury;
And I spilled to the earth their juice,
And it hath splashed upon all my raiment."

Note on the pointing of "Waw" in Isa. 63 1-6.

The Masoretic pointing is probably due to the pronominal suffix in vs. 3 b. Thinking that its antecedent was the "peoples" of the preceding line, it was natural that the Masoretes should refer this destruction to the future. The pointing therefore was not arbitrarily made but was due to the obscurity in vs. 3. The arbitrary changes, if such there be, were made at an earlier time by those who interpolated vs. 3 b-c which may have been done with the purpose of obliterating the distinction between the two classes of "peoples" and to make the judgment both future and general. In this case it is probable that an original גּוֹיִם has been changed to עַמִּים either in vs. 3 or vs. 6.

Note on the meaning of חֲמוּץ *in vs. 1a.*

The addition of the new strophe increases the probability that *ḥᵃmūṣ* is intended to parallel *hādūr*. It has commonly been held to refer to the *ādōm* in vs. 2, in which case *hādūr* is

difficult to explain unless the garments are glorious because they are stained. The new strophe allows us to think that it was the splendor of the garments which first attracted the watchman's attention as he saw the majestic figure approaching from a distance, and that it is this alone to which he refers in his first challenge. The red stains appear when the vintner comes into closer view and naturally rouse the watchman's curiosity.

It is to be noticed too that the אָדֹם in vs. 2 is *upon* the garments, it is not their original color, while in vs. 1 the raiment itself is חָמוּץ and this, if it refers to any particular color, is not to be confused with the *ādōm* but must be distinguished from it as the original color of the garments upon which the *ādōm* is plainly distinguishable. It is doubtful if *ḥᵃmūṣ* means any particular color and it is better translated "brilliant" = *hādūr*.

Note on the stage setting.

It is not common to find the dramatic element so prominent in Hebrew poetry as it is in this poem.

The stage is evidently a vineyard, in which as usual there is a wine-press, from the trampling of which the chief character approaches some other point; the part he plays is therefore that of a vintner.

Carrying on the figure, the interlocutor may be a watchman occupying a tower in a neighboring vineyard. These towers are common in Judean vineyards and upon them are placed watchmen to guard against marauders both animal and human, cf. Isa. 5 2; Matt. 21 33. The neighboring vineyards would appear to be Edom and Judea. Bozrah is the wine-press and it may be guessed that Jerusalem is the watchtower.

Israel's near-by foes, typified by the Edomites, are the grapes and Yahweh is the vintner. This interpretation so far as it concerns Edom and Bozrah depends on the retention of vs. 1 without emendation. Lagarde, Marti, Duhm and others change מֵאֲדֹם to מֵאָדֵם and מִבָּצְרָה to מִבֹּצֵר in vs. 1 on the assumption that the poem is apocalyptic and refers to the final "Day of Yahweh". With these changes they read vs. 1a as follows: —

"Who is this coming reddened
With redder garments than a vintner."

But the distinction between the *absent* peoples and the peoples who are *trodden* and *trampled* is so necessary to a full appreciation of the poet's argument that clearly it is of a particular and not of a general judgment that he writes. This being so, since the verbs are all perfects, there is no reason for these emendations; the judgment is past and not future, and the poem is commemorative of a historic event rather than prophetic of one yet to be.

Note on the event commemorated.

We know too little about the later history of Edom to be able to say with any certainty what this event was.

The difficulty in thinking it was the return of Judas Maccabaeus from his slaughter of the Edomites was shown long ago by Lowth in his commentary on Isaiah (cf. p. 389).

Lowth's objections are still valid and to my mind conclusive. He that "speaks in righteousness" can hardly be any other than Yahweh; he executes the judgment himself, unaided; the word "peoples" in vs. 6 seems to involve others beside the Edomites in the destruction, and the total impression given by the passage is that this was a deliverance wrought for and not by Israel.

The story in II Chron. 20 1-30 shows some curious affinities with this ode. Stripped of its miraculous and spectacular elements the narrative states that Ammon and Moab joined forces and that Judah thought the coalition was formed against her (cf. vs. 1-2).

The event, however, intimates that Edom was the objective for it is upon her the allies turn (cf. vs. 23).

After attacking and defeating the Edomites the allies fell to fighting each other; a series of events which had a recent parallel in the Balkans.

The divergence of this story from that in II Kings 3, for which it seems to have been substituted, does not prohibit the possibility that it had a historic basis, but since Kings shows no place for it, the incident, if historical, probably belongs to the early days of the post-exilic period, say somewhere between Ezra 6 and 7, or, better still, somewhere in the period covered by the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The reference to the new court of the house of Yahweh in vs. 5, to the sanctuary as though recently built in vs. 8, the sense of feebleness and the feeling that deliverance must come from Yahweh expressed in vs. 12, and the gathering of men, women and children before the house of Yahweh, are all suggestive of conditions in the restoration period as set forth in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. It is curious, too, that in II Chron. 19 Jehoshaphat does the important things that the decree of Artaxerxes commissioned Ezra to do (cf. Ezra 7 25). This is a subject to which I hope to return in another connection and in another paper.

For the present it is sufficient to observe that the event narrated in II Chron. 20 1-30 more nearly fits the requirements of the one celebrated in Isa. 63 1-6 than any other that we know. In both God is the champion; in both He works the deliverance alone; in both the slaughter is complete; and in both, while Edom is prominent, other near-by foes of Israel are included in the destruction.

These affinities suggest that if the story has a substratum of historicity it gives the event which inspired Isa. 63 1-6.

The Sermon on the Mount

BURTON SCOTT EASTON
WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, CHICAGO

IT may be taken for granted, on the basis of general critical agreement, that the present form of Mt. 5-7 has been reached through the addition to an older source of material which in Lk. finds its parallel outside of the section 6 20-49.[1] In addition, there are certain sayings in Mt., such as 5 19, 29-30; 7 6, 19, 22-23, which by their inappropriateness to their context seem also to owe their present position to a later redaction. When the additions are removed there remains approximately Mt. 5 1-12, 17, 18, 20, 21-24, 27-28, 31-32, 33-37, 38-42, 43-48; 6 1-6, 16-18; 7 1-5, 12, 15-18, 20, 21, 24-27,—a section of homogeneous content and of simple structure.[2] The Beatitudes as a prologue lead up to the announce-

[1] With the important exceptions of Mt. 5 18 (Lk. 16 17) and Mt. 5 32 (Lk. 16 18).

[2] This reconstruction contains probably the maximum of material that can be assigned to the earlier source. Substantially the same form is given by Votaw (*Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, 5, p. 12) as representing the general opinion of scholars at the time of writing (1904). Among later works supporting approximately the same reconstruction may be cited B. Weiss, *Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung* (1908), pp. 4-14; Klostermann, *Matthäus* (in Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum NT.*, 1909), p. 180; Allen, *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (1911), pp. 242-248 (slightly different results in his *St. Matthew* (1907), pp. lxvii, 70-71). For an older source of like character but not containing the sections from Mt. 6 see J. Weiss, *Schriften des NTs.* (1906), p. 237, and Loisy, *Évangiles Synoptiques*, I (1907), p. 621 (footnote), and. on the whole, Holtzmann, *Synoptiker* (*Hand-Commentar zum NT*, 1901), pp. 61—64. Holtzmann, however, refuses to commit himself definitely and regards as possible the theory that the Sermon is entirely the work of the Evangelist (p. 59). Nothing very definite can be said either for or against the presence of the sec-

ment of a text, "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil." This text is then developed in a series of six paragraphs, dealing respectively with the interpretation of the laws concerning murder, adultery, divorce, perjury, retaliation, and love of the neighbor. The third section treats of the external duties of religion and is composed of paragraphs on alms-giving, prayer, and fasting. The fourth part warns against judging and brings the "Sermon" proper to an end, closing with the Golden Rule so worded as to take up the language of the text, —"for this is the law and the prophets." An epilogue attacks false teachers and emphasizes the importance of good works, without which any religious superstructure is built on the sand.

The composition of Lk. 6 20-49 is different. The Beatitudes again form a prologue, but they are supplemented with a parallel series of Woes. There is no formal text. The section (vss. 27-38) that follows the prologue deals entirely with love of enemies and is formed of three paragraphs discussing the extent of that love (vss. 27-30), its unselfish character (vss. 31-35), and its heavenly recompense (vss. 36-38). The third section (vss. 39-45) is devoted to judging and treats only of the inability of an evil person to do good through his criticisms. There is no formal conclusion; but after a brief warning against shortcomings in good works (vs. 46) the final parable of Mt.'s source is appended (in a different wording) to form an epilogue.

A comparison of Lk.'s form with the source form in Mt. discloses the following facts: Mt.'s Beatitudes are blessings pronounced on spiritual conditions, while in Lk. they are pronounced on economic conditions. The second sections contain many points of resemblance, but each has some sayings not

tions from Mt. 6 in the original source. They would have been useless to Lk., and the connection between Lk. 6 36 (Mt. 5 48) and 6 37 (Mt. 7 1) is not close enough to prove that nothing ever stood between these verses. The most that can be said is that this treatment of the external duties of religion is somewhat out of key with the rest of the sermon. But, on the other hand, it is easier to refer these sections to the source than to Mt., for otherwise a *double* enlargement must be credited to the Evangelist,—first of the sections in question and then of 6 7-15. See below, note 24.

found in the other, and there is considerable difference in the wording of the common matter. Moreover, the order of the common sayings differs curiously, as may be seen by numbering the Lucan sayings 1, 2, 3,—, according to their order in Mt. Then, if x represent Lucan sayings not found in Mt., this part of Lk. runs 4, x, 5, 1, 2, 3, 12; 7, 8, x, x, 6; 9, 10, x, x, 11. The third section in Mt. has no parallel in Lk. Lk.'s third part, however, is made up of two verses (41-42) that are paralleled in Mt.'s fourth (Mt. 7 3-5), of three verses (43-45) that have parallels partly in Mt.'s epilogue (Mt. 7 18, 20) and partly in Mt. 12 33-35, and of two verses (39, 40) that are paralleled respectively in Mt. 15 14 and 10 24. Throughout the whole of this third section in Lk. the parallels with Mt. are so close that a common Greek source for the sayings must be presupposed. The concluding warnings and final parables diverge considerably in their wording.

A direct derivation of the Matthaean form from the Lucan is not to be thought of.[3] The possibility of a reverse dependence, however, deserves very serious consideration.

The variations between the accounts at their beginning[4] and end[5] offer no particular difficulty; for, despite the divergence,

[3] On the possibility of an indirect derivation see below, note 30.

[4] The relation of the two versions of the Beatitudes to the original form is a complicated question, and the solution is probably to be sought in the assumption that Mt. has better preserved the original spirit and Lk. the original number. For definite preference for the Matthaean text (apart from the number of the sayings and some questions of wording) see Holtzmann, p. 59; B. Weiss, p. 112; J. Weiss, p. 413; Harnack (*Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, 1907, p. 40). Wellhausen (*Evangelium Matthaei*, 1904, pp. 15-16), however, argues for the Lucan form but supposes that it took the Matthaean spirit for granted. Loisy, p. 545, also prefers Luke's form but with the important reservation that "Matthieu en a sans doute mieux conservé l'esprit général." But Lk.'s Beatitudes are quite irrelevant to the Sermon, and there is little or no doubt that their wording is due to the experiences of the Palestinian church. In any event, such a short, characteristic section as the Beatitudes must have circulated in various forms.

Lk.'s "Woes" are pure apostrophes. There seems to be no question that they are secondary and obtained simply by "reversing" the Beatitudes.

[5] Mt. 7 21 and Lk. 6 46 seem to rest on a common original that has been theologically elaborated in both Gospels. The relative originality of Mt. is favored by B. Weiss, p. 115; Holtzmann, p. 64; Harnack, p. 52;

it is seen at once that the same original material is presupposed. The enlargement of Lk.'s third part is likewise capable of easy explanation, — Lk. has simply combined the source material found in Mt. 7 18,20 with a parallel tradition found in Mt. 12 33-35. The blending[6] of this third part into the epilogue is due to the fact that the separating verse (Mt. 7 12) has been used by Lk. in advance (vs. 31). It is the second section that constitutes the serious problem.

Various theories have been advanced to account for the divergencies. Of these the simplest[7] is that Lk. had before him Mt.'s source, which he revised for Gentile use in various ways, most notably by omitting all reference to the Mosaic law. And evidences of specifically Lucan redaction certainly exist. Among these are the participial constructions in vss. 29 and 30, the "literary" ἐπηρεάζειν in vs. 28 (Mt. 5 44), the use of παρέχειν in vs. 29 (Mt. 5 39), ἀπαιτεῖν and τὰ σά in vs. 30 (Mt. 5 42), καὶ γάρ in vs. 32 (Mt. 5 46), the substitution of ἁμαρτωλοί for Mt.'s (5 47) ἐθνικοί in the next verse, the avoidance of Mt.'s (5 47) very Jewish use of ἀσπάζεσθαι in vs. 33, the substitution of καθώς for ὡς in vs. 36 (Mt. 5 48), the preference for the simple dative instead of the (half-Semitic) dative with ἐν and the use of the compound ἀντιμετρεῖν in vs. 38 (Mt. 7 2). Perhaps the paranomasia in vs. 35

Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, II (1899, reprinted 1910), p. 265; Loisy, p. 641. Neither Weiss nor Harnack thinks that Lk. used the common original directly. Wellhausen, p. 33, regards Lk. as having the relatively more original form but finds the common origin in Mk. 3 35.

In the final parable Lk. insists more on human activity ("digging deep for a foundation") than does Mt. ("choosing a proper site"). Hence Jülicher, p. 266, considers Lk. more original. But for this very reason Lk.'s form can be understood easily as a revision of Mt.'s, while the reverse relation would be very difficult. The differences, however, are so numerous and the verbal points of contact so slight as to make *direct* derivation of one form from the other highly improbable. (The translation and comments of J. Weiss, p. 415, are particularly worthy of note.)

6 Holtzmann, p. 61, finds this blending preferable to Mt.'s separation. But the blending is far easier to understand; and, moreover, in Lk. vss. 43-45 are given too narrow an application. Loisy, p. 634, thinks that the Golden Rule stood originally before Lk. 6 37 (Mt. 7 1). For this there is no evidence at all.

7 So, *e. g.*, Loisy, p. 585.

(*χρηστός, ἀχάριστος*) should be added to this list. Moreover, the variations between vs. 29[a] and Mt. 5 39[b], vs. 30 and Mt. 5 42, vs. 31 and Mt. 7 12 can be referred readily to redactorial considerations, as may also, with somewhat greater difficulty, those between vss. 32-33 and Mt. 5 46-47 and those between vs. 36 and Mt. 5 48. So Mt. 5 41 could well have been thought inappropriate to readers who were acquainted only with the conditions of city life.[8]

But none of these differences is much more than superficial, and there remain more important divergencies, which the mere theory of Lucan editorship seems incapable of explaining. In the first place, the variations in order are unaccounted for. Nothing is gained by the changes; and, in particular, the transfer of the Golden Rule from the climax position to a subordinate place in the middle of the discourse is inexplicable. The omissions are by no means simply of reference to the Mosaic law. The section on anger was quite as applicable to the Gentile as to the Jew, and those on adultery and divorce more so. The substance of these could have been given perfectly well without the references to the Pentateuch. Nor could anything well be of more universal application than Mt. 5 45[b], which, however, does not appear in Lk. 6 35. The redactorial explanation of divergence becomes notoriously difficult in comparing Lk. 6 29[b] and Mt. 5 40, for quite different cases are in point.[9] A further difficulty is found in Lk. 6 37[b]-38, a section that has no parallel in Mt. This may, to be sure, be treated as a rhetorical expansion of Mt. 7 1[10], but such an expansion would be quite unlike anything found elsewhere in Lk.'s treatment of his sources. Decisive against the Lucan redactorial theory, however, is the character of the additional matter in Lk. 6 34-35[a]; for this matter

[8] Harnack, p. 46, adds, among other words, *χάρις* in vss. 32-34. But (cf. Holtzmann, p. 341) the word is here used in the sense of "reward"—a meaning not found elsewhere in the NT. Naturally there is nothing "Pauline" in its employment here, and Holtzmann's further remark that *χάρις* at least recalls the Pauline use is irrelevant.

[9] For instances of opposite conclusions see, e. g., Harnack, p. 45, and Loisy, p. 587.

[10] So, *e. g.*, Holtzmann, p. 342, and Loisy, p. 622. Loisy thinks that Lk. has used Mk. 4 24-25, but the resemblance is very vague.

is so Jewish that Lk.'s Gentile readers must have had difficulty in understanding it. As giving an example of "natural" righteousness that may be found even among "sinners", the phrase is found "sinners lend unto sinners that they may receive the same things (τὰ ἴσα) again". But "sinners" among Gentiles did not lend with such little expectation. They lent that they might receive interest. In other words, since money lending in itself is treated as a virtue, the premise must be that the taking of interest was forbidden. This is comprehensible enough on Jewish soil but to Gentile ears the passage has always been obscure in the extreme. These considerations seem decisive. The section took on its form under Jewish influence and not at the hand of Lk.[11]

Nor is very much gained for an explanation of the divergencies when the theory of accidental variations due to oral transmission is appealed to, either independently or in combination with the redactorial hypothesis. The oral theory will, in fact, solve certain difficulties. Such a difference as that between Lk. 6 26[b] and Mt. 5 40 might arise in oral transmission.[12] Transposition of order might occur without much difficulty, although the removal of the Golden Rule from the climax position is not a simple matter. The insertion of additional sayings in such transmission would be extremely natural. But beyond this point the oral theory breaks down when applied to the concrete case in hand. Taken by itself it is entirely inadequate. Characteristic of the source form is the stereotyped expression, "it was said to them of old time — —, but I say unto you — —," which is repeated six times. It is the repeated phrase that is most accurately transmitted in oral tradition; but it is this very expression that does not appear at all in Lk., for the words "but I say unto you" in vs. 27 are only a very faint echo of it, if indeed they are not a mere accidental coincidence. Nor could the phrase have been brought down in the oral tradition and deleted by Lk., for as the section is constructed there is no room for it. The decisive argument against the oral tradition theory, however,

11 See, moreover, the important notes of J. Weiss, pp. 414-415.

12 The present writer, however, is not convinced that these sayings had not an independent origin.

is the literary skill manifested in the construction of Lk. 6 27-38. The three paragraphs are compactly formed and the transitions in vss. 31 and 35 are manipulated with no little ability. For work such as this conscious redaction is demanded.

Therefore the sole remaining alternative must be adopted,—viz. that Lk. 6 27-38 is not directly derived from Mt.'s source form at all. In this section Lk. has used the work of some earlier redactor,[13] who must have been a Jew. Whether he worked on the sayings in written or in oral form, and whether or not he committed his result to writing, are matters of small importance. That the work was in oral form is perhaps a more natural view, but the other possibility cannot be excluded.

With this result it is easy to explain Lk.'s form of the Sermon from the assumption that Lk. had before him something virtually identical with Mt.'s source form. He preferred a form of the prologue containing the Woes as well as the Beatitudes. The first section of the Sermon proper, which was based on the contrasts of two systems of interpretation of the Law, was obviously unsuited for Gentile readers. Yet a revision that would omit these references and still leave a smooth connection would have been a difficult matter. Consequently Lk. simply substituted for this section a short discourse which he knew from another source and which contained most of the sayings found in this part of the Sermon; and he then continued to copy this source. Since he had used the Golden Rule in his insertion, he was obliged to omit it from the source at the point where it stood, and hence the epilogue was fused with the Sermon. The warning in vs. 46 he kept in a more original form than did Mt., and the final parable he either modified or found already modified. This solution of the problem accounts for all the facts noticed thus far.

It also accounts for certain further facts. This insertion of vss. 27-38 from a different source explains the sharp breaks that

[13] So especially B. Weiss, pp. 113-115, where a reconstruction of the Greek text of the source is undertaken. Similarly J. Weiss, pp. 414-415, and Allen, *St. Matthew*, p. lix. Holtzmann, p. 62, thinks that Lk.'s text contains a mixture of Mt.'s source with certain extra-canonical material that has left traces in post-apostolic times.

exist between vss. 26 and 27 and between vss. 38 and 39 in Lk. The first of these breaks, as it stands at present, is particularly bad: — "Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you! for in the same manner did their fathers to the false prophets. But I say unto you that hear, love your enemies." The extreme contrast here is due to the presence of the Woes. None the less, if the Woes are omitted, or even if Mt.'s form of the Beatitudes is prefixed to vs. 27, the transition at this point is extremely awkward. Less flagrant, but almost equally difficult, is the break between vss. 38 and 39: — "For with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again. And he spake also a parable unto them, Can the blind guide the blind?" [14] In other words, the lack of connection both at the beginning and the end of vss. 27-38 shows that the section could not have been intended for its present position.

On the other hand, that something has been omitted from Lk.'s Sermon is proved by the Beatitudes and the final parable. In Mt., where the Sermon treats of many aspects of righteousness, the Beatitudes form an admirable introduction and the final parable an equally admirable summing-up, showing respectively the character of the truly righteous man and the basic nature of true righteousness. In the body of Lk.'s Sermon, however, only two virtues are discussed, love of enemies and abstinence from judging. These two virtues do not sufficiently illustrate righteousness as a whole to be compatible with either the general introduction or the general conclusion.

Finally, there is a little piece of evidence in Lk.'s own Gospel that helps to corroborate the view that Lk. knew Mt.'s source form of the Sermon. In Lk.'s sixteenth chapter the parable of Dives and Lazarus has an extraordinary preface, which is at first sight quite irrelevant to what follows. "It is easier for

[14] This connection is not improved if the two vss. 39-40, which have no parallel in Mt.'s Sermon, be removed. They are probably best understood in this place as due to a frank desire on Lk.'s part to make a fresh start, since the conclusion of his insertion had left him rather "in the air". B. Weiss, *Quellen der syn. Üb.*, p. 12, argues for the retention of vs. 39 in the source, but he seems to be alone in this opinion. The presence of this verse still further overloads the amount of space given to the merely critical spirit (cf. note 6).

heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the Law to fall. Every one that putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery: and he that marrieth one that is put away from a husband committeth adultery. Now there was a certain rich man, and he was clothed in purple and fine linen,——", &c. There is, to be sure, no great difficulty in explaining the intention here, for Lk. meant vs. 17 to be read as an allegory of much the same kind as Rom. 7 1-4, — the Jews were bound to the Law as husband to wife, while for a Christian to adopt it would be spiritual adultery,— and the two vss. together are intended to explain the insistence on the permanence and sufficiency of the law in vss. 29-31.[15] None the less, the difficulty of explaining how in the first place Lk. came to associate two such very discrepant verses would be vastly relieved if it could be shown that Lk. knew a source in which they stood in close conjunction,[16] and Mt.'s source form fulfils this condition exactly. Even in the finished Gospel the sayings about the permanence of the Law (Mt. 5 18) and the saying on divorce (Mt. 5 32) are separated by only thirteen verses, and in the source form they stood much closer together.

The proof would seem to be complete. Lk. 6 20-49 is based on Mt.'s source form and differs from it chiefly through the substitution of a section on love of enemies for the more specifically legalistic sections of the source form.[17]

[15] Something like this is the view of B. Weiss, *Evangelium des Lukas* (1901), p. 548, and of Jülicher, p. 533. Others, such as Holtzmann, p. 389, Wellhausen, *Evangelium Lucae*, p. 89, prefer to take vs. 18 as an example of the deepened meaning of the Law. Loisy, II, p. 167, hesitates between the two interpretations. J. Weiss, p. 450 (cf. Harnack, p. 139), feels unable to trace a connection, and the connection established by Zahn, *Evangelium des Lukas* (1913), p. 582, is incredible.

[16] Holtzmann, p. 61, and Wellhausen, *Mt.*, pp. 21-22, undertake to reverse this relationship, and Wellhausen argues that the two verses in Lk. are the eventual source of most of Mt. 5. But the connection between the verses is almost intolerably difficult, even in Lk.'s context. Without it they become simply irreconcilable (as Wellhausen admits), and they never could have been circulated together as complementary precepts. Cf. B. Weiss, *Quellen des Lukas-Evangeliums* (1907), p. 89; Harnack, p. 139.

[17] It therefore seems needless to enter into a discussion as to the possibility of deriving Mt.'s source form of the Sermon from some source

As regards the setting of the Sermon, Mt. and Lk. agree in the following particulars: It was delivered on (or, according to Lk., immediately after descending from) a mount; and it was spoken primarily to disciples, though others were also present.

The "mount" here offers no problem, for both Mt. 5 1 and Lk. 6 12 have simply taken it from Mk. 3 13. In fact Lk. has simply inserted the Sermon into Mk.'s narrative at this point after a very slight inversion of order (Mk. 3 7-11 being placed after Mk. 3 13-19), in order to gain a better introduction. Mt., evidently in his desire to place the teaching as early as possible, has altered Mk.'s order more radically; but none the less the point of insertion is the same, for not only does Mt. 5 1 correspond to Mk. 3 13, but the preceding vss. 4 24-25 in Mt. are taken from 3 7-19 in Mk. Both Mt. and Lk. have chosen this place for the insertion of the Sermon because the mount in Mk. is the first place where Jesus provides himself with the full number of apostles, thus giving a proper auditory. If, as may have been the case, the source prefixed the Sermon with a notice to the effect that "Jesus, having chosen his disciples", or perhaps with a list of the Twelve, the coincidence of Mt. and Lk. in their choice of location would receive further explanation. But such an hypothesis is hardly necessary.

The description of the two classes of auditors, however, is not in Mk. It may be only a chance coincidence, due to a natural desire on the part of Mt. and Lk. to dignify the delivery of the Sermon, but another explanation is offered below.

Mt.'s source form of the Sermon and the separate section in Lk. 6 27-38 represent the limits that can be reached by literary methods. The next problem is to determine the relations of these forms to Jesus. That the great bulk of the separate sayings involved are in essence authentic utterances of Jesus may be taken for granted.[18] Whether or not, however, the source

underlying Lk.'s form, as Loisy does throughout his whole discussion (pp. 534-645). Allen, *St. Matthew*, pp. lvii, lix, supposes that Mt.'s source form and the sayings from it passed through "several stages of transmission before they reached Lk." This is quite needlessly complicated and indeed amounts to abandoning the problem as insoluble.

[18] The only serious dissentient is Wellhausen. Walter Haupt, *Worte Jesu und Gemeindeüberlieferung* (1913), has adopted a position approximat-

form as a whole represents a single discourse delivered by him at a definite time and place is another question and positive proof for an affirmative answer to it seems to be very inadequate. There is certainly nothing in the Sermon itself that suggests particular application to any definite occasion, and indeed apart from Lk. 6 22b, 46 (Mt. 5 11b, 7 21)[19] there is nothing in the Sermon that suggests that it was even intended particularly for disciples.[20] It is in no way esoteric,[21] and can be construed admirably as a synagogue discourse on the true meaning of the Law. It would have been adapted to any Palestinian audience of the day and would have made an admirable point of departure for a call to repentance.[22] Now, according to the evidence, synagogue teaching and exhortation to repentance were the predominant features of Jesus' work in the earliest period of the ministry; but the Gospels apparently give us little or nothing that is classed by them as formal public teaching of this period. Occasional pronouncements such as Mk. 3 4 do not belong to the formal teaching; and the synagogue scene in Lk. 4 16-30, in which Jesus' person is the only point at issue, is conceived from a later standpoint. Much of such teaching, al-

ing Wellhausen's, but he has added nothing to its validity. The question as to the authenticity of individual sayings is, however, a different matter. The passage most called in question is Mt. 5 17-18 (Lk. 16 17), concerning which the debate is familiar. The present writer is content to endorse Loisy's words (p. 564):—"Non seulement il est possible qu'on l'ait accusé de ruiner ainsi la Loi, mais il paraît inévitable que cette accusation ait été plus d'une fois soulevée,——. A cette accusation Jésus n'a pu faire d'autre réponse que celle qu'on lui attribue." It does not follow that Jesus made this declaration the *explicit* basis from which his ethic was developed. Mt. 5 19 is secondary in any case.

19 Both of these passages have certainly been amplified.

20 This has generally been ignored by scholars.

21 J. Weiss, *e. g.*, holds (p. 237) that the Sermon assumes the near advent of the Kingdom, and hence was appropriate only for those who had been initiated into the secret. But there is nothing in the Sermon that is particularly conditioned by the near advent of the Kingdom. That the Kingdom was near was not a doctrine peculiar to Jesus, nor was it one that he regarded in any way as a secret. Indeed, the Gospels, even Mk. (1 15, cf. Mt. 10 7, Lk. 10 9 &c.), represent him as proclaiming this doctrine with the utmost publicity.

22 Cf. Harnack, p. 142.

though not specifically described as such, is no doubt to be found in the Gospels (particularly in the parables); but the peculiarity of the Sermon on the Mount is that its contents seem to be made up entirely of this teaching. And if the sayings in the Sermon belong to this period, the Sermon itself can hardly be held to have been delivered on any single occasion.

Moreover, it is inconceivable that sayings such as those of the Sermon should have been delivered only once. Indeed, they must have been repeated very often, whatever the length of the ministry may have been. Yet Jesus certainly did not belong to the class of men who repeat on many occasions the same address verbatim. The general framework may often have been the same, and the epigrammatic character of the individual sayings doubtless tended to become fixed;[23] but the variations in the discourse as a whole must have been as many as the occasions of delivery. And for a disciple, after even a few months, — let alone years, — to look back on these repetitions and variations and to pick out the definite form delivered on an particular occasion would have been a well-nigh impossible task, even if we assume that there was an occasion for doing so, or that such an undertaking would have occurred to any member of the primitive community. That after the final choice of the Twelve Jesus delivered to them an especially formal recapitulation of his teaching is of course in no way impossible or even improbable. But this is the most that can be said for the theory of a single origin on a definite occasion. Even in that case there is no guarantee that the source form contains the material that belonged to that occasion and no other.

The Sermon on the Mount is a collection of the sayings of Jesus made by the earliest church.[24] The form in which they

[23] It does not seem likely, however, that Mt. 5 17-18 would have been repeated very often. It doubtless belongs to a period when suspicion and opposition had been aroused. Cf. Loisy, p. 564.

[24] Consequently the "original form" of the Sermon is something of an *ignis fatuus*. The first editor was certainly not a rigorous logician, and a too detailed investigation of the connection of the sayings is hence impracticable. When, *e. g.*, J. Weiss (p. 258) argues that Mt. 5 42 is out of its context, the most that is proved is that vss. 41 and 42 were not spoken in the present combination by Jesus.

are fixed may well have been one which was customary with him, but little depends on the possibility of this last assumption. There is nothing in the way of regarding the separate sayings as belonging to the earlier period of the ministry, and so understood they fill an awkward gap in the accounts given in the Gospels.

Jesus began his ministry with a call to repentance based on the near approach of the Kingdom of God. But for an adequate repentance the rules of the current ethical systems were insufficient, and there was need for a drastic revision of the whole contemporary conception of righteousness. Like the current systems, the new treatment took its point of departure from the Law, thus conforming to the synagogue methods. In part, however, Jesus' teaching broke away altogether from seeking even a formal contact with the Law, and so did explicitly, what his discussions concerning the Law had really done implicitly,—*i. e.* it relied for its content on the moral self-consciousness of the Master. Jesus' legal discussions, however, differed so widely from those in vogue at the time as to arouse the antagonism of the professional expounders of the Law.

The words of the great Teacher were at least ideally normative for his disciples and so for the earliest church. The Messiahship of Jesus was of course the doctrine which above all others distinguished those who followed the "way of the Nazarenes" from their fellow Jews of Palestine, and in Acts the impression is sometimes given (2 36, 8 35-36) that this was the only distinctive doctrine of primitive Christianity. But the preservation of so much of the Gospel material shows that this impression is erroneous (cf. Acts 2 41, 3 26). For instance, the "Nazarenes" were liberal in their interpretation of the Sabbath rules, were not particular about certain matters of ritual defilement, and in other respects were neglectful of the "tradition of the fathers",—often no doubt with no very clear idea as to what really distinguished that tradition from the actual precepts of the Law. But in addition the "Nazarenes" had their own ethical code, and it was one of heroic requirements.[25] The

[25] This is not to say, with Wellhausen, that the morality was so heroic that the community actually *created* these sayings. Still Well-

acceptance of Jesus as Messiah carried with it the recognition of the ethical demands that Jesus made, and it is in the Sermon that these found their chief codification. Perhaps we should not be far from the truth if we regarded the Sermon on the Mount as a sort of "manual for catechumens",—a code of conduct to be learned by all who sought (or who had received) initiation into the new sect.[26]

This use of the Sermon as a rule for converts, coupled with a reminiscence that its precepts were originally delivered to the public at large, gives a complete explanation of the two classes of auditors found in the introductions to the discourse in Mt. and Lk. It was, intended for all men but it was meant primarily for the use of disciples. With this double end in view it "must" have been delivered by Jesus.

Since the material in the source form is practically all taken from sayings of Jesus, there is nothing in the Sermon that enables a dating of the labours of the redactor.[27] That for the use of Hellenists an "official" translation was made is altogether likely.

There remains the question of the origin of the section found in Lk. 6 27-38. That it was constructed by Jesus himself is hardly possible; for although considerable skill is manifest in its formation, the style is not that of the Master. Characteristic of the section is the cumulation of short, parallel phrases, of which there are four in vss. 27-28, four in vs. 35, three in vs. 37, and four in vs. 38. There is nothing quite like this elsewhere in the Gospels. Jesus' method was to present a single idea in a sentence. He often repeated his thought in regular Semitic

hausen's protest (*Einleitung*, ed. 2, 1911, p. 169) against current depreciation of the Jerusalem community is quite justified. The men who gave "Q" its basic importance in the general tradition were no mere Jewish obscurantists.

[26] So, *e. g.*, Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (1913), pp. 45-46, "die sogenannte Bergpredigt darf man mit Recht den Katechismus der Urgemeinde nennen, das neue Grundgesetz für ihr ethisches Verhalten".

[27] The basis of Mt. 5 11-12 (Lk. 6 22-23) and of Mt. 7 21 (Lk. 6 46) could belong perfectly well to Jesus' lifetime (cf. Harnack, p. 143). In the former passage there is not even anything that specifically designates *disciples*.

parallelism, but he never resorted to that singular piling up of terms[28] which gives to this passage a certain air of breathlessness. Moreover, the section is not quite homogeneous. The "enemies" that curse, assault, and plunder the disciples in vss. 28-29 are not the same as those that ask for a gift or for a loan in vss. 30, 38, 34-35. Indeed, it is not clear that in this last case "enemies" are really intended. But if such are meant, they are persons whom the disciples dislike; whereas those mentioned in vss. 28-29 hate the disciples passionately. Either Lk. or the earlier redactor has recognized this and endeavoured to secure conformity to the context by introducing *αἴρειν* in vs. 30[b]; but the resulting disagreement with vs. 30[a] shows the change clearly enough, even without recourse to the parallel in Mt. 5 42.[29] This section therefore is a mosaic made up of Jesus' sayings, a certain amount of rhetorical expansion by the earlier redactor, and some revision by Lk.[30]

The section must be interpreted in terms of the experience of the earliest church. It was meant as a guide for the disciples in their conduct towards the non-believers of their own nation. Despite the intensity of the antagonism they were not to yield to resentment,—a counsel which was without doubt badly needed. It is interesting to compare the atmosphere of the preceding seven verses in Lk., where consolation under tribulation is sought in the reflection that the little band of disciples are God's elect, and that their oppressors are doomed to the Divine judgement.

[28] It is quite true that the "tristique, tétrastique" construction is Semitic (Loisy, pp. 536-537; cf. Wellhausen, *Lk.*, p. 24). But this does not prove that it is due to Jesus.

[29] In addition, Loisy, p. 585, notes the awkward change from the plural address in vss. 27-28 to the singular in vss. 29-30 and then back to the plural in vs. 31. B. Weiss, *Quellen der syn. Üb.*, p. 115, observes, moreover, that in vs. 38[a] a *superabundant* recompense is promised, while in vs. 38[b] the recompense is *exact*.

[30] Accordingly this section cannot come into consideration even as an indirect source for Mt.'s form. Wellhausen's contention (*Lk.*, p. 25) that Lk. is original *because* it is disordered is a reversal of correct method. It hardly seems necessary to reply to the extraordinary argument of Spitta (*Die synoptische Grundschrift*, 1912, pp. 119-142) that all of Lk. 6 20-49 is an exact report of a single, historical discourse of Jesus.

The point of view is different from that just discussed, but the difference does not indicate different circumstances of origin. The two attitudes are simply contrasted moods of the same body of men; but Lk.'s combination of the two has produced the rather bizarre sequence of thought:—"Your enemies are doomed to woe. Love your enemies."

Since the sayings on the whole are again sayings of Jesus, it is perhaps not legitimate to build on the omissions. Yet, inasmuch as the section is a definite redactorial construction, it may be of importance to note that among the motives given for loving one's enemies the possibility of converting them is not mentioned. On this point Mt. 5 16 stands in sharp contrast to our passage. If this omission has any significance, it would indicate a date at which the making of converts had become difficult or exceptional. If vss. 27-38 belong to anything like the same stage of redaction as vss. 20-26, a date later than the fall of Jerusalem is precluded by the character of the latter verses. Some time in the period of tension preceding the outbreak of the war with Rome, when Jewish patriotism was becoming exalted, would best suit all the requirements of the case.

Probably an Aramaic original underlies the section. The coincidences with Mt. in the Greek are due to the translator's use of the "official" version, of which he doubtless availed himself as far as possible.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Albert J. Edmunds and the Buddhistic and Christian Gospels

THE accidental misplacing of the words "former" and "latter" at the beginning of the second sentence of n. 67, p. 74 of vol. XXXIII of this JOURNAL made a criticism intended for the work of Seydel apply to that of Albert J. Edmunds, thereby doing an unintentional injustice. Although the last sentence of the note makes the meaning intended clear, it is but just that the error should be corrected.

The writer would also invite the attention of New Testament scholars to the scientific character of Edmunds' comparison of the Buddhistic and Christian religious books. This work must be reckoned with in a manner equally scientific. He has shown that the channels through which Buddhistic influence might have come to the first generation of Christians were, in all probability, open. Whether such influence actually shaped the statements in our New Testament in any degree can only be determined by dispassionate inquiry, which should proceed first to a scientific exegesis of the passages in the two collections of sacred books which are alleged to resemble one another, and should then seek to find whether the ideas obtained from the New Testament material could not have developed out of ideas already in Judaism or Christianity. Only when the collection of material brought together by Edmunds is dispassionately tested by scholars in this scientific way can it be determined whether Buddhistic influence, which was possible, was actually present.

George A. Barton.

JOURNAL
OF
BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Volume XXXIII Part IV 1914

Christianity and Hellenism[1]

E. von DOBSCHÜTZ
HALLE

IT was at the lovely shore of the lake of Galilee, in the midst of purely Jewish surroundings, that Jesus preached his gospel of the kingdom of God to come. Three centuries later Christianity had become the ruling religion in the Graeco-Roman empire; the Christian church was a power both in politics and in civilization. This development is certainly a marvellous one; the beginning was far from presaging this end. It is Hellenism which brought Christianity to this position.

In speaking of Hellenism I do not mean of course the classical Greek culture, adored by so many people as the ideal of wisdom and art. Since Alexander's conquest of the East, Hellenism had changed, by admixture with a great variety of oriental elements. Christianity in starting its mission could rely on the preparatory work done by Jewish Hellenism. But it not merely continued that work; it had a different goal and different ways.

In order to understand this development, let us begin with some affinities between Hellenism and the Gospel, studying at the same time the discrepancies. It is obvious that mutual influence was possible only when there were some affinities.

[1] This paper has been published in German in "Das Christentum". Fünf Vorträge von C. Cornill, E. v. Dobschütz, W. Herrmann, W. Staerk, C. Troeltsch. Leipzig, Quelle & Meyer 1908. It reappears here, somewhat altered, in the author's own free translation.

There is at first a thirst for revelation in Hellenism. It was not a period of scepticism. To be sure, philosophical criticism had shaken many a traditional belief; the newly arisen oriental cults made it clear that religion is a matter of personal conviction, that it requires faith. And faith looked out for a solid foundation, it longed for revelation. Trust in the efficacy of human intelligence had gone; the great problems of the world could be solved only by divine inspiration. But alas! the time of revelations had passed: the oracles were silent now. So one had to rely on the words of the wise men of old such as the divine Homer, Pythagoras, the Sibyl, or Hystaspes the Mede. Nay, Greek philosophers consult the Jewish lawgiver Moses. That was what made the oriental cults so impressive. They claimed to rest upon revelation from the very oldest time; people believed in them without hesitation, swallowing even the most ridiculous pseudepigrapha. There were plenty of old revelations; and yet the general feeling was desirous of a prophet who could bring an authentic present revelation. Neo-Pythagoreanism believed in such prophets, and all sorts of swindlers found faithful adherents; which proves how strong the desire for revelation was in the hearts of mankind.—Now Jesus comes and brings revelation; nay he is the revelation of God. He does not take his learning from any outward authority, be it a book or a teacher. Of course he knows the Scriptures, but it is not the Scriptures from which he draws his inspiration; he has it in himself; he speaks as one who has authority; he lives the life of inspiration. And yet what he says, what he does, has all the advantage of being in harmony with this old sacred book, the Bible of his people, so that it was easy to make use of the Old Testament in order to prove that this revelation was in fact the oldest. Jesus' Gospel thus corresponded to the demands of Hellenism by giving a revelation at once modern and ancient.

It did the same by proclaiming the unity of God and the absolute faithfulness of his fatherly care for man. Hellenism tried hard to find behind polytheism a divine unity, a real force to rely on in all the distresses of life as well as in death; men were already accustomed to identifying the gods of Greece and

of Rome with the oriental gods: Zeus was Jupiter and Baal and Ammon Ra; the priests of Babylon and of Egypt had already developed a doctrine about their gods as being only various forms of one supreme God; Hellenism went on and made them abstract attributes, as Reason, Wisdom, or turned them into physical forces by means of allegory. But this one supreme divine Being or rather Essence is the result of speculation, not a living God; it is identified by philosophers with the supreme Cause of all things, it is not an appropriate object for devotion. Stoicism does not cross the limits of a mere surrender to fate. Wherever piety is lively and strong, individual gods claim their rights, as e. g. Asclepios the healing saviour, or Isis who gives life, or the Great Mother, or Mithra the warrior. Even the emperor worship is for this people not a mere ceremonial of loyalty: it means something to them. And from the very fear of having neglected or offended some gods they built altars to unknown gods. The priests themselves who theoretically identify the various gods keep them in practice strictly separate for obvious reasons. The belief in miracles was flourishing, but it was a superstitious one, magic dominating every thing.—Now Jesus does not proclaim the unity of God—this was not necessary for the Jews among whom he worked—but all his gospel presupposes the unity of God as a matter of fact. The great feature about his doctrine is that he takes God as a reality in daily life, and that he knows and teaches that one can trust on Him in all human needs. God is not too exalted to take care of everything, even of lilies and ravens, far more of His human children; He is almighty, but He always works reasonably. He is not a mysterious God whose will is hidden, but He is known and His intentions are obvious; for He is the loving Father.

A third point for comparison: Hellenism is individualistic and cosmopolitan at the same time, and so is Jesus, but in quite a different sense. The civil war had swept away the old national organizations; a man could feel himself a citizen of the world; the Stoics encouraged this by taking man as an individual being, without historical tradition, loosened from his native soil and left to rely on himself; by making much of the unwritten law and the common rights of mankind they effected a certain

leveling of the national and social differences. This cosmopolitanism however was rather theoretical; practically it meant the retreat from politics, the surrender before the centralized power of autocracy. In spite of a sometimes foolish admiration for the Orientals as people of ancient culture and wisdom, the love for the barbarians remained a rather platonic one, and in a matter like slavery there was not much practical change. The new tendency was strong only on the negative side. The old traditions were broken off, there was no power for reconstruction. Individualism, without religious foundation, turned easily into brutal contempt of human life. Ethical idealism, though reminding us sometimes of the Gospel, had not strength enough to create new life; as may be seen with Seneca, the tutor of Nero: splendid words but feeble deeds. Stoicism tries to rely on the good will of man, but forgets that moral energy comes to nought when left without religious stimulus. Hellenism does not overlook the fact of sin; a strong sentiment of guilt, a keen desire to get rid of it is found in large circles. But the essence of sin is not understood; it is dealt with as outward contamination, against which lustrations, sprinkling of water or blood, immersions, aspersions and so on are to be used. It is not so much moral sin as mortal nature of which one tries to get rid by all sorts of asceticism.—Now Jesus is free from all national prejudices; he takes man as man. He is delighted to find faith in a pagan as well as in a Jew; he presents the Samaritan heretic as a model of true charity. His gospel is for mankind; for it is for man. Jesus has respect for man, as he has devotion for God; he knows how much God appreciates each individual soul. And he believes in man; he thinks him capable of the highest actions; if only man's mind is directed towards God, he *can* do and *will* do everything; if one's heart is in the kingdom of heaven, he will not insist upon his rights, nor look for revenge; he will endeavor only to help his brethren and sacrifice for their good even his own life. It is the new relation to God given to mankind by Christ himself which changes all values. Though he is an optimist, Jesus does not neglect the existence of sin: it is forgiveness of sin which he brings to man in order to comfort him; and he does it only by means of his words and

of his own personality; it is through faith that one gets forgiveness and therewith all bliss.

There is finally a fourth parallel: Hellenism longed for immortality and life everlasting, but people felt very uncertain about this. It was not from trust in God or from belief in the value of an individual soul that they tried to gain assurance, but from nature in its perpetual change from dying to reviving. It was from this change that the religious mysteries of Greece started: at first they were intended to strengthen fertility; later they were supposed to secure individual immortality by making man share the life of the god. This was what made the oriental cults so popular; they could easily be turned into mysteries with still better guarantees for eternal life. Isis asked for asceticism, Attis for sensuality, the Magna Mater had a hateful rite of bloody initiation and Mithra frightful ceremonies; all this and hard moral obligations the men would willingly bear in order to secure these guarantees.

Now Jesus' gospel proclaimed the eternal value of individual life in the boldest terms; in opposition to the Sadducees, who tried to keep to the ancient views of Israel, he strongly supported the progressive view of the Pharisees, that continuity was to be looked for not only for the people but for the individual; that the individual is to share the future bliss of the kingdom. He is sure from his faith in God that man's life cannot end with death: God is not a God of the dead but of the living. That is to him a matter of fact. But it is obvious to him also that life everlasting is a good which one is bound to work for; moral life is the condition of eternal life. Nay this earthly life may be sacrificed in order to gain life everlasting. But one cannot get it by any ceremonies or magic spells.

We see from these parallels how much Hellenism was fitted to receive the Gospel: people found here living revelation combined with old scriptures; faith in God, the one omnipotent God of miracles; individualism and universalism; ethical idealism combined with assurance of future life, guaranteed by the resurrection of Christ in a far better way than in all the mysteries. On the other hand differences are evident which account for the fact that Hellenism in adopting Christianity was bound to change its aspect.

There is still another moment: the gospel is purely religious; Jesus cares for nothing else but man's relation to God, and so do his first disciples and apostles. There is a certain onesidedness in this exclusively religious aspect; all other facts of human life—culture, aesthetics, philosophy—do not enter their minds. Hellenism on the other hand represents a comprehensive civilization not lacking religion but with many other features besides. Hellenism is proud of its learning and wisdom; Jesus thanks his father for hiding his mysteries from the wise and understanding. Hellenism is glorious in its art even in the period of decline; Jesus looking at the beauties of Herod's temple sees stone by stone fall down. The Roman lawyers develop the Law in the most brilliant way; Jesus expects his disciples not to insist upon their rights. It is not that he is hostile to civilization; he is indifferent to it as long as it does not touch the things of God. With the kingdom of God everything comes to man, without it nothing has any value. Hellenism has to face a multitude of problems and tasks, among which the religious question is of only inferior importance.

This is the situation: Hellenism, anticipating the Gospel in the religious field, is interested at the same time in many a question which has no meaning for the Gospel. One can imagine the changes which the Gospel had to undergo on entering this world of Hellenistic civilization.

The process of Hellenization has three steps. In the *first* period Christianity is imposing itself upon Hellenism with all its vigor; in the *second,* Hellenism tries to absorb the new religion; in the *third,* Christianity, organized as a church, comes back to itself, establishes a religious compromise between the Gospel and Hellenism, and enters the circle of Hellenistic civilization. Each period covers, roughly speaking, about a century.

I. It was Jews from the Hellenistic diaspora who first preached the Gospel among the Greeks. The very fact that the Gospel had to be translated from the Aramaic into Greek, was of great importance; with the new words new notions came in. To be sure the Seventy and the Hellenistic Jews had prepared the way; nevertheless it was a great step for the Gospel. Son of

God with the Jews meant the Chosen one of God, the Messiah; the Greeks were reminded of their mythological sons of gods. Likewise truth was understood by the Jews in a moral sense: justice and truth go together; truth is something to be done; to the Greek it was intellectual, it meant knowledge.

We do not know enough of these first Hellenistic missionaries of Christianity to say much more. The first clear figure is the gigantic personality of Saint Paul. He was not a Hellenist, but a Pharisee, a trained rabbi, and yet he also preached in Greek. It is under discussion just now how far Palestinian Judaism, his native soil, had been influenced by Hellenistic culture, how far he himself underwent Greek influence before his conversion to Christianity. I do not think that influence was great. While preaching to the Greeks he tried to become a Greek to the Greeks just as he was a Jew to the Jews. But we see him abhor the spirit of Hellenistic demonism; it is therefore improbable that he consciously adopted Greek religious rites or institutions. I would not deny that subconsciously he was influenced by the Hellenistic spirit: notions, such as kingdom of God and Messiah, so familiar to the Jewish Christians, he uses relatively seldom; the Greeks whom he was addressing did not understand them; therefore he prefers to speak about the Lord Jesus and the Church. Paul makes it clear that Christianity was not a mere Jewish movement, but a new world religion. He breaks with Judaism in principle and externally. He uses sometimes expressions which remind us of Greek philosophy and Hellenistic mysticism, but this does not mean that he really became a Greek; he always relies on the Old Testament and its Jewish interpretation. His hearers however were Greeks and they often misunderstood his teaching, as is seen in his letters.

The very next generation of Christianity was led by men whose conceptions were entirely different from Paul's because they were Greeks or Hellenistic Jews. They speak of Jesus as the Saviour, a word which puts him on the same level with the healing gods or makes him appear as the expected bringer of the new golden age; many people at this period endeavored to look upon Augustus as this Saviour. Now Jesus was announced as the Saviour, in particular by Luke, the evangelist of Hellenism;

Jesus' relation to his own people and to the parties in it, his debates with the Pharisees and the scribes become unimportant; the problem of the law, so important once in Paul's time, is not understood; rational and mystic elements enter Christianity from Hellenism. The so-called First Epistle of Clement bases the Christian belief in resurrection upon the story of the bird Phoenix. The letter of Barnabas allegorizes the Old Testament laws exactly in the same way as the Pythagoreans and Philo. Hebrews rely on the Platonic idea that this visible world is but a mean reproduction of the invisible one. The prologue to the fourth Gospel starts from the philosophical notion of the Logos in order to make Jesus understood as the one great and final revelation of God. Baptism and holy communion become entangled with mystery-elements: baptism is called a bath of regeneration exactly as in the mysteries the initiated claims to be *renatus in aeternum* (born anew for ever); the baptismal font is said to be sanctified by Jesus' baptism. The bread and wine are called a medicine of immortality by Ignatius. The most important sign of the new era is to be found in the decrease of the eschatological strain. Luke turns eschatology into history by suggesting that the judgement passed upon Jerusalem is in fact a realization of the parousia. The fourth Gospel spiritualizes the eschatology: Christ is to visit his faithful ones spiritually, not to come outwardly; as for the judgement, the crisis has been passed already; belief and unbelief–that is man's own decision—constitute the judgement. The end of the world is supposed to be far distant in Matthew as well as in Second Peter.

I would not be misunderstood; primitive eschatology is not entirely abandoned. Side by side with the fourth Gospel there is the Book of Revelation bearing the same name of John and originating in the same circle. Here the coming of Jesus is passionately implored; the blood of the martyrs demands revenge, this world is to be destroyed and a new world is to come. Jewish and Hellenistic elements are often struggling one with another. The Jewish conception of a dramatic catastrophe bringing about the change in the world, is sometimes balanced by a Hellenistic one which is interested in the fate of the individual, picturing the penalties of the impious as well as the bliss

of the pious in colors taken from Orphic imagination. The beautiful garden with fine fruit-trees, and delicious odour, as described in the so called Revelation of Peter is represented also in the decorations of the catacombs; the burial-place is turned into a blissful paradise.

Christianity, so far recruiting mostly among the lower classes, begins to enter higher circles; members of the nobility, nay of the imperial family, begin to join the Christian congregations; naturally the leadership passes from the tradesman and craftsman to these people of higher culture and rank. It is notable, however, that at first these men stand rather aside, behind the regular officials of the congregations.

II. We now come to the second period. It is the time of Christian philosophers, the so-called apologists. Men of the type of Justin Martyr had gone through various schools, searching for truth until they found it in Christianity. Christianity appealed to them as the true philosophy; they recommended their faith to the heathen as practical wisdom. They did not realize that Christianity by this very fact became changed; in fighting for monotheism they used as their weapon a radical criticism of the myths, started by Greek philosophers; in establishing the unique position of Jesus Christ they made him fit into the cosmological speculations of eclectic philosophical systems or they looked upon him as the model of a great teacher of wisdom. Athanagoras' discussion of the resurrection is much more like a philosophical treatment than an expression of Christian belief.

To win such men meant a triumph for Christianity; but it was no gain to be represented in such a way; essential religious features were lost. Christianity did not understand Paul; it rejected the primitive Jewish Congregations as heretical. Having been looked upon in former times by Roman officials as a Jewish sect, it had become now entirely distinct: something Greek instead of something Jewish.

At the same time other circles were reached by Christianity, people who were not so much interested in philosophy and morals as in the means of getting salvation; suffering under the pressure of fatalism, according to the teaching of the astrological

pseudo-religion; oppressed by the experience of sin, of being unable to rise and get rid of the limitations of human nature, they were thirsting for deliverance. They imagined the world filled with numbers of divine beings, grouped according to oriental mythology in pairs, in heptads, octads or decads, and ranging from the most high inaccessible God to the lowest spirits; they conceived the creation of this material world and man in particular as caused by a prehistoric sin of one of these divine spirits or angels; man was a spark of light from the higher world, captured by this material world and tending to be released from its prison. When hearing of Jesus as the Saviour, these people did not think of the deliverance of God's chosen people from foreign tyranny, nor of the deliverance of man from sin and Satan; they thought of deliverance from the chains of nature and matter. Jesus must fit into their speculations: he must be one of the highest spirits, come down for the very purpose of delivering the sparks of light from their imprisonment in matter, and bringing them back to the world of light. We do not go into the details of these fanciful systems, which in spite of all their varieties come all to the same result. Nor do we insist here on the transformation of the mythological figures into philosophical notions, a process which caused these people to be honored with the title of speculative philosophers. Our main point is: Gnosis is not a product of Christianity, it was earlier than Christianity. Here too it was a triumph for Christianity that it made these people believe in Christ and give him an important position in their thoughts. But it was a real danger for Christianity at the same time. Christ became one among many other divine spirits; his life on earth was dropped out of sight by allegorical interpretation; his humanity faded away under the influence of docetism; he had no body, or his body was an immaterial one, without weight, with no shadow, no footsteps. He appeared, according to every one's power of conception, as a child, a youth or a grown man; being a God, he was incapable of dying: it was all a mere appearance. While crucified before the eyes of the stupid mass, he manifested himself to his chosen disciple in a cave on the Mount and revealed the mysteries of the cross of light. Such treatment of the gospel

history is possible only when the Gospel is cut off from the Old Testament. The Gnostics either did not recognize the Old Testament at all, or they submitted it to a thorough allegorical transformation according to the method developed by Stoicism for explaining Homer. The danger is increased by the moral consequences of this system: sin is but man's nature; therefore it is necessary to get rid of this nature. This can be done either by an ascetic training which was as alien to the true Gospel as it was congenial to the general tendencies of that period—or by undisguised sensuality, cynicism in a Christian masque, a blasphemy and sacrilege resented by all sober Christians.

Christianity met this Gnosticism rather early. Already St. Paul in his letter to the Colossians combats the idea of putting Christ among other spirits and of worshipping by self-humiliation. The first Epistle of St. John and Ignatius warn the communities of Asia Minor against docetists. The Book of Revelation and the Epistle of St. Jude fight against gnostic libertinism. But it is only about 130 A. D. that gnostic communities come in sight, and leading personalities such as Basilides, Valentinus, etc. are recognised. These schools are organized after the model of Greek philosophical schools. We hear of attempts at realizing the Platonic Utopia of communism. Marcion, too, was a gnostic school-leader, in spite of the fact that he himself pretended to be a church reformer: he rejected the Old Testament, denied the reality of Christ's body and demanded ascetic training. His theology shows clearly how difficult it was for a former pagan to understand Paul's conceptions. The contrast of Law and Grace, to Paul a part of God's plan to save mankind, representing two successive ways of salvation, becomes with Marcion a metaphysical contrast of two incompatible principles; he does not care for the development of revelation in the history of Israel.

While the tendency of the Apologists results in a weakening of Christianity by transforming it into philosophy, religion into morality, Gnosticism implies the much greater danger of eliminating its very essence. Christianity could bear the former; the latter caused a violent reaction. Gnosticism has the merit of having forced upon the leading men the necessity of making up their minds as to the foundations of Christianity.

A third attack of Hellenism upon Christianity is to be found in Montanism; it was an enthusiastic movement started in Phrygia and spreading quickly all over the church as far as Gaul and Africa. It is usual to look upon this movement as a revival of primitive Christianity in opposition to worldliness; in fact Eschatology is one of the most prominent features in Montanism: it resulted in a strict rigorism opposed to all compromise, a fervent desire for martyrdom. This is however not genuine Christianity, not an offspring of Jesus' Gospel; it is the entrance into Christianity of the enthusiastic Phrygian religion, itself scarcely Hellenized. May be, this too is to be counted as a triumph of Christianity; but here again a great danger was implied in the way in which Christian hope was turned into exaltation, Christian life was shaken at its basis, and Christianity was brought into contrast with civilization. It is characteristic that the notion of the Paraclete here is used to invalidate the historical revelation of God in Jesus Christ.

It was in opposition to this riotous attack of Phrygian Hellenism, that the Christian communities began to consolidate around their bishops. The Gospel did not contain an ecclesiastical constitution. St. Paul, fond of order as he was, laid more stress on voluntary services than on rights. Only towards the end of the first century a fixed organization develops among the Christian communities, growing more and more fixed during the second century. This development of a constitution may be viewed as a process within the ecclesia, the forms being fluid at the beginning and becoming more and more rigid as time went on; but it is remarkable that the result equals in an astonishing measure forms already found before Christianity: ecclesia, episcopos, diaconos remind us of the organization of the Greek city. It is also remarkable that this development was accelerated by the contrast to Gnosticism and Montanism: the church wanted a strict organization and the form of a school surely influenced the development of the monarchical episcopate.

III. This brings us to the third period. The religious situation is a compromise: the church secures historical continuity by building up the twofold canon of the Old and the New Testa-

ment. Thus the original interpretation of the Gospel seems guaranteed; on the other hand the church builds its doctrine upon a Hellenistic thought: the lost immortality has to be restored by a union between the divine nature and the human nature in Jesus Christ. Whosoever by faith and by means of the sacraments becomes united with Christ shares the immortality of his divine nature: "Thou art become God, thou art deified, reborn immortal". That is the way in which a Christian preacher about 200 A. D. addresses his congregation. It is Hippolytus, the strong antagonist of Gnosticism; but it sounds like Gnosticism; it is not Gospel, but Greek religion. And yet, it is Christian; the physical idea turning into a moral one by the introduction of notions like love of God, forgiveness of sin, doing the will of God, etc. Christian conceptions of this time are never confined to one consistent scheme; that is fortunate indeed.

It is due to Hellenistic influence that Christianity develops something like a theology. What is usually called Pauline theology is not a system in the later sense of the word. It is a number of inconsistent deductions and conclusions. Paul knows that the death of Christ is for our benefit; and in expanding this idea he gives different arguments every time, without caring for their harmony. The Greek mind is otherwise; it feels bound to think with consistency, to develop everything from the same principle and to combine all individual lines of thought: it is only on the basis of Hellenized Christianity that theology arises.

It seemed necessary to combine the belief in God with the philosophical notions of the supreme cause, to relate it with the notions of being and becoming, spirit and matter, immanence and transcendency; it was a matter of tact to steer between the rocks of Pantheism and Atheism or Deism; all this is absent from Jesus' gospel—and yet he knew so much more about God. Faith in God, surrender to God, had become a knowledge of God, a Gnosis, often nothing else than an assent to ecclesiastical traditions.

It was further necessary to have a good Christology. Bishops and teachers were expected to guide the congregations and protect them against heresy by teaching the right formula. It is to the credit of the so-called doctrine of the two natures

that the historical Jesus was protected against docetic dissipation, that the unity of the eternal Logos with the human Teacher of wisdom found strong expression, and that it was combined with the notion of salvation. But the church had to pay dearly for this; simple faith was turned into sophisticated speculations. It is an interesting point in the history of dogma to investigate how formulas of Plato and Aristotle are made to express the belief regarding Jesus. Christian theology in these early days is helplessly balancing between the notion of a highly inspired man and an incarnate deity; for the great mystery that God was in Christ cannot be expressed appropriately in physical terms.

Greek theology found it very hard to conceive of a history of revelation and salvation. Greek philosophy got its orientation in nature; everything seemed to be on the same level, there was no perspective. So the Old Testament had to be brought not only into harmony with the New Testament but almost into identity. The notion of preëxistence adapted to Jesus as well as to the church helped to bring this about. It was Jesus who spoke in the Old Testament, and it was Jesus who was spoken of in the Old Testament. The doctrine of the holy Trinity was to be found in the first chapter of Genesis. There was no development whatever. And yet the church insisted upon the historical character of the life and work of Jesus.

In constructing the doctrine of the church and its sacraments, two points were to be combined. The church represented the communion of saints, of the elect; and on the other hand it had become an institution for securing salvation, *Corpus mixtum* of saints and sinners. Likewise the sacraments were supposed to work in a physical (not to say magical) way; and yet, on the other hand, their ethical character was retained.

The same theory of compromise holds true regarding the determination of Christian morals. From Hellenism the ascetic tendency entered Christianity and tried to establish itself as the rule. The morality of the Gospel, however, did not allow this; ascetic behavior was not fixed as a general obligation, only as a higher ideal of morality. The asceticism of Gnosticism made it undesirable to follow quite the same path; so the church established the two moral standards.

The Hellenistic influence is seen not only in dogma and theology; it is still more evident in devotion. The service, which in primitive Christianity lays all stress upon the word, God speaking to man in the sermons of apostles and prophets, and man speaking to God in prayer, tends more and more to become like the old pagan rite, a sacred ceremony aiming to produce an effect upon God. The congregation, instead of being a gathering of inspired people who all contribute to common edification, is now divided into clergy and laity. The clergy themselves are divided into several classes, and the laity become a mere object of the priestly function, content to be attentive spectators of a sacred performance. We cannot discuss here the question how far this development was influenced by the Old Testament notions of priests and sacrifice; it is a matter of fact that Hellenistic tendencies were working in the same direction. The mysteries aimed at something secret, only to be approached by a priest in saintly awe. The Christian congregations from the third century down shared this tendency, it influenced their liturgical language, and caused the so-called *disciplina arcani*.

The religion of faith, of happy assurance of salvation and joyful expectation, was in danger of becoming a religion of fear, of frightful horror, of something inexplicable, of a salvation to be attained by severe self-denial. This development of Christianity into the Greek spirit was held in check however by the Gospel and its assurance of a given salvation. It remains Christianity, even when it becomes Hellenistic.

While making compromises in the field of religious thought and feeling, Christianity came much nearer to Hellenism in taking over the entire Hellenistic civilization. This most important change became possible for Christianity by renouncing its former enthusiastic eschatology. The beginnings we have noted already in the Johannine circle. Gnosticism transmuted eschatology entirely into Hellenistic transcendence. It began at the same time to appreciate the benefits of civilization, education, the fine arts, refined standards of life. The Gnostics in spite of all their ascetic behavior, are often accused of being too worldly by their opponents, the Catholics, who still take worldliness as being apostasy from Christianity. But before long they were Hellenized

too. The great teachers of Alexandria, headed by Clement, made room for a new conception: they discovered that Jesus had not meant to be understood in an ascetic way. But it was not so much the spirit of Jesus, as the spirit of Hellenism, which caused them to appreciate civilization.

Clement in his Paedagogue gives a minute description of the Christian life. The Gospel had only given principles; St. Paul had left it to the influence of the Holy Spirit to form the Christian life, supporting, however unconsciously, Jewish customs in his congregations. Now we have a Christian bill of fare, Christian rules for dressing, a Christian's behavior at a dinner party. We are told how to discriminate between smiling and laughing, between harmless fun and bad jokes. Clement's rule aims to tell whatever is fit for a Christian; but in fact it is the way in which Greek philosophers rule fashion and behavior, which is applied here to Christianity.

Christianity began with an attempt at displacing law by morals, love being supposed to renounce the legal pursuit of its rights. St. Paul encouraged arbitration between brethren. But soon this turned into clerical courts competing with the regular law courts. Of course their competence was not acknowledged till the fourth century by the Christian empire. They developed a canonical (i. e. ecclesiastical) law, parallel to the Roman law, the *decretales* of the Roman bishop corresponding to the *decretum praetoris*, and the *canones* of the synods to the *senatus consultum* of the Roman legislature. Both the eastern and the western Church acknowledge the affinity between these two sets of law, the Byzantine combining them in the Nomocanon, the Roman church keeping them separate but parallel as *Corpus iuris canonici et Corpus iuris civilis.*

The field in which one expects to find thorough-going improvements made by Christianity is the social life, Christianity appearing at first as a large organization of charity, as a kind of assurance company for all oppressed and outlawed people. But here also Christianity took over the given conditions of Hellenistic civilisation. Christian households as well as pagan include slaves. The legal propriety of slavery is not disputed, and the rules for the personal treatment of the slaves are in

many instances so conformed to the rules given by Stoic philosophers that some scholars in our time have maintained that Christianity really changed nothing. They ought rather to say: Christianity accelerated a process initiated by Stoicism, in particular by Stoic lawyers. Still better may we say: Christianity by its moral strength made it possible for Hellenism to attain the demands of Stoic philosophy. The person of the slave was protected; religious and moral freedom was given to him. Nevertheless he remained a slave, and it was looked upon as perfectly appropriate for a Christian to go to the market and buy or sell a slave as well as any other property.

Christian life included education. Clement of Alexandria is fond of quoting from Greek poets and philosophers. Origen his pupil teaches philosophy quite as much as Christian doctrines. He comes (as von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff puts it) among the Greek philosophers as an esteemed colleague. To his contemporary Hippolytus the congregation dedicates a memorial statue representing him sitting on his chair like a Greek philosopher. At the same period Julius Africanus, a Christian, is tutor of the princes at the royal court of Edessa. He publishes a chronicle of the world and handbooks on military tactics as well as on agriculture. Methodius, bishop of Olympus, a strong opponent of Origen's spiritualizing theology, nevertheless publishes a book called *Symposion* after the model of Plato's famous work; with Methodius it is however a *symposion* of ten virgins praising chastity.

Art begins to enter Christian life, true Hellenistic art. Where in former times many scholars spoke of an original Christian art, we now see that in fact the beginnings of Christian art do not represent anything but a particular branch of the classical art. Technique as well as motives belong to Hellenism. Christ appears as Orpheus, or as a shepherd in a pastoral scene. Jonah's whale, Noah's ark, Lazarus' tomb are taken from common motives of ancient art. Christ has in his hand the magic rod of a thaumaturge. It is Hellenism which decorates the walls of the catacombs as well as the furniture of the house—Christian Hellenism, of course. Clement of Alexandria prescribes what symbols a Christian may safely choose for his seal.

Art is not merely decoration. The Greek populace was so accustomed to worship images that to the Christian the images of saints were liable to become objects of adoration. That is the reason why many Christian leaders in the first centuries depreciated art. We must however not overvalue their testimony; we learn that some Christian schools had portraits of Christ and worshipped them in the Greek manner as early as the second century. The apocryphal acts of John tell the story of a certain Lycomedes who had a portrait of the Apostle painted and worshipped it, putting flowers, lights and offerings before it. This sounds quite likely. It is the beginning of a Christian hero-worship—a cult of saints. This is another instance of Hellenization.

In this way Christianity conquers all the branches of contemporaneous civilization. It goes slowly, but irresistibly; it does not create something quite new; but it shows energy striving upwards. The programme is expressed as early as 150 A. D. by Melito of Sardis, who declares that the contemporaneous rise of empire and church shows their harmony to be intended by God. How different from primitive Christian eschatology with its belief in the immediate end of the world! About 200 A. D. the letter to Diognetus still separates Christianity from civilization. Christians share the traditional fashion in dress, food and behavior; but in their native country they are like strangers. Soon the idea appears of a Christian civilization superseding the pagan. We have it pictured on a grand scale in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei.*

It is a common view that Christianity was started on this development only by the establishment of the church through Constantine. This view, however, is wrong. Of course during persecutions by the government the contrast is strongly felt. It is not safe for a Christian to be an official, or to serve in the army, or to take part in the artistic and scientific life of the time —so said Tertullian, the rigorist. In the days of Diocletian many a Christian officer felt that his military position was incompatible with his Christian faith. But in the intermediate periods of peace between the persecutions, especially during the forty years falling between Valerian and Diocletian (261—300), Christianity began to make itself comfortable in this world. It is a

mistake to think that for three centuries Christianity had an underground existence. Not in Constantine's time alone did churches spring up from the catacombs. Diocletian before him had many churches ready to be destroyed. Constantine made his peace with the church because of its enormous influence, even after the clergy had been decimated by the persecution.

To be sure, from the time of Constantine the process of Hellenization went on on a larger scale, and more quickly. Through the wide-open doors of the church people of all classes floated in; and with them came all those elements of Greek civilization which had been kept away hitherto. Now the so-called religion of the second order (i. e. superstition) gains influence, and the resistance of the clergy against this popular sub-current decreases rapidly. The more paganism abroad vanishes and ceases to be a danger, the more it is allowed to enter from within dressed in Christian garb. A good example is furnished by Augustine's mother, who brought her offerings of cake and wine to the tombs of martyrs exactly in the same way as heathens did to the tombs of their heroes. Incubation (i. e. the practice of sleeping in temples in order to get information by dreams) was transferred from the temples of healing gods to the churches of famous saints. Turning its attention to this religious undercurrent, modern research has discovered an astonishing number of Christian charms, amulets and so on. It may be that this began relatively early and was not limited to Gnostic circles. Still it is true that the under-current did not appear on the surface before the fourth and fifth century. And the Hellenization does not come only from the lower classes. The leaders themselves are attracted. The first great Synod of Nicea resembles the parliament of the state: the docket is like that of the Senate. Eusebius, the Christian bishop, celebrates Constantine in a panegyric which follows exactly the rules of Greek rhetoric. It comes near to apotheosis, and neglects shamefully the demands of Christian sincerity. Bishops begin to be ashamed of the boorish rusticity of the language of the Gospels. Others translate the Psalter into Greek verse. Only monasticism reacts against this Hellenizing tendency and keeps to vulgarity as representing a higher standard of sanctity.

These are the outlines of a great development. One question remains: what judgement are we to pass upon it? There can be no denying under the compulsion of a *semper idem* theory that there was change; it is equally wrong to say that it was but a development of inherent features, present implicitly from the beginning. Facts are too strong. It is evident that external influences contributed to the change. The outcome of the seed depends on the soil it has been laid in. The question is: What did this development mean to Christianity?

Two views oppose one another. The one looks upon this development as a desirable progress. It was necessary; for Christianity could reach its fullest success only by becoming a speculative system of religion and a developed civilization. The other complains that the change altered wofully the essence of Christianity. It ceased to be pure religion when it gave itself to the Greek spirit and Greek culture. The first view, started by Hegel, was supported by Baur and his school. The second is the view of Ritschl, brilliantly maintained by Harnack. No historian will deny that there was a necessity; and in so far the development was right. In history everything works according to immanent principles. The Gospel could not become a power in the Hellenistic world without being in touch with the religious spirit and the culture of Hellenism. The payment for this was compromise and the making of concessions which in fact spoiled the purity of the Gospel. It would have been fatal indeed if the Gospel had been done away with entirely. This was the danger of Gnosticism. But Christianity overcame it. The Gospel remained as a factor in the mixture, and after all the most important one. It worked like a leaven, which leavened the Hellenistic civilization, and made the mixture so complete that it needs the sharpened eye of scholarly research to discriminate the different elements in it.

It is a different question whether this mixture is the only possible one, and therefore normal and fundamental for all time. Hellenistic culture has vanished, notwithstanding this combination with Christianity. Other forms of civilization have come in. Christianity still lasts. It is due to Christianity that some elements of Hellenistic culture still survive. They are often

taken as integral parts of the Christian system. This, however, is wrong, and we must draw the logical conclusions. As we have given up slavery and other elements of this Hellenistic Christian civilization, so may we safely give up—not to say we must give up—the Platonic and Aristotelian and Stoic forms of thought. Our civilization is Teutonic-Christian. It is based on the new conceptions of our great Reformers.

The Gospel, making its transition from Judaism to Hellenism, divested itself of many apparently integral elements, and assumed others which did not belong to it originally. It is possible to repeat this process without damaging the Gospel. For Jesus—and Jesus alone in the history of religions—represented religion in its purity. He was of course a child of his nation and of his time. Nevertheless we feel sure that all attempts at representing him in the oriental costume of his period are unjust to him. His preaching is transferable into all human languages; for he speaks as man to man. Now it is a sad fact that we men cannot tolerate religion in its purity. Being on this earth, corporeal, bound to space and time, man needs forms—forms of cult and of culture. It is inevitable that the Gospel should become connected with these forms. It does not mean loss; it means gain. Only the distinctive character of the Gospel must be kept unaltered, and the full energy of its life-giving power must be maintained. The Gospel is sure to work, and the more so the less it is mixed with alien elements.

The "Nazir" Legislation.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

I.

IN a paper which I read before the Society at its meeting last year, on Leviticus, Chapters 13-14,[1] the so-called "Leprosy" Laws, I endeavored to show that in these two chapters we may detect the same process of steady amplification of an original stock of regulations by means of comments and glosses and illustrative instances which we may observe in the great compilation of Rabbinical Judaism known as the Talmud, where a condensed and a comparatively simple Mishna develops into an elaborate and intricate Gemara. The importance of the thesis—if correct—lies in the possibility thus afforded of separating between older and later layers in the regulations of the Pentateuchal Codes, but more particularly in furnishing the proof that these codes in which old and new have been combined—precisely as in the narrative sections of the Pentateuch and in the historical books proper, older and later documents (with all manner of additions) have been dovetailed into one another—reflect an extended and uninterrupted process of growth, covering a long period of time and keeping pace with the tendency to adapt older regulations to later conditions.

It is my intention to test the thesis by its application to other little groups of laws within the Codes, recognized by scholars as representing distinct units, and I choose as an example for presentation at this meeting Numbers 6 1-21, containing the laws of the so-called "Nazir".

[1] Published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, IV, 357-418.

Leaving aside for the present the discussions of the meaning of the term Nazir, let us first see whether it is possible to detect the process referred to—the growth of a Biblical Gemara around a basic "Mishna".

Verses 3-4 may serve as our first illustration. They read as follows:

מיין ושכר יזיר חמץ יין וחמץ שכר לא ישתה וכל־משרת ענבים
לא ישתה וענבים לחים ויבשים לא יאכל כל ימי נזרו מכל אשר
יעשה מגפן היין מחרצנים ועד־זג[2] לא יאכל

"From wine and strong drink[3] he shall separate himself, of vinegar of wine and vinegar of strong drink he shall not drink, and what is pressed of the grapes (i. e. grape juice) he shall not drink, and fresh and dried grapes he shall not eat, all the days of his Naziriteship; of anything made of the grape of the vine, from the kernels(?) to the skin(?) shall he not eat."

Now it is evident that we have here an elaboration of the very simple ordinance:

"From wine and strong drink he shall separate himself,"

—intended to specify what is to be included under "wine". The various specifications are, in the style of the Talmud, answers to

[2] The two words חרצנים and זג are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. The Greek renders the former as στέμφυλλα "pressed grapes"; the latter as γίγαρτον "grape-stone". The Targum has for the former פורצנין which seems to have quite certainly the meaning of "kernels", while for זג the Targum has עיצורין which appears to be a pomace made of grapes. There is thus a variant tradition which also appears in the Talmudic usage of the two terms, the one view taking חרצנים to refer to the exterior of the grape, and the זְג to the interior, the other being the reverse. See Treatise Nazir 6 2 and cf. Jastrow, Talmudic Dictionary, *s. v.* זְג. The Arabic حِرْص being the flesh around the kernel, favors the view which refers חרצנים to the interior of the grape, and the זְג, accordingly, to the exterior. I venture to think, therefore, that חרצנים are the grape-seeds and the זְג is the skin. It may be, of course, that a pomace made of the crushed seeds is meant by the former, though it is more plausible to assume that the additional stipulation merely wished to indicate that no part of the grape was permitted—neither the kernels nor the skin. This would account for the plural form חרצנים, since the grape has several seed-stones.

[3] It is possible that the addition of שכר already represents the beginning of the process of amplification, dating from the time when "strong unmixed wine" had become a special kind of beverage.

questions raised, either for practical motives or by way of "academic" discussions—with this difference, that while in the Gemara the discussions and arguments are given in addition to the answers, in the Biblical "Gemara" merely the decisions are added to the original law. We thus obtain four decisions in explanation of the Gemara ordinance that the Nazir is to abstain from wine:

1) the ordinance includes vinegar of wine or vinegar of strong drink;
2) it includes even the grapes out of which wine is made, whether fresh or dry;
3) it covers anything made of wine—from wine cakes to—let us say—wine jelly;
4) it includes kernels(?) and the grape skin(?).

We might even go so far as to put the amplification of the original law in the style of questions as in the Gemara to a Mishna. What does יין mean—wine merely when in a good condition or also when it has become sour, turned to vinegar? Answer: "Vinegar" is included. How about the grapes, before they have been made into wine? The answer is that יין includes the fruit before it is made into wine, just as it includes the liquid that results when the wine has turned sour. But—some one asks—is not the case different in the case of dried grapes or raisins which are not used to make wine? The tendency is clearly to make the law as inclusive as possible by the decision that even dried grapes are included under "wine". Not satisfied with this rigid interpretation, the further question is put whether even foods in which wine is used are to be included, and the answer is once more explicit that anything in which wine is used as an ingredient is forbidden to the Nazir, and lastly even the seeds and the skin are included in the prohibition. The upshot of the various decisions is that the Nazir is to be a total abstainer from all intoxicating drinks, or anything made of an intoxicating drink in any stage whatsoever—including therefore the fruit of the vine before it is made into a drink. The temperance clause in the Nazir law, therefore, goes much farther than the advocates of total abstinence of today, who appear to draw the line at grape juice.

The process is further illustrated by v. 6-7. The law read simply

כל־ימי נזרו[4] על־נפש[5] מת לא יבא

"All the days of his Naziriteship, he shall not come into contact with a corpse."

Questions are then asked to determine who are to be included under the phrase נפש מת "dead body". Does it apply to his father, to his mother, to his brother and sister whose burial would ordinarily rest upon him? The answer is in each case—"Yes". Verse 7, therefore, represents the decisions grouped together

לאביו ולאמו לאחיו ולאחתו לא־יטמא להם במתם

"He shall not defile himself through his father, or his mother, or his brother or his sister when they die"

and the reason for this is given in the phrase

כי נזר אלהיו על־ראשו

"for the Naziriteship of his God is on his head."

The characteristic of the Priestly Code being the emphasis on bringing sacrifices on all possible occasions and to heap up these sacrifices as much as possible[6], I have no hesitation in regarding the elaborate sacrificial ritual for the Nazir embodied in v. 10-21 as a superimposed layer, and by a careful analysis one can still, similarly, detect the process of gradual growth in the case of this ritual and trace the manner in which it has been superimposed on ordinances in which sacrifices played no part whatsoever. In v. 9 the case is introduced of a Nazir who inadvertently and unexpectedly comes into contact with a corpse. The verse as it stands reads

וכי־ימות מת עליו בפתע פתאם וטמא[7] נזרו וגלח ראשו ביום טהרתו ביום השביעי יגלחנו

"If suddenly (i. e., quite unexpectedly and inadvertently) some one should die in his presence and he defiles his Naziriteship, then he shall shave his head on the day of his purification —on the seventh day he shall shave it."

4 Text כל־ימי הזירו ליהוה; but since the general phrase is כל־ימי נזרו v. 4, 5 (where נזר is superfluous) and 13, I venture to read thus in v. 6.

5 The Greek adds "every" before corpse.

6 See the article on Leviticus, Chap. 13-14, p. 377 f.

7 ראש is superfluous—either introduced by a pedantic commentator or as an explanatory gloss to נזרו.

It is, I think, self-evident that the words "on the seventh day he shall shave it" represent an addition. It is assumed as in the case of one who has come into contact with something unclean (Num. 19 14) that the state of uncleanness lasts for 7 days. Somewhat as in the case of one declared pure of the *ṣara'at* (Lev. 14 9) he is to shave off his hair (though only the hair of the head), and a sacrifice for the eighth day is added just as is the case in Lev. 14 10. The words "on the seventh day he shall shave it" (like Lev. 14 9) are, therefore, superinduced by v. 10-11 in which the sacrifice is specified for the following day—two turtle doves or two young pigeons, one as חטאת and one as עלה, while in v. 12 an additional one-year old lamb is inserted as an אשם. Pealing off later layers, we obtain the following simple procedure.

v. 9[a]. If some one should suddenly die in his presence and he defile his Naziriteship, he shall shave his head on the day that he is declared clean.

12[a]. And he shall consecrate to Yahweh the days of his consecration and (12[c]) the former days shall drop out (i. e., shall not be counted), for he has defiled his Naziriteship.[8]

Similarly, in the case of the ceremony to be enacted when one has completed the period of consecration, the sacrificial regulations 14-17, 19-20 have been superimposed. The original ordinance read:

וזאת תורת הנזיר ביום מלאת ימי נזרו[9] וגלח הנזיר את־ראש נזרו ולקח את־השער[10] ונתן על־האש[11]

13 This is the Torah of the Nazir when the days of his Naziriteship are completed.[9]

18[a] The Nazir shall shave his consecrated head and take the hair[10] and throw it into the fire.[11]

[8] Text כי טָמֵא נזרו; but the better reading is טָמֵא as in v. 9 where ראש is a meaningless or at all events a superfluous addition, as pointed out above.

[9] Explanatory gloss "one shall bring him to the entrance of the tent of meeting", superinduced by the sacrificial insertion, viz. verses 14-17.

[10] So the Greek; the Hebrew has, as a result of the introduction of an amplifying gloss, את־שער ראש נזרו.

[11] Addition "which is under the שלמים sacrifice"—to connect the rite with the sacrificial layer v. 14-17.

Then followed the subscript (v. 21[a]).

זאת תורת הנזיר אשר ידר ליהוה

"This is the law of the Nazir who makes a vow to Yahweh."

The subscript (v. 21) has been amplified to include the superimposed sacrificial ritual, and in this case the amplification has been done so awkwardly as to reveal the seams in a very distinct manner. It looks as though a separate subscript for the sacrificial regulations reading: זאת תורת קרבנו ליהוה[12] על־נזרו had been combined with the other one. Then a redactor interpreting the ידר as referring to something that he has vowed, inserted the answer to the question, "What about the vow that he has made?".

מלבד אשר־תשיג ידו כפי נדרו אשר ידר[13]

"Besides whatever he can afford, according to his vow that he vows."

To which a gloss is added:

כן יעשה[14]

"So shall he do"

to indicate that anything that he vows, in addition to the sacrificial ritual (which is obligatory), must be paid by him according to his means.

We shall see that this "Gemara" rests upon an interpretation of the *Nazir*-law which confuses or blends it with the Torah regarding *vows* as set forth in Lev. 27.

II.

These considerations justify us, I venture to think, in the attempt to remove the later layers, decisions, explanatory comments and superimposed sacrificial regulations, and thus to reveal the laws regarding the Nazir in their original form or, if

[12] See below p. 280. The Greek version has another ליהוה after ידר.

[13] Note the phrase, Lev. 27 8, על־פי אשר תשיג יד הנדר יעריכנו הכהן—which is the source of the phrase in Num. 6 21[b]. See below p. 282 f.

[14] The Greek text omits these two words.

this appears to be claiming too much, in a form close to the original. The restoration of the original Nazir legislation proposed by me covers six paragraphs plus a subscript, as follows.

I 2[b] 3[a] 4[a] אִישׁ[a] כִּי יַפְלִא לִנְדֹּר נֶדֶר נָזִיר[b] מִיַּיִן (וְשֵׁכָר)[c] יַזִּיר כֹּל יְמֵי נִזְרוֹ[d]

II 5[a] 5[c] כָּל־יְמֵי נִזְרוֹ[e] תַּעַר לֹא יַעֲבֹר עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ[f] גָּדֵל פֶּרַע שְׂעַר רֹאשׁוֹ

III 6 כָּל־יְמֵי נִזְרוֹ[g] עַל־נֶפֶשׁ מֵת לֹא יָבֹא[h]

IV 8 כֹּל יְמֵי נִזְרוֹ קָדֹשׁ הוּא לַיהוָה[i]

V 9 וְכִי יָמוּת מֵת עָלָיו בְּפֶתַע פִּתְאֹם וְטִמֵּא נִזְרוֹ[j] וְגִלַּח רֹאשׁוֹ בְּיוֹם טָהֳרָתוֹ[k]
12[a] 12[c] וְהֵזִיר לַיהוָה אֶת־יְמֵי נִזְרוֹ[l] וְהַיָּמִים הָרִאשֹׁנִים יִפְּלוּ כִּי טִמֵּא[m] נִזְרוֹ

[a] Addition: אוֹ אִשָּׁה.

[b] Explanatory comment לְהַזִּיר לַיהוָה suggested by 12[a].

[c] Perhaps later addition. See above, p. 267, note 3.

[d] Four decisions: wine includes (1) vinegar of wine and strong drink; (2) grape juice; (3) fresh and dried grapes; (4) articles of food in which wine is an ingredient, whether made of the seeds or of the skins.

[e] Omit נָזִיר.

[f] Explanatory comment "till the completion of the days that he is consecrated to Yahweh he shall be holy"—perhaps misplaced and belonging to v. 6 (ordinance III).

[g] Text הַזִּירוֹ לַיהוָה, which, if correct, would point to a different origin for ordinance III.

[h] V. 7 furnishes (1) a decision, to wit, ordinance includes father, mother, brother, and sister; (2) reason assigned—"consecration attaches to his head."

[i] Perhaps merely a comment to the third ordinance, due to the endeavor to bring about a connection between the Nazir and the consecrated priest who is always spoken of as "holy to Yahweh".

[j] Omit רֹאשׁ as at the close of v. 12.

[k] Two additions (1) "on the seventh day he shall shave it" to connect with sacrificial regulations (v. 10-11) and (2) misplaced gloss (11[e]) וְקִדַּשׁ אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא "he shall sanctify his head on that day", i. e., begin the recount.

[l] Misplaced gloss or insertion "and he shall bring a one-year old lamb as *asham*"—belonging to v. 10. On *asham* see *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, IV, p. 376, note 51 and 379, note 61.

[m] Read מִמֵּא as in v. 9.

VI וְזֹאת תּוֹרַת הַנָּזִיר בְּיוֹם מְלֹאת יְמֵי נִזְרוֹ[n] 13a
וְגִלַּח הַנָּזִיר אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ[o] וְלָקַח אֶת־הַשֵּׂעָר[p] וְנָתַן עַל־הָאֵשׁ[q] 18a 18b

VII זֹאת תּוֹרַת הַנָּזִיר אֲשֶׁר יִדֹּר[r] לַיהוָה[s] 21

I "When a man takes it upon himself to make the vow of the Nazir, he shall abstain from wine (and strong drink) during the period of his Naziriteship. 2b 3a 4a

II During the period of his Naziriteship, a razor shall not touch his head, he shall let the locks of his hair grow long. 5a 5c

III During the period of his Naziriteship, he shall not come in contact with any dead body. 6

IV During the period of his Naziriteship, he shall be holy to Yahweh. 8

V And if some one die suddenly in his presence and defile his Naziriteship, then he shall shave his head on the day of his becoming clean again and he shall revow to Yahweh the days of his Naziriteship, and the former days shall be void because he has defiled his Naziriteship. 9 12a 12c

VI This is the law of the Nazir on the expiration of his Naziriteship. He shall shave his head and take the hair and throw it into the fire. 13a 18a 18b

n Addition: "one shall bring him to the entrance of the tent of meeting" to connect with superimposed sacrificial regulations (v. 14-17).

o Text ראש נזרו with an addition "at door of tent of meeting" to conform to the addition at end of v. 13.

p Or שְׂעָרוֹ. The addition ראש נזרו is omitted in the Greek version.

q Explanatory comment "which is under the peace offering"—harking back to v. 17. Verses 19-20 furnish supplemental sacrificial instructions

r Insertion "his offering by virtue of his Naziriteship"—the remains of a second subscript, as pointed out above p. 271.

s Supplemental comment "besides what he can afford according to his vow which he has vowed", (i. e. in addition to the sacrifices prescribed), to conform to Lev. 27, where one who makes a vow redeems it by a graduated scale of valuations. See below p. 282.

VII This is the law of the Nazir who makes a vow to 21a
Yahweh.

The first four paragraphs furnish the obligations resting upon the Nazir, to wit (1) to abstain from wine[15]; (2) and to allow his hair to grow, or, expressed negatively, that no razor should touch his head; (3) not to contaminate himself by contact with a corpse; (4) to regard himself as sanctified[16].

The fifth paragraph provides for the case that the Nazir is suddenly and accidentally brought into contact with a corpse. The accident makes him unclean, annuls the previous period of consecration and obliges him to begin the count over again. At the expiration of the period of uncleanness, therefore, he shaves his head and begins the second count. This paragraph may very well be a decision of supplemental date, made on the basis of the third ordinance, but there is no need to carry the process too far. The sixth paragraph gives the ceremonies at the time of the expiration of the period of consecration, namely, the offering of the hair by means of fire as the sacred element, after which as the commentator adds "the Nazir may drink wine" (v. 20c).

We thus have a two-fold division of the law, (a) regulations for the Naziriteship and (b) for the termination, just as in the case of the *ṣara'at* legislation, where the determination of the disease[17] is followed by ceremonies incident to the purification (Lev: 14 2. "This is the law of the one affected with *ṣara'at* on the day of his purification")[18] and which, as I believe, formed originally the rite of exorcising the demon of the disease by transferring it to a bird sent free, על פני השדה "across the field" as the phrase (Lev. 14 7) runs.

[15] שכר "strong drink" may already represent an addition. See p. 267, note 3.

[16] The third and fourth ordinances are closely allied—the "sanctification" involving as in the case of priests the avoidance of any defilement.

[17] See my article in the *Jewish Quart. Revue*, IV, p. 366 seq.

[18] Lev. 13 59c, זאת תורת נגע צרעת—is the subscript to the regulations for determining that it is a genuine case of *ṣara'at*. See my article *ib.*, p. 394.

III.

Taking up the sacrificial regulations superimposed on the original law, we find two series: (1) on the occasion of the termination of the period of uncleanness through accidental contact with a corpse (v. 10-11, together with the insertion of the one-year old lamb as *asham* in v. 12); (2) the sacrifices to be brought on the conclusion of the period of consecration.

The sacrifices in the first case consist of two turtle doves or two pigeons to be brought to the entrance of the tent of meeting[19], there to be offered through the mediation of the priest as a sin-offering and burnt-offering respectively.

Elsewhere the two turtle doves or two doves appear as a substitute (a) for a one-year old ewe (כשבה) or (b) for a female kid (Lev. 5 6-7) or (c) for a lamb (Lev. 14 21-22)[20] as in our case one a sin-offering and the other as a burnt-offering. In my article on the Lev. 13-14 several times referred to,[21] I have suggested that the simpler substitute sacrifices were the ones originally prescribed, and that they were relegated to the second place by the tendency to increase the value of the offerings to the sanctuary. This view is strengthened by our passage, but evidently a later redactor not satisfied with what had become the "substitute" offering, added "he shall bring a one-year old lamb as an *asham*"—which addition has crept into the text at the wrong place.[22]

The first sacrificial regulation in the Nazir law thus rests on the principle that he who has become unclean must bring a sacrifice—his uncleanness, according to the primitive view, being transferred to the animal, but it assumes an earlier stage than in the final form of the Priestly Code in prescribing merely two

19 On this phrase see *Jewish Quart. Review*, IV, p. 380, Note 67.

20 There is a further specification (Lev. 5 11) that if one cannot even afford two turtle pigeons or two doves, one may bring $\frac{1}{10}$ of an ephah of fine flour.

21 p. 379, 382.

22 The addition represents again an answer to the question raised whether the Nazir should offer merely two turtle pigeons or two doves—to which the answer is that he is also to bring a lamb as in the case of one who has become unclean, as prescribed Lev. 14 12 seq.

turtle doves or two pigeons, though a later redactor by the addition of a lamb as *asham* endeavored to make it conform to a certain extent to the later practice.

The assumption is that the Nazir who has come into contact with a corpse is unclean for seven days—as in Num. 19 14-19.

As for the second sacrifice (14-17) to be brought by the Nazir upon the completion of the period of consecration, there is a most remarkable heaping up of sacrificial obligations.

"And he shall bring his offering to Yahweh, a one-year old perfect lamb as burnt-offering, and a one-year old perfect ewe as sin-offering, [and a perfect ram as peace-offering,][24] and a basket of *maṣṣot* of fine flour [cakes mixed with oil and wafers of *maṣṣot* smeared with oil and their meal-offering and their libations]".[25]

We here find (1) a one-year-old perfect lamb, as sin-offering:
(2) a one-year old perfect ewe[25] as a burnt-offering;
(3) a perfect ram as a peace-offering;
(4) a basket of unleavened cakes of fine flour;[26]
(5) cakes mixed with oil;
(6) wafers mixed with oil;
(7) their *minḥa* and libations.

To analyze these regulations in detail would carry us too far. Suffice it to say that they embody two points of view: (1) the purification motif—marked by the lamb and ewe, (2) the consecration motif—marked by the basket of unleavened cakes.

While deviating somewhat from the practice prescribed in Lev. 5, the introduction of the ewe as the sin-offering is in keeping with Lev. 5 6, and we may conclude that the lamb as burnt-offering represents a later addition—due to the conventional association of sin-offering (חטאת) and burnt-offering (עלה) for purification offerings.[27]

[23] This seems to be a supplemental ordinance.

[24] Added to conform to Lev. 7 12 and Num. chap. 28—29. See below p. 277.

[25] The two other instances in the Codes of a ewe (כבשה) as a sacrifice are (1) Lev. 14 10 where two lambs are added to the ewe in a later layer and (2) Lev. 5 6—where a female kid of goats is entered as an alternative to a ewe as a sin-offering.

[26] See below p. 279.

[27] See *Jewish Quart. Review*, IV, p. 376, note 48.

The basket of unleavened bread plays an important part in the consecration of priests (Ex. 29 and Lev. 8). In both Ex. 29 and Lev. 8 we have in addition a bullock and two perfect rams (Ex. 29 1 = Lev. 8 2), but there is an important deviation in the circumstance that the ram is called in Ex. 29 31 and Lev. 8 29 the ram of dedication (איל המלאים) whereas in the Nazir Law, it is offered as a "peace-offering" (שלמים). Num. 6 15 reading סל מצות סלת חלת בלולות בשמן ורקיקי מצות משחים בשמן follows quite closely Ex. 29 2 ולחם מצות וחלת מצות בלולות בשמן ורקיקי מצות משחים בשמן with the comment סלת חטים תעשה אותם.

The expression סַל הַמַּצוֹת is found Lev. 8 2 and 26; and from Ex. 29 23 where likewise סל המצות occurs it follows that לחם מצות is a synonym (cf. ככר לחם v. 23)—further shown by the introduction of סל in Ex. 29 3. The addition of מנחתם ונסכיהם is conventional—based on the later practice as set forth in Num. 28-29. Num. 6 16-17 form a comment to v. 14 in order to make it clear that the priest is to perform the usual rites with the lamb, ewe and ram.

The ceremony connected with the ram and the cakes—as set forth in v. 17 and in the supplemental regulations v. 19-20—is likewise of the same order as at the consecration of priests, in one case the boiled shoulder (זרוע) of the ram and an unleavened cake and a wafer being placed in the hands of the Nazir[28], whereas in Ex. 29 22-23a and Lev. 8 25-27, a loaf (ככר) of bread (לחם instead of מצות) and a cake of bread (לחם again instead of מצות), and a wafer together with the right leg (שוק) and the fat of various parts of the ram of dedication being placed in the hands of Aaron and his sons.[29] The "waving" ceremony is also common to Ex. 29, Lev. 8 and Num. 6, and it is evident that the words "over the breast of waving" in Num

[28] Gloss "After he has shaved the head of his consecration" (read ראש נזרו).

[29] Slight variations in usage, Lev. 8 26 and Ex. 29 23 e. g. סל המצות as against מפל (Num. 6 19); חלת מצה אחת (Lev. 8 26 and Num. 6 19) against חלת לחם אחת (Ex. 29 23) [שמן in the latter passage is misplaced, superinducing the variant in Lev. 8 26 חלת לחם שמן אחת]; רקיק אחד (Lev. 8 26, Ex. 29 23) against רקיק מצה אחד (Num. 6 19), where מצה is clearly to be taken as an explanatory gloss to an original רקיק אחד.

6 20 are taken over from Ex. 29 27 (וקדשת את חזה התנופה ואת שוק התרומה) and refer to the statement there set forth.

All this points to the dependence of Num. 6 19-20, upon the stipulation in Ex. 29 and Lev. 8, and since the "waving" of large pieces of flesh is a very late stipulation, transferred from the waving of sheaves (עמר) Lev. 23 11, which is a primitive method of dedicating the produce of the fields to the deity—originally to the field spirits—the later origin of the sacrificial regulations superimposed on the Nazirite legislation follows as a necessary inference.

The sacrificial regulations cannot, therefore, be used in any investigation regarding the status of the Nazir; they have been added by later redactors in conformity to the tendency to provide for sacrifices, as an income for the priests, wherever possible, and these redactors took as one of their points of view the position that the *Nazir* was to be placed in the same category with the priest—with this curious difference, indeed, that the ceremony of initiation becomes in the case of the Nazir a rite of dismissal. We may, therefore, recognize three successive stages in the growth of this sacrificial ritual: (1) the ewe as sin-offering to which there was added, (2) a lamb as burnt-offering, which leads by virtue of the association of the Nazir as a person temporarily consecrated to Yahweh with the priests as the one permanently consecrated, to (3) the addition of a ram as a peace-offering, together with the usual accessories in the case of the ram offered at the dedication of a priest to the service of Yahweh. Even after the three sacrifices had been prescribed, explanatory and harmonizing additions were made to the text so that we can further differentiate between the older and later layers. Thus besides v. 16-17 as the comment to v. 14-15 we have in v. 15 (a) חלת בלולת בשמן at the end of the verse, added as amplificatory glosses to make the rite conform to established usage and (b) the phrase in v. 20, על חזה התנופה ועל שוק התרומה added from the rite in Ex. 29 27, and (c) the ordinance at the end of v. 20 "afterwards the Nazir may drink wine" is, similarly, to be regarded as an explanatory comment. The text of the sacrificial regulations divided into two groups may

therefore be restored as follows. (1) For the case of the Nazir who has inadvertently touched a corpse

10a 10b ביום השמיני יבא שתי תורים או שני בני יונה אל־הכהן[30]
11a 11b ועשה הכהן אחד לחטאת ואחד לעלה וכפר עליו מאשר
12b חטא על־הנפש [והביא כבש בן שנתו לאשם][31]

"On the eighth day he shall bring two turtle doves or two pigeons to the priest, and the priest shall offer one as a sin-offering and the other as a burnt-offering and shall atone for him in that he defiled himself through the corpse [and he shall bring a one-year old lamb as *asham*]."

(2) For the Nazir at the expiration of the period of his Naziriteship

14a 14b והקריב את־קרבנו ליהוה כבש בן־שנתו תמים אחד לעלה
וכבשה אחת בת־שנתה תמימה לחטאת[32]
15a וסל מצות סלת[33]

"And he shall bring his offering to Yahweh, a one-year old perfect lamb as a burnt-offering, and a one-year old perfect ewe as sin-offering, and a basket of *maṣṣot* of fine flour."

19b (ולקח הכהן)[34] חלת מצה אחת מן־הסל ורקיק[35] אחד

[30] Explanatory comment: אל־פתח אהל מועד.

[31] Misplaced gloss or variant usage showing in either case that אשם and חטאת are identical. See my article in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, IV, p. 379, note 61.

[32] Supplemental sacrifice ואיל־אחד תמים לשלמים, introduced to put the Nazir on the plane of the priest and corresponding to the sacrifice at the initiation of priests, as prescribed in Ex. 29 and Lev. 8.

[33] Supplemental details 15b חלת בלולות בשמן ורקיקי מצות משחים בשמן ומנחתם ונסכיהם. Verses 16-17 are purely explanatory, but the former belongs to the more original form of the legislation, while v. 17 represents the practice for the supplemental sacrifice prescribed in 14c, and reads as follows: ואת־האיל יעשה זבח שלמים על סל המצות ועשה הכהן את־מנחתו ואת־נסכו harking back to v. 15a and 15b.

[34] Addition: את־הזרוע בשלה מן־האיל, to combine the supplemental sacrifice of the ram with the later legislation. It is manifestly impossible to put an entire shoulder of ram into a man's palms.

[35] מצה an explanatory gloss. See above p. 277, note 29.

ונתן על־כפי הנזיר[36]
20 a והניף הכהן[37] (ה)תנופה לפני יהוה[38]

"And the priest shall take a cake of *maṣṣa* from the basket and one wafer and put it into the palm of the Nazir and the priest shall wave a wave-offering before Yahweh."

To which we can reconstruct an original subscript on the basis of v. 21, as follows.

זאת תורת קרבנו ליהוה על נזרו

"This is the law of the offering to Yahweh for his Naziriteship."

IV.

We are now prepared to take up, on the basis of the original Nazir legislation, the question as to what is meant by a Nazir in Numbers 6. It has, of course, been recognized that the Nazir of Numbers has little if anything in common with such a figure as Samson who is depicted as a Nazir for life, nor is there any apparent connection with the Nazirites whom Amos describes (2 11-12) and who are placed alongside of prophets (נביאים), though curiously enough in the case of Samson the only sign of the Nazir especially singled out is that no razor is to pass over his head (מורה לא עלה על ראשו) Jud. 16 17[39], while in the case of the Nazirites of Amos only the prohibition of wine-drinking is implied. The two passages together thus furnish two of the main traits of the Nazir in Numbers.

The case of Samuel who, though never called a נזיר but a ראה (I Chr. 9 22 26 28) is yet consecrated to Yahweh for life

[36] Explanatory gloss אחר התגלחו את־נזרו, an awkward and elliptical phrase for את־ראש נזרו i. e., "after he has shaved the head of his Naziriteship".

[37] Text has אותם because of the combination of the older and later regulations.

[38] Additions (1) קדש הוא לכהן, to indicate that the portion "waved" belongs to the priest, with a direct reference to קדשת Ex. 29 27; (2) על חזה התנופה ועל שוק התרומה superinduced by Ex. 29 27. See above, p. 278; (3) gloss ואחר ישתה הנזיר יין for which see above p. 274 and 278.

[39] To which the Greek version adds, no doubt influenced by Num. 6 3, "and wine and strong drink he shall not drink". Note that in the case of Samson and Samuel (I Sam. 1 11) the word for razor is מורה as against תער in Numbers.

(I Sam. 1 11), is significant as showing that the prohibition of shaving the hair of the head was a trait of the consecrated person in early days.

Wine drinking is a sign of luxury belonging to later periods[40], and the prohibition in the case of the Nazir of Numbers is therefore to be viewed as an instance of the conservatism attaching to religious customs and which prescribed that the priests also were to abstain from wine.[41] The consecrated person adopts the practice of earlier days, just as the mourner puts on the loincloth, the garment of a more primitive period.[42]

Wellhausen has pointed out (*Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, p. 117 seq. and 167) the identity of Hebrew נזר with Arabic نذر "to vow" and following Wellhausen's hint, Gray, in his commentary on Numbers (p. 66) has instituted a comparison between our chapter in Numbers and the Arabic *iḥrām*, the term for the temporary consecration of the Moslem to Allah during the period of pilgrimage to Mecca. The *Nazir* of Numbers is therefore simply a person who vows to consecrate himself to Yahweh for a certain period. It is therefore not accidental that the Nazir is described as the one כי יפלא לנדר נדר "who takes it upon himself to make a vow to become one devoted to Yahweh". The reason for the vow is not indicated. It might be apparently for any reason—in gratitude for recovery from illness or escape from danger or a promise in case of the success of some undertaking. For the time being, therefore, the Nazir is in the same category with the priest—קדוש ליהוה "sacred to Yahweh" and, therefore, like the priest he is not to come into contact with anything unclean. The restriction in his case is as strict as in the case of the high priest who is not to "profane" himself even in the case of the death of his father or mother (Lev. 21 11),[43] whereas the ordinary priest may

40 See the writer's article "Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes", *Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.*, 33, pp. 180—192.

41 Lev. 10 9. See the article referred to in preceding note.

42 See the writer's article "The Tearing of Garments as a Symbol of Mourning" *Journal of the Amer. Or. Soc.*, 21, pp. 23—39.

43 Note the expression. כי נזר שמן משחת אלהיו עליו (Lev. 21 12) "for the vow of the oil of anointment of his God is on him".

concern himself with the burial of father, mother, son, daughter, brother or virgin sister (Lev. 21 2-3). The chapter in Numbers therefore belongs to the general subject of "vows" and stands in close relation to Lev. 27. This latter chapter is clearly supplemental to the so-called Holiness Code which, as the subscript to chap. 26 (v. 46) shows, "These are the laws, decrees and decisions[44] which Yahweh fixed between him and the Bene Israel on mount Sinai through Moses", ended with Chap. 26.[45]

The later redaction of Lev. 27 is indicated also by the reference to the Jubilee year in verses 17-24, harking back to Lev. 25. It apparently reflects a later practice than that of Numbers 6, for according to Lev. 27 a person vowing himself to Yahweh must redeem himself by a sum of money—varying according to the age of the one so redeemed. It represents therefore the practical abrogation of Numbers 6—due to the more rigid limitation of everything pertaining to the priesthood to the descendants of Aaron according to the theory of the Priestly Code. It was felt to be inconsistent with this view of the priesthood as those consecrated by virtue of descent to the service of Yahweh, that the ordinary layman should even for a limited period be placed in the category of a priest. Lev. 27 is the protest against the custom implied in Numbers 6 and abandons it by providing that he who makes a vow of consecration is to redeem himself according to a fixed standard of valuation varying with age and sex. This method of abrogating an older law by making a provision that annuls it without, however, expunging the older statute is characteristic of the growth of law among the Hebrews as among the other peoples of antiquity in general. The familiar maxim that "the laws of Medes and Persians do not change"—applies to ancient law in general. Laws as repre-

[44] The question is worth considering whether the use of the three terms חקים, משפטים and תורות does not rest on the tradition of the growth of supplementary decisions (משפטים) and answers to questions (תורות) around a basic stock of laws (חקים).

[45] Lev. 27 34. "These are the commands which Yahweh commanded Moses for the Bene Israel on mount Sinai" is therefore a supplemental subscript based on Lev. 26 34 as has been recognized by Driver in his edition of Leviticus (Polychrome Bible, ed. Haupt), p. 103, and others.

senting oracles or decisions of the gods are not set aside, but instead stipulations are introduced which virtually abolish them. Thus, theoretically, slavery is recognized in the Book of the Covenant, but by providing that one can only keep a Hebrew slave for seven years (Ex. 21 2) the institution is changed to an indenture to a limited term. In the same way a father according to this code still has the right to sell his daughter, but when it is added (v. 7) "she is not to go forth as the going out of servants", the force of the old law is broken. It is a virtual abrogation of the law. If the new master does not marry her, he cannot sell her to some one else; if the new master give the girl to his son, she is to be treated "after the decision applying to daughters" (v. 9).

I take it, therefore,—following Baentsch's Commentary on Leviticus, p. 438,—that Lev. 27 represents the substitute for the older custom of consecrating oneself to Yahweh—which as incompatible with the theoretical etablishment of a hereditary priesthood in the family of Aaron was to be abolished, but could only be done by a procedure such as Lev. 27 prescribes—the redemption of the vow through a money tax, according to the valuation of the priests.

The Chapter in Leviticus, therefore, sets aside such cases of a temporary consecration as set forth in Num. 6, as well as the permanent consecration of laymen—as in the case of Samuel and Samson. For the origin of the Nazirite legislation in Numbers we are thus led back to the early age when it was customary to make a vow in case of sickness or some other misfortune or before some undertaking—a war or a journey—or what not, which until the vow had been absolved placed one in a special category of "consecrated persons"—on whom certain taboos rested. The chief of these taboos was not to cut one's hair during this period, a second and very natural one was to avoid ritualistic infection through contact with a corpse—always regarded as unclean in primitive cults. For the time being the one who made a vow was holy to Yahweh as a priest was holy, and as the Arab who goes on a pilgrimage is holy—*aḥram*, i. e., he makes himself "*ḥaram*" and must not cut his

hair[46], abstain from sexual intercourse and avoid uncleanness by killing even the smallest animals, or as the one who is engaged in taking revenge in a blood feud was regarded as holy or consecrated by the ancient Arabs and was likewise obliged to abstain from women, wine and unguents.[47] Let me emphasize once more that the prohibition against wine drinking during the vow period is secondary, due to the application of the general principle that the one who is under "religious" restraint conforms to the customs and practices of earlier days; he becomes, as it were, an illustration of the archaism connected in general with religious rites.

Lastly, the "vow" *motif* comes to the surface in the addition to the subscript to the original law, Num. 6 21.

מלבד אשר תשיג ידו כפי נדרו

"In addition to what he can afford according to his vow". The addition which is superinduced, as already suggested, by the provision in the chapter on the valuation of the vows involving one's own person (Lev. 27 8), becomes intelligible on the assumption that the Nazir legislation is the survival of the period when it was customary to vow one's person to a deity for a certain period. The addition itself rests on the attempt to harmonize Num. 6 with Lev. 27 which aims to abolish the old practice by substituting a redemption for the consecration of one's person. In so far the addition rests on a misintepretation of the original force of Numbers 6, which does not recognize such a substitution. It was evidently inserted by some redactor who felt the inconsistency between Num. 6 and Lev. 27 and who intended in this way to harmonize the two contradictory pieces of legislation, just as the one who added the gloss to Lev. 22 21 לפלא נדר או לנדבה wanted to include the זבח שלמים of Num. 6 under the provisions of the law of peace-offerings. The additions to Num. 6 thus embody a two-fold attempt: (1) to utilize the old custom as a means of providing sacrifices for the temple and in so far to recognize and legitimatize a legacy of an age antedating the

[46] On the widespread usage regarding the head and hair of consecrated persons under taboo, see Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 464 seq.

[47] Robertson Smith, *ib.*, p. 462.

institution of a central Yahweh sanctuary and one that may well be older even than the local Yahweh sanctuaries, prevalent among the Hebrews as among other Semitic nomads from time immemorial, and (2) an attempt to bring the older legislation into accord with the still later provisions in Lev. 27, which in reality aimed to abrogate the custom of laymen consecrating themselves to Yahweh. The reference to temporary Nazirites as late as the days of the Maccabees (I. Mac. 3 49; Josephus, *Antiquities* 19 6 and *B. J.* 2 15) leads one to suspect that the legislation in Lev. 27 remained a dead letter, as did the institution of the Jubilee Year. The people clung with tenacity to the old practice despite its incompatibility with the theoretical hereditary priesthood within a certain family, and which as is known was not recognized until the post-exilic days. We may, therefore, assume that Numbers 6 as it stands is a concession to actual practice which continued in force despite the addition of Lev. 27 to the priestly code. It represents the elaboration of an old piece of pre-exilic legislation in connection with a practice that prevailed to a comparatively late period, whereas Lev. 27, is to be viewed as an "academic" attempt in post-exilic days to abrogate the practice.

τετροπωμενους Joshua 11 6.

MAX L. MARGOLIS

DROPSIE COLLEGE.

THE word covers the Hebrew חֲלָלִים ("slain" EV., קטילין Targum) and the Greek means "put to flight, routed". Query: Are we dealing with a free rendering or is the Greek faulty?

By the side of the reading *τετροπωμενους* which is found in **E**,[1] **S**-gr and in the majority of witnesses belonging to **P** there occurs the variant *τετρωμενους* in the Old Latin (*vulneratos*) and in the **P** members: F with its congener *f*, **c** 𝔠, m, and, according to Holmes-Parsons, 16*. It is likewise found in 𝔞 whence Masius took it over.[2] Grabe prints it, relegating the other reading to the margin which latter Drusius pronounced to be an error, the correction of a sciolist. In this verdict I acquiesced in a former publication.

[1] **E** = Egyptian, **S** = Syrian (**S**-gr = the Greek constituents of the recension, i. e. minus 𝔏), **P** = Palestinian recension, Ω = Origen. BFG need no explanation. a = Holmes-Parsons 15. 64, a_1 = 18, a_2 = 128, 𝔞 = Aldina, b = cod. Mus. Brit. Curzon 66, **c** = c (= 108), 𝔠 (= Complutensian) and *c* (= Lagarde who used in addition codex 19), d = 58, g = 121, h = 55, m = 82, n = Athous γ. 113, *f* = cod. Meteoron in Thessaly; 𝔅¹ = Bohairic ed. Lagarde; 𝔈 = Coptic; 𝔈 = Ethiopic; 𝔏 = Latin; 𝔖 = Syrohexaplaris.

[2] Lagarde's Syriac has: ܟܕ ܢܦܝܠܝܢ. Masius tacitly identified it with *τετρωμενους*, but in all probability *τετροπωμενους* was the underlying Greek. ܢܦܝܠ usually renders *πεπτωκως*, and *τετροπωμενους* would have been ܟܕ ܡܙܟܝܢ. Nevertheless the assumption will stand that the translator read *τετροπωμενους* rather than *τετρωμενους*. The margin of Lagarde's Syriac has: ܟܕ ܩܛܝܠܝܢ. The signature ܣ (= σ′) is apparently missing; according to Masius, Symmachus' rendering was *occisos*.

Schleusner, I find now, hits upon another emendation. "Quidni τετρυπωμενους?" (Schl. means: τετρυπημενους.) τρυπης, recorded by Nobil. for τροπης III Kingd. 22 35 (in a doublet, Hebrew מַכָּה = πληγη in the first of the duplicate version) but not verified (see Field), led the way. It is certainly a plausible emendation there. Whatever τροπη may mean, it does not signify "a wound". τροπη might be used to render מַכָּה in the sense of *clades*, but in וַיֵּצֵא דַּם הַמַּכָּה = και εξεπορευετο το αιμα της τροπης, מַכָּה can only mean "wound". τρυπαν = נמב = *pertundere* (Deut. Job) = נקב Job. 40 21 (26) Hag 1 6 and Symm. Job 40 19 (24), רצע Exod. 21 6 (hence with some freedom in the parallel passage Deut 15 17 where Hebrew (וְנָתַתָּה sc.) אֶת־הַמַּרְצֵעַ בְּאָזְנוֹ וּבַדֶּלֶת). One may τρυπαν a slave's ear, or a fish's lip or nose, or one may have a δεσμος τετρυπημενος, a purse with a hole in it; or, if we go to Homer, one may τρυπαν ship-timber with the borer (τρυπανον, *terebra*); but no example is available for τετρυπημενος in the sense of "wounded". From *terebra* comes the verb *terebrare* "bore, bore through, perforate"; it is used Job 16 7 (6) for τιτρωσκειν, just as *compungere* covers the same Greek verb Job 36 25. But elsewhere τιτρωσκειν is *vulnerare* (hence the identification in ℒ above) and *vulneratus* can hardly be in ordinary Greek prose τετρυπημενος.

If τετρυπημενους is unlikely and τετρωμενους too facile, let us try our hand once more at τετροπωμενους. τροπουν or (the middle) τροπουσθαι is a stronger τρεπειν (τρεπεσθαι). In addition to the one example from Dion. Halic. cited by Liddell-Scott, Herwerden has two from the papyri. In the Bible, the verb is a good equivaleut for נָגַף (passive נִגַּף); it is also used for הִכְשִׁיל and even for הִכְנִיעַ (just as τρεπεσθαι passive is נִכְנַע). τρεπεσθαι (middle) renders הָמָה (Num. 14 45, where, by the way, N reads ετροπωσαντο) and חָלַשׁ (Exod. 17 13). The last example explains τροπη = חַלּוּשָׁה (Exod. 32 18; 𝔠 εγδοτη as Joshua 11 6, see above; 𝔅[1] ΝΤΕ ΟΥΒΩΤC = pugnae). In Jerem. 30 10 (49 32) where τροπη = אֵיד "calamity" 𝔅 has misread the Greek: ⲱⲱⲱ = εντροπην comp. e. g. Ps. 34 (35) 26. A similar misreading is found Sir. 45 23: εν εντροπη cod. 155 (hence *reverentia* ℒ) for εν τροπη. The translator is here rather free: και στησαι αυτον εν τροπη λαου for ויעמד בפרץ עמו. Here by the

way 𝔈 misread *τροπη* as *οργη* (ϭωⲛⲧ), comp. *οργη* S[1] for *ροπη* Sir. 1 21 (*οργη* suits the context here, see Smend). This brings us to Joshua 13 22. The Hebrew verse reads ואת בלעם בן בעור הקוסם הרגו בני ישראל בחרב אל חלליהם. אל חלליהם is rendered in **S** *εν τη προνομη* (*in praedam*). The reading is found also h* n (= 16, 52, 57, 77, 131, 236, 237, Cat-Nic; 85[mg]; comp. also *εν τη παρεμβολη* 30) and a_1. Barring the marginal reading *εν τοις τραυματιαις αυτων*[3] in d, all the other witnesses are divided between *εν τη ροπη* (Bh[2] 𝔈 in **E**, Gb and the majority of the witnesses in **P**; in g the reading is that of the first hand) and *εν τη τροπη* (𝔈 in **E**, c, 𝔖 and g[c], aa_2, 𝔞, 209 in **P**). **S** clearly stands aside, com. *υιον* for *τον του* of **EP**. Ω apparently followed an Egyptian text, merely adding sub asterisco *οι υιοι ιη̅λ εν ρομφαια*. The variation *ροπη* / *τροπη* meets us in both groups, **E** and **P**, the Origenic texts themselves being divided. ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ 𝔈, ܩܪܒܐ 𝔖 ("*in bello*. Nam sic capienda est vox *τροπη* apud LXX", Masius) point to *τροπη*, just as *me'r* 𝔈 goes back to *ροπη*. The variation is clearly scribal: comp. in profane literature "*τροπην* f. l. pro *ροπην* Plut. Aem. P. 33 extr.", Herwerden, 1482. *ροπη*, from *ρεπω* "incline", means inclination downwards, esp. the fall of the scale; metaph. the turn of the scale, the critical moment; also that which causes inclination downwards, downward momentum, metaph. influence. According to Hesychius (apud Schleusner *s. v.*) *ροπη* is *κλισις* (so Suidas), *νευμα*, *ραβδος*, *δυναμις*, *βοηθεια*. In the New Testament we find the phrase *εν ροπη οφθαλμου* I Cor. 15 52 as a variant below the text in von Soden's edition for the textual *εν ριπη οφθαλμου*, "in the twinkling of an eye" ‖ *εν ατομω* "in a moment"; the Peshitta writes ܐܝܟ ܪܦܦ ܥܝܢܐ, comp. כהרף עין Berakot 2b. Comp. also Aristeae Epistula, ed. Wendland, § 90: *ροπη* (*ριπη* L[2]) *και νευματι* "momento temporis et ad nutum". In the Greek Old Testament we meet with *ροπη ζυγου* Prov. 16 11 (ܢܬܟܠ ܕܡܣܐܬܐ) = פלס מאזנים / פלס ומאזני, Isai 40 15 (ܢܙܠ ܕܡܣܐܬܐ) = שחק מאזנים, comp. σ′ Isai 40 12 *εν ροπη* = בפלס and θ′ Ps. 61 (62) 10 *ως ροπη ζυγου* for במאזנים לעלות; Job

[3] Comp. Num. 31 8 *συν τοις τραυματιαις αυτων*, an addition which, obelized in G, is omitted in dkx ‖ *αμα τοις τραυματιαις* = על חלליהם in the first half of the verse.

20 5 ε′ προς ροπην עדי רגע. α′ uses the plural, ροπαι (ܢܬܟܐ, once ܪܦܦܐ), as an equivalent of the Hebrew שחקים Job 37 18, 20 38 37 Ps. 35 (36) 6 Prov. 8 28 (Job 37 18 read ροπας Field in Auctario from cod. 252 against τροπας Field in textu). Comp. also Wisd 11, 22 ως ροπη εκ πλαστιγγων ܐܝܟ ܢܙܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܟܦܐ (with marginal note ܟܦܐ ܕܡܣܬܐܠܐ) and 18 12 προς μιαν ροπην ܒܚܕ ܟܕܢܐ; also III Mac. 5 48 υστατην βιου ροπην. None of these connotations would fit the passage in Joshua, and Frankel's (Vorstudien, 187) guess that we have here an allusion to the haggadic legend according to which Balaam had lifted himself up by his mantic art into the heights and was thence hurled down by Phinehas[4] will have to be dismissed as irrelevant. "Non vana itaque est suspicio, vel legendam esse εν τροπη" — his other guess is not worth mentioning —, Schleusner.

Hence the correct reading is εν τη τροπη "in the rout". The phrase covers אל חלליהם. The translator neglected to render בחרב. απεκτειναν = הרגו בחרב. "In the rout" is a bit free for "among the rest of their slain" RV., but a "rout" implies a number of "slain" persons. Hence in 11 6 "routed" is just as free but just as correct for "slain". εν τη τροπη 13, 22 = אל חלליהם and τετροπωμενους = חללים support each other admirably. In the former passage B is corrupt, but on the other hand B has the correct reading in the latter place.

[4] Comp. Ps.-Jonathan Num. 31 8: ופרח באויר שמיא ... ופרח בתרוי ואחדיה ברישיה ואחתיה and Rashi on v. 6: ומפרית מלכי מדין בכשפים והוא עצמו פורח עמהם הראה להם את הציץ ... והם נופלים לכך נאמר על חלליהם במלכי מדין שנופלים על החללים מן האויר וכן בבלעם כתוב על חלליהם בס׳ יהושע, hence pressing the word על for which against Rashi we have in Joshua אל; comp. Pal. Sanhedrin 29 a, 11 f.: ד״א על חלליהם שהיה צף כנגד כל חלליהם והיה פינחס מראה לו את הציץ והוא שוקע ויורד.

Heb. *lĕḥî*, cheek, and *lôʿ*, jaw

PAUL HAUPT
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN GB[15] לחי (Arab. لحى, *láḥaʾ* for *láḥaiu*, cheek and chin) is said to appear in Assyrian as *laxû* (with خ) whereas לוע is supposed to be the Assyr. *lêtu*. Heb. לוע does not mean *throat* (König, Brown; 𝔍 *guttur*) but *jaw*. Siegfried-Stade correctly states that the corresponding Aram. לועא means *jaw*. The stem is לוע, not לעע; 𝔐 לע is *scriptio defectiva* like קל. Prov. 23 2, ושמת שכין בלעך, does not mean *Put a knife to thy throat* (the Latin phrase *gladium collo imminentem conspicere*, quoted by Ziegler, 1791, affords no parallel) but *Put a muzzle* (French *muselière*; Arab. كمام, Syr. ܟܡܐ = *κημός*) *on thy jaw*; contrast Deut. 25 4. Heb. לעך is a coarser expression than פיך (𝔖 ܦܘܡܟ): it corresponds to the German *Maul*, *Rachen*, *Schnauze*, *Fresse* rather than to *Mund*; cf. French *gueule* (= Eng. *gule*, throat, gullet, gluttony; also *gole*, throat, voice, utterance) and our *trap* = mouth, also *chops* = *chaps*, jaws. Heb. שכין is a synonym of מחסום, Ps. 39 2, where we must read אשימה לפי מחסום = 𝔊 ἐθέμην τῷ στόματί μου φυλακήν, 𝔍 *posui ori meo custodiam*; מחסום is a *muzzle-strap*, whereas שכין is a basket (German *Maulkorb*) of rope network around the jaws; *cf.* the cut of a modern Syrian muzzle in DB 1, 303.[1] 𝔊 did not understand this word. The stem of שכין is שכך = שוך; *cf.* שוכה *branch*, *bough* Jud. 9 48, and Arab. اشكأ, *to shoot forth branches* (اشكأت الشجرة بغصونها). I have shown in ZDMG 64, 711, note 2 that we must read in Prov. 25 11: תפוחי זהב

[1] For the abbreviations see above, p. 161, n. 1; *cf.* OLZ **16**, 488; **18**, 71.

כסף (or במְשׂוֹכַת) בשׂוֹכוֹת, *apples of gold on branches of silver.*[2] The ἅπαξ λεγόμενον שַׂכִּין is an (Aramaic) *pluralis extensivus* meaning *interlacement, basketwork, network, basket of rope network, muzzle*; סכך is used in post-Biblical Hebrew of weaving baskets or mats,[3] and סכסך means *to put into a net* (see Jastrow's dictionary; not *to sear, singe,* as Levy 3, 523^b explains). Of course, we might read also שָׂכִין, as a singular, from שׂכה, just as קצין is derived from קצה.

If we assume a stem שׂכי = שׂכך = שׂוך, we need not read מְשׂוֹכַת (or שׂוֹכוֹת) instead of מַשְׂכִּיּוֹת (ZAT 34, 144) in Prov. 25 11: משׂכית might mean *ramage, branchage* (German *Gezweig*). The majority of the Jewish commentators combine משׂכית with שׂכך, *e. g.* Rashi, cited by Stier, *Der Weise ein König* (1849) p. 48; *cf.* Delitzsch, *Spruchbuch* (1873) p. 404. Umbreit (1826) derived משׂכית from שׂכה = שׂכך (miswritten שׂכח) *to interweave*; Vaihinger (1857) translated *Körbchen*; Ewald, *Die salomon. Schriften*[2] (1867) p. 222 explained משׂכּיּות as *Flechtkörbe* (cf. شكيكة, *fruit-basket*). This rendering has been adopted in RV; RV^M gives *filigree work* (cf. Maimonides cited by Delitzsch, *loc. cit.*). Also in Prov. 18 11 the Ancient Versions derived במשׂכְּתו from שׂכה = שׂכך. Elster (1858) read בִּמְשֻׂכָּתוֹ; but the rendering of the *Graecus Venetus* (quoted by Umbreit) ἐν φαντασίᾳ αὐτοῦ is preferable. In Prov. 18 11 as well as in Ps. 73 7 משׂכית may correspond to our *branching out,* i. e. digression, transgression, extravagancy, extravagant flight of fancy, vagary, conceit, whereas in Lev. 26 1, Num. 33 52, Ez. 8 12 משׂכית may mean *branching* or *ramification,* i. e. the production of figures resembling branches, ornamentation with branches (and flowers, &c; anthemia, arabesques). Tennyson speaks of a dress *all branched and flowered with*

[2] For my remarks (*Proverbs* 60, 30) on the *garden of the gods cf.* Ungnad-Gressmann, *Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911) pp. 43. 163, also the description, at the beginning of the story of Aladdin or the Wonderful Lamp, of the subterraneous garden where the fruits of the trees consisted of pearls, diamonds, rubies, spinels, emeralds, turquoises, amethysts, sapphires, &c. For the connection between the Arabian Nights and Babylonian fables see Haupt, *Purim*, p. 9, l. 13; *cf.* AJSL 28, 88.

[3] *Mat* denotes also a *sack made of matting,* e. g. a sack containing coffee.

gold; משׂכית may refer to altars ornamented with sculptured festoons (*encarpi*; cf. EB[11] 1, 761[a]) or to representations of the sacred tree; see JBL 32, 116. 118; *Proverbs* 36, 29; *cf.* Benzinger, *Hebr. Arch.*[2], p. 228. The text in Prov. 8 11 and Ez. 8 12 is more or less uncertain; nevertheless שׂכּין or, rather, שָׂכִין in Prov. 23 2 means *muzzle* (German *Maulkorb*) and משׂכית *branchage* (German *Gezweig, Geranke*). Not only اشكأ, *to branch* and شكيكة, *basket*, but also شكير, *branchlets* and شكيمة (as well as شُكّى) *bridle* belong to the same root (AJSL 23, 252). Just as שׂוך means not only *to interweave*, but also *to protect* (lit. *to hedge, fence, guard*; cf. German *Gehege* and *hegen*, to protect) so كمّ, from which كمام, *muzzle* is derived, means *to cover, protect*. Arab. شوْك denotes *thorn*, because hedges are formed not only of woven twigs or wattling, but also of thorn-bushes. *Hawthorn* (or *haythorn*) signifies *hedge-thorn* (German *Hagedorn*). The place-name שׂוֹכֹה (for שׂוֹכוֹן) means *Fenced*.

𝔗 has לועא for לחי in Jud. 15 15, Deut. 18 3, also for זקן in 1 S 17 35. The form לוֹחא (in פוח לוחיך) is not a transposition of לחוא (Fleischer) but a mistake for לועא; the Assyrian equivalent, however, is *laxû*, just as we find in Assyrian *çixru* for צעיר = صغير, and *Xazzatu* for עזה, غزّة. The *lower jaw* (ܠܘܚܐ ܬܚܬܝܐ; فكّ تحتانى) is called in Assyrian *laxû šaplîtu*. The stem of Assyr. *laxû* (constr. *lax*; cf. *šadû*, mountain, constr. *šad*; Heb. מעל = מעלה, &c; see AJSL 22, 259. 253, n. 14) is لخا for لغو, but the semantic equivalent is لاغ يلوغ which is a synonym of لاك يلوك and مضغ, *to chew*; مضيغة is the *masseter muscle*, and ماضغة means *jaw*, lit. *chewer*, just as *jaw* (for *chaw*) is connected with *chew*, or French *mâchoire*, jaw, with *mâcher*, to chew. Also German *Kiefer* (jaw) and *Käfer* (cf. *chafer*) mean *chewers*; OHG *chiuwa* = jaw, and *chiuwan* = chew. Arab. لغو, the morphological equivalent of Assyr. *laxû* means *talk*; cf. our vulgar *to jaw* (or *to chin*) = to talk (also *to wag one's jaw* or *chin*) and French *gueuler*, German *schnauzen*. Arab. لغة, *language* is derived from the same root, also ܠܶܥܙܳܐ, *speech, tongue, utterance*; ܠܘܳܥܶܣܳܐ, *chewing*, ܠܘܳܥܳܛܳܐ, *jaw*, and

جحظ, *gluttonous*. Similarly French *mâcheur* means *glutton* (cf. *jouer des mâchoires*). Modern Arab. لعس, *to chew* seems to be an Aramaic loanword; *cf.* also لَعِم, *gluttonous, greedy*; لَعُوس, *greedy, wolf* (cf. Assyr. *âkilu* = *zîbu* = זאב, *wolf*; HW 54ᵃ). Contrast لَغُوس which has the same meaning, also لغط, *clamor* and لغفة, *a mouthful* (cf. Lat. *bucca*, inflated *cheek* and *mouthful*).

In Assyrian we have *mêçu* as a synonym of *laxû* (HW 375ᵃ. 421ᵇ). This word, which has never been explained,[4] stands for *mâçu, maççu, maç'u*, مَضْغ, just as we have *zêru*, seed, for زرع (Haupt, *E-vowel*, p. 21). KB 2, 228, 106 *mêçu* denotes the *lower jaw*, not the *cheek*; see the cut on p. 133 of the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, where we see some captives with cords passed through their lower jaws, just as a ring is put through the septum of the nose of a bull or bear, (*cf.* also 2 K 19 28, Job 40 24). Of course, the cord might be passed also through the cheeks, just as fish may be slung on a string passed through the gills (*cf.* Erman's *Ägypten* 327; EB 1529, 5). This gill-string (German *Kiemenschnur*) is called in Assyrian *sanṭu* (for *samṭu*; cf. سمط, *a string of beads*, &c): *santâniš* (not *sandâniš*, HW 504ᵃ) means *on gill-strings* (cf. the relief on the Rock of Behistun, where nine rebel chiefs appear before Darius Hystaspis, all tied together with one rope, although it is not passed through their cheeks or jaws; see Kaulen[5], cut No. 56; *cf.* also No. 91 and A. Jeremias' ATAO², pp. 534. 604; A. V. W. Jackson's *Persia*, pp. 180. 192).

Heb. לחי does not mean *jaw*, but *cheek* in 1 K 22 24 = 2 Chr. 18 23, Is. 50 6, Mic. 4 14, Ps. 3 8, Job 16 10, Lam. 1 2, 3 30. Also in Deut. 18 3 לחיים denotes, not the two *jaws* (עם הלשון) but the two *cheeks*, and רסן על לחיים, Is. 30 28 is not a *bridle* (or *bit*) *in the jaws*, but a *halter over the cheeks* (cf. our *cheek-strap*). Nor does לחי mean *jaw* in Hos. 11 4: the yoke does not confine

[4] [My attention has been called to the fact that *meçu* was combined with مضغ by Boissier in PSBA **20**, 163; *cf.* Holma, *Körperteile* (1911) p. 31. Holma's reading *meçû* instead of *mêçu* is incorrect.]

the jaws; see the cut on p. 169 of the translation of *Ezekiel* in the Polychrome Bible. The ass's jawbone, with which Samson slew 1000 Philistines, is called לחי, because the largest portion of the lower jaw (לחי התחתון, *Ḥull.* 54[a]; *cf.* BT 8, 971. 975) of an ass (or a horse) is under the cheeks (French *ganaches*). Chaucer (*Monk's Tale*, l. 48) says, *He had no weapon but an ass's cheek.* In Job 40 26 לחי refers to the gills of a fish (τὰ βράγχια). German *Kiefer* (jaws) was formerly used also for *Kiemen* (gills). The term *Kiemen* was unknown prior to 1750. The poet asks, Can you catch a crocodile like a fish with a fishing-hook, and pass a string through its gills? Budde, *Hiob*[2] (1913) p. 261 thinks that לויתן is a subsequent insertion, and that the original text was הֲתמשֹׁך תמשׁח בחכּה, but that תִּמְשָׁח (= تمساح, *crocodile*; cf. Assyr. *namsûxu*, HW 467[a]) was omitted by haplography, just as in Ps. 16 5 תמיד has dropped out before תומך (JAOS 32, 122). It is not necessary to suppose that the poet believed a crocodile had gills like a fish, although Milton (*Par. Lost* 7, 415) speaks of the gills of Leviathan. Swift even called the flesh under the chin of a man *gills*, just as Arab. لغد denotes, not only the flesh under the ear and about the throat, but also under the chin. Ezek. 29 4 must be explained in the same way as Job 40 26, and Ezek. 38 4 (which does not refer to an animal, as GB[15] states) is a misplaced gloss to Ezek. 39 2 (see *Ezekiel* 99, 49).

In all these passages לחי means *cheek*; only in Cant. 5 13 it denotes (like Arab. لحية) the *hair on the cheeks and the chin* in distinction from the mustache. In the same way γένειον denotes, not only *chin, jaw, cheek*, (cf. γένυς, *jaw* and *chin*, and French *menton*, chin and mandible) but also the *beard*. Whiskers was formerly used also for the mustaches: Scott speaks of *whiskers turned upward on his upper lip*. Syr. ܕܩܢܐ is used for both *chin* and *beard* (Assyr. *ziqnu*). German *Kinn*, chin, originally denoted the *cheek*; the *Kinnbein* is the *cheek-bone*. The synonym of German *Backe* (cf. Lat. *bucca*) *Wange* (Ital. *guancia*) appears in *wang-tooth* = *cheek-tooth*, and Chaucer uses *wang* in the same meaning; *wang* also denotes the *cheek-bone, jaw-bone*, or *jaw*.

Assyr. *lêtu* (more accurately *lê'itu*) corresponds, not to לֹעַ, but to לחי. For Heb. הכות על הלחי, *to slap on the cheek* (ضربه لطمه خدّه or) *cf.* French *couvrir la joue à quelqu'un* = *souffleter*, *gifler*) we find in the Code of Hammurapi *lê'ita mitxuçu*; see Winckler's *Gesetze Hammurabis* (Leipzig, 1904) p. 59, § 202; *mâr amêli*^{m}, however, does not mean *freeman*, but *noble* (cf. Kittel *ad* Ps. 4 3 and AJSL 26, 21, n. 26) and *muškênu* means, not *freedman*, but *humble* (AJSL 23, 226). *Lê'itu* (or, contracted, *lêtu*) stands for *lê'atu*, *lêiatu*, *lâiatu*, *la'iatu*, *laḥiatu*, لحية, just as *rê'u*, shepherd, stands for *rêiu*, *râiu*, *râ'iiu râ'iiu* (see ZAT 29, 282). Consequently the Assyrian equivalent of לחי is not *laxû*, jaw, but *lê'itu*, cheek. GB^{15} ought to have given as the meaning of לחי, not *Kinnbacken, Kinnlade, Backe*, but *Backe, Wange*. Gesenius' *Thesaurus* has *gena, mala*, and *maxilla*. Heb. לחי may be connected with לוח, *tablet* (Assyr. *lî'u*) or *board* (cf. Levy 2, 492, *s. v.* לחי) just as German *Lade* (in *Kinnlade*) and *Laden* are connected with *Latte*, Eng. *lath*. In the Talmud לחי is used, not only for *cheek*, but also for *cheek-piece* (armor protecting the cheeks) and *cheek-strap, cheek-band* as well as *lath, pole*. For the meaning of *Laden* = shop *cf.* Lat. *taberna*, booth, shop, inn, tavern, which is connected with *tabula* (AJSL 23, 227; JAOS 28, 109). *Lade* denotes especially the interval between the incisor and molar teeth of a horse. This is the place where the bit is inserted; if a horse takes the bit in the teeth he becomes unmanageable. *Laden* (*Fensterladen*) means also *shutter*. In English the side-pieces of a window-frame are called *cheeks*, just as Syr. ܦܘܟܐ (= فكّ) means *jaw* and *cheek*, whereas محصل ḥṣl denotes the *side of an altar*. *Bundeslade* is the German term for the Ark of the Covenant.

Consequently Heb. לחי corresponds to Assyr. *lê'itu*, cheek, whereas לֹעַ corresponds to Assyr. *laxû* (for لغو) jaw, and the synonym of *laxû*, Assyr. *mêçu* (for *maçĝu*) corresponds to مأضغة, *jaw*.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Samson and The Ass's Jaw

AV renders Jud. 15 16: *With the jawbone of an ass, heaps upon heaps, have I slain a thousand men.* 𝔐 חֲמוֹר חֲמֹרָתָיִם *a heap, two heaps* (so AV^{M}, Siegfried-Stade, Brown) is undoubtedly wrong: we must read, following 𝔊 ἐξαλείφων ἐξήλειψα αὐτούς, חַמֹּר חִמַּרְתִּים (not חָמוֹר!). This, however, does not mean *I piled them in heaps* (Moore, König; *cf.* 𝔖 ܟܦܝܬܐ ܟܦܝܬ ܡܢܗܘܢ, 𝔗 רמיתינון דגורין) or *I flayed them clean* (Van Doorninck, GB^{15}; *cf.* حمر, *to scrape, shave, skin*; سحا, حلق, سلخ) or *Ich habe sie gründlich geschunden* (Kautzsch's AT^{3}) but *I reddened them* (*cf.* حمّر, *to paint red*) or *I stained them with blood* (خضبتهم بالدم; *cf.* our *red-handed* = *with bloody hands*) i. e. *I destroyed* (𝔍 *delevi*) *them by bloody violence* (الموت الاحمر, the *red death* means a *violent death*) or *I slaughtered them.* Heb. חבורה, *discoloration, bruise,* Gen. 4 23 (AJSL 20, 164) is connected with ሕቡር ፡ *variegated,* ሕብር ፡ *color,* Arab. حبر, *ink*; *cf.* Germ. *blutrünstig schlagen,* i. e. *to beat till the blood runs.* Heb. חמור *ass* means *the red one,* just as Span. *burro* is derived from the Lat. *burrus*; *cf.* my remarks on אתנות צחרות, Jud. 5 10 in the Wellhausen-*Festschrift*, p. 196.

I subsequently learned from EB 2340 that this explanation was suggested more than 25 years ago by Zenner in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 1888, p. 257. This journal is not accessible to me. According to EB, Zenner referred also to some parallels in the Hudhailian poems edited by Wellhausen in the first part of his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin, 1884) *viz.* p. 113, No. 144, l. 5 (p. ٨ of the Arabic text): فأخضب صفحتيه بالدم, *I stained his sides* (front and back) *with*

blood, and p. 139, No. 189, l. 3 (188, 13 in EB 2340 is a misprint) = p. ٣٤ of the Arabic text: لنخضبنّهم دما, *we will stain them with blood.* No one but Cheyne seems to have paid any attention to Zenner's explanation; it is not recorded by Moore, Budde, Nowack. Cheyne translated: *With the jawbone of the red one I have reddened them.* I have shown in JBL 26, 42 that מְאָדֻם, *reddened* and מִתְלָעִים, *crimsoned* in Nah. 2 4 mean *bespattered with blood.* I also quoted there the Shakespearian *purpled = dyed in the dying slaughter of their foes* (*King John* ii, 1, 322). Similarly we must read, with Lagarde, in Is. 63 1 (see JHUC, No. 163, pp. 49[a]. 50[b]):

מִי־זֶה הַבָּא מֵאֹדָם חֲמוּר בְּגָדִים מִבֹּצְרָה׃

Who advances, all spattered with crimson,
than vintagers' garments more ruddy?

The omission of the article before בָּא (*cf.* Duhm[3] *ad loc.*) is due to haplography (contrast above, p. 226). In Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* (IV, iii, 65) Timon says: *With man's blood paint the ground Gules, Gules* (i. e. *red*; cf. French *gueules*, red, sanguine, murrey, in heraldry). The sanguinary battle of Gavre (1453) where the citizens of Ghent (who had revolted against the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good) left 20,000 dead in the field, is known as *the red sea of Gavre* (EB[11] 19, 415[b]; 21, 387[b]).

We might imitate the pun in the Hebrew original by substituting: *With the jaw of a brayer I thoroughly brayed them.* AV uses *to bray* for כתשׁ in Prov. 27 22. I have explained this passage in the Transactions of the Hamburg Oriental Congress (Leyden, 1904) p. 232: עלי is the *stamp,* or *pestle,* and מכתשׁ the *mortar,* or *chamber,* of a stamp-mill for crushing ores. *Bab. meç.* 38[b], above (Goldschmidt's BT 6, 600) כתישא means *contusion, bruise* (לכתישא דגמלי). *Brayer* is also the name of a roller which daubs the printer's ink on a platen. 𝔊 ἐξήλειψα may mean, not only *I wiped them out,* i. e. *I destroyed them* (𝔈 ደምሰሶ፡ ደምሰስክዎሙ፡) but also *I painted them*; ἀλείφειν means *to anoint, smear, daub; cf.* my *Bibl. Liebeslieder,* p. 128. In German we might say: *Mit dem Kiefer des Roten strich ich rot sie an,* or *Mit des Gräulings Kiefer schlug ich sie gräulich,*

or *Mit dem Kiefer des Braunen schlug ich sie braun und blau.* This is better than the rendering suggested by Fürst[3]: *Mit der Kinnlade des Packträgers, ein Pack, zwei Pack.* The jawbone, which Samson used, was, of course, the lower jaw (*mandible*). He grasped it at the small end (where the lower incisors are) and hit the Philistines with the butt-end, the region of the *angulus mandibulae*, where the masseter muscle is attached.

Johns Hopkins University Paul Haupt

The Grain-mowing Month

In my note on the cuneiform names of the months (JBL 32, 274) I pointed out that according to Pinches the Sumerian name of the Adar did not mean *grain-harvest month*, but *grain-mowing month*. In the present year (1914) the Adar began on Feb. 27. Col. Holdick says in his article on the geography of Afghanistan, in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. i, p. 313[a]: It is common to cut down the green wheat and barley before the ear forms, for fodder, and the repetition of this, with barley at least, is said not to injure the crop .... Barley is sown in November; in March and April it is twice cut for fodder; in June the grain is reaped. Delitzsch stated in his *Assyr. Wörterbuch* (1886) p. 190, n. 2 that according to Rassam the time of the grain-harvest in Babylonia was May-June, *i. e.* the month of Sivan. In the present year the Sivan began on May 26. Assyr. *simânu* (from وسم) *time, season* denotes especially the time of reaping grain, the season of gathering the ripened crops. Our *season* (a doublet of *sation*) on the other hand, means originally *sowing-time*. Similarly *tide* (German *Gezeiten*, Low German *Tiden*) is used especially for *flood-tide* and *ebb-tide*.

Johns Hopkins University Paul Haupt

Heb. *argamân* and *tekêleth*.

Heb. *argamân*, red purple, and *tekêleth*, blue purple, are generally supposed to be Assyrian loanwords, but no satisfactory etymologies have ever been suggested. I believe that Assyr.

takiltu denotes a *fast* color, whereas *argamânu* is a *loud* color (German *schreiende Farbe*). Assyr. *ragâmu* means *to cry* (JBL 33, 161, n. 3) and *takâlu* means *to be fast*. For the meaning *to trust* cf. האמין, وثق, and إعد (from שרר). In Ethiopic, *takála* means *to fix, make firm, plant,* just as we use *to plant* for *to place firmly in position* (German *aufpflanzen*). The atroviolaceous hue, which wool immersed in the juice of the purple-shell assumed after having been exposed to the light of the sun for some time, was fast, permanent, unfading, and indelible. The red purple, on the other hand, was highly chromatic, brilliant, luminous, and glaring. For *schreiende Farben* we find in German also *grelle Farben*, and *grell*, which is used also of sounds, is connected with MHG *grellen*, to cry out in anger; *cf.* Assyr. *iççârix* (for *içtârix*) *kabittî, libbî êgug* (Arab. عجّ). *Argamânu* was more like crimson (solferino, magenta) whereas *takiltu* was more like dark violet (dahlia purple, plum purple). *Cf.* my *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 35, also p. 114 (*ad* p. 32, n. 17) and my remarks in the Transactions of the Hamburg Congress of Orientalists (Leyden, 1904) p. 220.

Johns Hopkins University Paul Haupt

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER 1913.

THE forty-ninth meeting of the Society was held in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York City, beginning Monday, December twenty-ninth, 1913, at 2 P. M., with President Barton in the Chair. The Recording Secretary read his annual report, which was accepted and placed on file. President Francis Brown presented a minute on the death of Professor Briggs. It was voted to adopt the minute, to send a copy to the family of Professor Briggs, and to print it in the Proceedings, together with the obituary portion of the Recording Secretary's report. Professor Montgomery read the report of the Corresponding Secretary, which was accepted and placed on file. The Chair appointed, as a Committee to nominate officers, Professors Montgomery, Bewer and Wood. Professor Prince read the Treasurer's report and the Recording Secretary read his financial statement. The Chair appointed Professors Fowler and Grant a Committee to audit these reports. The Council reported that they had elected Professor Max L. Margolis, of Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Corresponding Secretary, and Professor William H. P. Hatch and William H. Cobb additional members of the Publishing Committee. They announced that the next meeting will be held at Columbia University, during the Christmas holidays of 1914, the particular time and place to be determined by

the Committee of Arrangements, Professors Gottheil, Prince and Jackson. They recommended for honorary membership in the Society:

Professor Ernst von Dobschütz, Halle, Germany
Père Marie Joseph Lagrange, Jerusalem, Syria

who were unanimously elected.

They recommended for active membership:

Mr. C. P. Coffin, Commercial National Bank, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Irwin Hoch DeLong, Reformed Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
Rev. Emil G. H. Kraeling, Mount Airy Seminary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Mr. Elbert C. Lane, B. D., Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut.
Prof. William G. Seiple, Ph. D., North Japan College, Sendai, Japan.
Prof. Le Roy Waterman, Meadville Theological School, Meadville, Pennsylvania.
Prof. Charles F. Wishart, D. D., Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

who were all unanimously elected.

Professor Haupt nominated Professor Julius Wellhausen of Göttingen as an Honorary Member, and moved that the Chair appoint a Committee of three to present to Professor Wellhausen a congratulatory address on the occasion of his seventieth birthday which occurs next May. The motion was unanimously adopted, and Professor Wellhausen was unanimously elected to honorary membership in the Society.

Professor Friedländer reported for the Committee of Arrangements, inviting the members of the Society to dine in the Seminary hall, and extending the courtesy of the Seminary lecture rooms in case a meeting on Tuesday afternoon should prove desirable.

At 2 : 45 Professor Barton gave the President's address. Subject: "The Hermeneutic Canon 'Interpret Historically' In The Light of Modern Research." After a recess of five minutes, papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Professor Schmidt: "The Sins of Jezebel."
By Professor Peritz: "The Function of the Firmament".
By Professor Sanders: "A New Collation of MS 22 of the Gospeles".
By Professor Paton: "Canaanite Influence on the Religion of Israel".
By Professor Cadbury: "Can Lost Sources of Luke-Acts be Determined by Word Tests?"

Professor Montgomery reported for the Nominating Committee, recommending the election of the following officers:

Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt	*President.*
Prof. Charles C. Torrey	*Vice-President.*
Rev. William H. Cobb	*Recording Secretary.*
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince	*Treasurer.*
Prof. George A. Barton	*Associates in Council.*
Prof. Charles P. Fagnani	
Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr.	
Prof. Charles F. Kent	
Prof. Henry A. Sanders	
Prof. John P. Peters	*Directors of Palestine School*
Prof. Albert T. Clay	
Dr. James B. Nies	

They were all unanimously elected. Professor Fowler reported from the Auditing Committee that the accounts of the Treasurer and of the Recording Secretary were correct and were accompanied by the proper vouchers. By invitation of the Committee of Arrangement, members were enabled to visit, between the afternoon and evening sessions, a special exhibition of biblical MSS and books, in the library of the Seminary. At the close of the dinner hour, short addresses were given by President Schechter and by two Professors from Germany, Ernst von Dobschütz and Arthur Ungnad.

Monday evening, December 29. The Society met at 8:15. Professor Marx described "The Collection of Bible Prints and Manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary." Professor Moulton gave an abstract of the Directors-Report of the Palestine School, and followed this with Archaeological Notes, illustrated by the stereopticon. Professor Eleanor D. Wood read a paper on "The Weliyeh of Bedriyeh at esh-Shâphât." This paper was also illustrated by the stereopticon.

Adjourned at 10:15.

Tuesday A. M., December 30. The Society met at 9:10. Papers were read and discussed as follows: By F. C. Harding: "The Oracle against Edom, Isa. 63 : 1-6, and its relation to Isa. 59 : 16,17." By Prof. Friedländer: "The Disappearance of the Ark of the Covenant, Jer. 3 : 16." By Prof. Margolis:

"τετραπωμένους Jos. 11 : 16." By Prof. Haupt: "The Ancient Egyptian Names of Palestine." By Prof. Prince: "An Early Babylonian Invasion of Palestine." By Prof. Bacon: "Jesus as the Suffering Servant in Paul." By Prof. Montgomery: "Notes. (1) *Tartak*, 2 K. 17 : 31. (2) The Wailing of Hadad-Rimmon, Zech. 12 : 11. (3) *tarwach*, Sachau's Elephantine Papyrus, no. 7." By Prof. Jastrow: "The Nazirite Law, Num. 6." By Prof. Clay: "A Sumerian Prototype of the Code Hammurapi." By Prof. Berry: "The Titles of the Psalms." By. Prof. Bewer: "The Composition of Judges 19." By Prof. Kent: "The Dates of the Royal Psalms." By Prof. Fullerton: "Notes on Some Eschatological Passages in Isaiah." By Prof. Torrey: "The Question of a Semitic Source in the Book of Acts." By Prof. Peters: "A Hebrew Folk-Song." "The Wind of God." "The Cock in the Old Testament" (Prov. 30 : 29).

It was voted that hereafter the Committee of Arrangements be authorized to extend the time usually devoted to the sessions of the Society, if the number of papers offered should make such an extension needful. It was voted "that the thanks of the Society be returned to President Schechter, to the Board of Directors of the Seminary, and to Professor Friedländer, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, for the very bountiful hospitality extended to the Society."

The following papers were read by title only:

By Prof. Schmidt: "Note on the Blessing of Japheth."

By Prof. Haupt: "The Oldest Monument of Hebrew Literature." "The Inauguration of the Second Temple."

By Prof. Ropes: "The Wheel of Nature, Jas. 3 : 6."

By Prof. J. M. P. Smith: "The Deuteronomic Tithe."

By Prof. Barton: "The Exegesis of ἐνιαυτούς, Gal. 4 : 10, and its Chronological Significance."

By Prof. Seiple: "Psalm 72 and the Letter of Aristeas."

By Prof. Bacon: "The Temptation Story and the Doctrine of Israel as the Son of God."

By Prof. Montgomery: "An Assyriological Illustration to the Book of Jubilees."

The President announced as the Committee on an address to Professor Wellhausen, President Francis Brown, Professor Torrey, and Professor Ropes.

Adjourned at 1 : 15 P. M. Wm. H. Cobb, *Recording Secretary.*

MEMBERS DECEASED

Llewellyn Pratt. The death of Rev. Dr. Llewellyn Pratt occurred on the 14th of June 1913. He had just entered the thirtieth year of his connection with our Society, and had nearly completed the eighty-first year of his life, a life of great activity and of eminent usefulness in many fields. Among these may be mentioned here his professorships in Gallaudet, Knox, and Williams Colleges, and in Hartford Theological Seminary.

Charles A. Briggs. We miss from his accustomed place at these meetings one of the faithful fathers and founders of the Society, Professor Briggs. President Brown has been appointed a special Committee to give expression to the sense of loss which we all feel.

"In the death of Professor Charles Augustus Briggs, D. D., D. Litt., this Society has lost one of its original members, whose reputation has conferred distinction upon it and who, especially during the time while his health was unimpaired and his studies were chiefly Biblical, read important papers at its meetings and contributed significantly to its discussions. By the range and fertility of his mind, his great industry, his keen perceptions, and his power of combination he was naturally equipped to become a scholar of rank. Unwearying diligence in study made him one in fact.

His breadth of inquiry and his frequent journeys brought him into contact with the leaders of scholarship all over the world. It was as an interpreter of British and German thought, although with independence in his own investigations, that more than thirty years ago, by the vigor of his personality and the force of his advocacy, he took a leading part in familiarizing American scholars with modern processes as applied to the Bible. Moderate as his opinions were in this regard, he suffered for them in ways that were keenly painful to him, but he never abandoned them.

It is proper that we should make especial mention of the books embodying his work in the field of criticism and his Messianic studies, as well as his unique share in the new Hebrew Lexicon, his notable editorship of the International Critical Commentary, and his own important contribution to that series. They truly represent his unwearying zeal for learning and the productiveness of his mind.

He had great areas of scholarly interest outside the particular objects of this Society. His conception of the field of theology was

broad and high; he was versed in dogma as well as in Biblical interpretation. He was ardent in his endeavors for Church Unity and made his studies bend toward this.

The type of his mind was radical in the sense of thoroughgoing, but with a strong basis of conservatism. The combination caused misunderstanding sometimes but there was no real inconsistency. Devotion to truth was the principle that unified his intellect.

Those who knew him well were aware of a sensitiveness and tenderness of spirit in him, unguessed by many more remote, and of a tenacious loyalty to his friends, both those who often differed from him and those who generally agreed.

In his religious experience he was a man of very humble spirit, having a sense of fellowship with all who were taught of God.

This Society records its sense of loss in the death of this unusual man, to whom it owed so much, and who has left a vacant place which will long remain unfilled. It desires also to convey to Mrs. Briggs and all the members of her family an expression of deep sympathy with them under their heavy burden of sorrow."

ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

December, 1912, to December, 1913

Receipts

1913		
Jan. 1,	Carried forward	$ 178 61
	Dues	612 30
	Initiation fees	136 00
	Sales by Dr. Cobb	100 00
	Plates by Dr. Pratt	28 00
	Total	$ 1,054 91

Disbursements

1912		
Dec. 30,	Dr. Cobb	$ 35 00
1913		
Jan. 9,	Buskirk Co., stationery	12 90
„ 20,	W. F. Roberts, envelopes	10 70
„ 29,	Lord Baltimore Press	19 33
May 19,	Astor Trust Co., for Drugulin M. 751.21, Vol. xxxii,1	179 58
July 15,	Astor Trust Co., for Drugulin M. 605.11, Vol. xxxii,2	144 47
Sept. 25,	Astor Trust Co., for Drugulin M. 750.43, Vol. xxxii,3	179 63
Oct. 23,	Envelopes from S. F. Flinton	2 10
Nov. 28,	J. A. Montgomery, secretarial expenses	25 86
Dec. 10,	John D. Prince, 400 envelopes	8 40
Dec. 20,	Exchange	10
	Cash on hand	436 84
	Total	$ 1,054 91

Respectfully submitted, Dec. 29, 1913.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

Audited, and found correct, Dec. 29, 1913.

HENRY THATCHER FOWLER, }
ELIHU GRANT, } *Auditors.*

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

OF

RECORDING SECRETARY

Receipts

1913		
	Balance, Dec. 26, 1912	$ 15 07
	Sales of Journal	213 55
	Offprints (Paton-13.85: Haupt-6.00)	19 85
		$ 248 47

Disbursements

1913		
Jan. 4,	Thomas Todd, printing notes and envelopes	$ 4 60
June 11,	Unsold Journals from Drugulin (carriage)	8 99
„ 28,	Distributing Journal, vol. xxxii, part 2 (3 items)	8 18
July 1,	Carter, Rice & Co., envelopes for wrapping Journal	5 81
„ 18,	Thomas Todd, printing envelopes	2 35
„ „	Jordan, Lovett & Co., insurance	10 20
„ 21,	Drugulin, mailing offprints	2 58
Sept. 25,	Distributing Journal, vol. xxxii, part 3 (4 items)	10 66
Oct. 17,	Remittance to Treasurer	100 00
„ 31,	G. E. Stechert, freight and expressage	2 50
Dec. 18,	Stamped envelopes	2 11
„ 24,	Stamps and exchange for the year	8 05
„ „	Expressage, and typewriting for the year	4 26
	Balance in Old Colony Trust Co., Boston	78 18
		$ 248 47

Audited and found correct, Dec. 29, 1913.

HENRY THATCHER FOWLER, *Auditor.*

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY[1]

HONORARY MEMBERS

Prof. K. Budde, D.D., Marburg.
Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., Oxford.
Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin.
Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg.
Prof. William Sanday, D.D., Oxford.
Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford.
Pres. S. Schechter, Litt.D., Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.
Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen University.
Prof. Bernhard Weiss, D.D., Berlin.
Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge.
Prof. Ernst von Dobschütz, Halle.
Prof. Marie Joseph Lagrange, Jerusalem.
Prof. Julius Wellhausen, Göttingen.

ACTIVE MEMBERS[2]

(496) '13 Miss Charlotte H. Adams, 135 E. 52d St., N.Y. City.
(242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 North Broad St., Phila., Pa.
(466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, Gettysburg, Pa.
(482) '12 Prof. Alfred E. Alton, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
(425) '08 Prof. John B. Anderson, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(462) '10 Rev. Abraham S. Anspacher, 561 W. 163d St., N.Y. City.
(341) '00 Rev. William P. Armstrong, Jr., Library Place, Princeton, N.J.
(305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., 25 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass.
(184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.
(373) '04 Prof. Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific Theol. Sem., Berkeley, Cal.
(469) '11 Phillips Barry, A.M., Felton Hall, Cambridge, Mass.
(210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
(211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., Gen. Theol. Seminary, Chelsea Sq., N.Y. City.
(310) '97 Rev. R. H. Beattie, M.A., 321 N. Central Ave, Austin Station, Chicago, Ill.

[1] This list has been corrected up to Aug. 26, 1914. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

(51) '81 Prof. I. T. Beckwith, Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.
(326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(343) '00 Prof. Walter R. Betteridge, Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N.Y.
(318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(398) '07 Prof. Francis B. Blodgett, Gen. Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, Ohio.
(423) '08 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
(130) '84 Rev. C. F. Bradley, D.D., 90 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
(370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Jr., Ph.D., 281 4th Ave., N.Y. City.
(352) '02 Prof. Caroline M. Breyfogle, 16 E. 14th Ave., Columbus, O.
(311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(20) '80 Pres. Francis Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(301) '96 Prof. Wm. A. Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(102) '84 Prof. M. D. Buell, D.D. Newburyport, Mass.
(351) '02 Arthur Bumstead, Ph. D., 842 Somerset Bldg., Winnipeg, Can.
(91) '83 Prof. E. D. Burton, D.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(470) '11 Pres. Marion LeRoy Burton, D.D., Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
(22) '80 Pres. H. A. Buttz, D.D., Madison, N.J.
(471) '11 Henry J. Cadbury, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
(514) '13 Prof. Hall Laurie Calhoun, Lexington, Ky.
(472) '11 Prof. Henry Beach Carré, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
(392) '06 Prof. Shirley J. Case, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(222) '91 Rev. James L. Cheney, Ph.D., Hebron, O.
(277) '95 Prof. Francis A. Christie, D.D., Theological School, Meadville, Pa.
(400) '07 Rev. Raymond G. Clapp, M.A., Lowell, Mass.
(369) '03 Prof. Calvin M. Clark, Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(414) '07 Prof. Albert T. Clay, Ph.D., 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn.
(68) '82 Rev. W. H. Cobb, D.D., Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
(468) '11 Prof. Camden M. Cobern, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
(523) '14 C. P. Coffin, Commercial Nat'l Bank Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
(390) '06 Rev. Wm. M. Crane, Ph.D., Richmond, Mass.
(296) '96 Prof. Harlan Creelman, Ph.D., Theol. Sem., Auburn, N.Y.
(497) '13 Prof. Earl Bennett Cross, Ph.D., Dover, N.H.
(498) '13 Prof. D. E. Culley, Ph.D., 70 Kennedy Ave., N.S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(483) '12 Miss Ethel Cutler, B.D., 600 Lexington Ave., N.Y. City.
(401) '07 Miss M. Elizabeth Czarnomska, 88 Hilton Ave., Hampstead, N.Y.
(499) '13 Prof. George Dahl, M.A., Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
(451) '10 Prof. Richard Davidson, Ph.D., University College, Toronto, Can.
(500) '13 Prof. Frank Leighton Day, Ashland, Virginia.
(458) '10 Prof. Thomas F. Day, 710 Livingston Ave., Syracuse, N.Y.
(524) '14 Prof. Irwin Hoch De Long, Ph.D., 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa.

(121) '84 Prof. F. B. Denio, D.D., Bangor, Me.
(417) '07 Prof. Winfred N. Donovan, Newton Centre, Mass.
(382) '05 Prof. E. Olive Dutcher, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
(402) '07 Prof. Burton S. Easton, Ph.D., 2726 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
(464) '10 Prof. Charles C. Edmunds, Gen. Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(364) '03 Prof. F. C. Eiselen, Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
(515) '13 Prof. Aaron Ember, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
(278) '95 Rev. Frederick E. Emrich, D.D., Brighton, Mass.
(403) '07 Prof. Henry Englander, 780 Ridgway Ave., Cincinnati, O.
(279) '95 Prof. David F. Estes, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(263) '94 Prof. Milton G. Evans, D.D., Crozer Theol. Sem., Chester, Pa.
(280) '95 Prof. Charles P. Fagnani, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(436) '08 Rev. Wm. R. Farmer, 1000 Western Ave., N.S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(388) '06 Prof. Wm. W. Fenn, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
(26) '80 Rev. Henry Ferguson, LL.D., 123 Vernon St., Hartford, Conn.
(467) '11 Rev. A. W. Fismer, Ph.D., Bloomfield, N.J.
(431) '08 Prof. Geo. C. Foley, D.D., 1117 So. 46th St., Phila., Pa.
(441) '08 Prof. H. E. W. Fosbroke, 9 Acacia St., Cambridge, Mass.
(501) '13 Rev. Orrin D. Foster, Ph.D., Madison, Wis.
(298) '96 Prof. Henry T. Fowler, Ph.D., Brown Univ., Providence, R.I.
(312) '97 Prof. James E. Frame, Broadway and 120th St., N.Y. City.
(418) '07 Prof. D. J. Fraser, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Can.
(450) '09 Prof. Israel Friedländer, Ph.D., 531 W. 123d St., N.Y. City.
(366) '03 Prof. Kemper Fullerton, Oberlin Theol. Sem., Oberlin, O.
(84) '83 Prof. F. A. Gast, D.D., 505 N. Lime St., Lancaster, Pa.
(95) '83 Prof. J. F. Genung, Ph.D., Amherst, Mass.
(198) '89 Prof. George W. Gilmore, 360 Fourth Ave., N.Y. City.
(340) '00 Prof. Edgar J. Goodspeed, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(502) '13 Rev. Warren F. Gookin, 6 Phillips Place, Cambridge, Mass.
(447) '09 Prof. Alex. R. Gordon, Litt.D., Presbyterian College, Montreal, Can.
(162) '86 Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, Ph.D., 180 Broadway, N.Y. City.
(384) '05 Prof. Elihu Grant, Ph.D., Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
(433) '08 Rev. Julius H. Greenstone, Ph.D., 915 No. 8th St., Phila., Pa.
(138) '85 Prof. C. R. Gregory, D.D., Leipzig, Germany.
(381) '05 Prof. W. W. Guth, Ph.D., Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.
(442) '08 Rev. Kenneth S. Guthrie, Ph.D., 182 Monroe St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
(179) '88 Rev. A. D. Hail, M.D., D.D., 33 Kawaguchi Cho, Osaka, Japan.
(209) '91 Prof. Thomas C. Hall, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(484) '12 Rev. F. C. Harding, Scarsdale Ave., Yonkers, N.Y.
(119) '84 Prof. J. R. Harris, Litt.D., LL.D., Chetwynd House, Selly Oak (near Birmingham), England.

(53) '81 Prof. Samuel Hart, D.D., Berkeley Divinity Sch., Middletown, Conn.
(385) '05 Prof. Wm. H. P. Hatch, Ph.D., Gen. Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(215) '91 Prof. Paul Haupt, Ph.D., Longwood Circle, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.
(367) '03 Prof. Doremus A. Hayes, Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
(322) '98 Rev. Henry Harrison Haynes, Ph.D., 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass.
(503) '13 Prof. Charles B. Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
(335) '00 Prof. A. D. Heffern, 4519 Kingsessing Ave., Phila. Pa.
(124) '84 Rev. C. R. Hemphill, D.D., Louisville, Ky.
(429) '08 Edward A. Henry, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(444) '09 Rev. James M. Henry, Am. Presb. Mission, Fa-ti, Canton, China.
(454) '10 Prof. W. Bancroft Hill, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
(147) '86 Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, Ph.D., Leopoldstrasse 8, München, Germany.
(79) '83 Prof. E. Y. Hincks, D.D., Andover, Mass.
(434) '08 Prof. Wm. J. Hinke, Ph.D., 156 North St., Auburn, N.Y.
(363) '03 Prof. Charles T. Hock, Ph.D., Bloomfield, N.J.
(354) '02 Rev. Richard M. Hodge, D.D., 552 W. 113th St., N.Y. City.
(427) '08 Rev. Ivan Lee Holt, Cape Girardeau, Mo.
(479) '11 Miss Sarah F. Hoyt, Pulaski, N.Y.
(304) '96 Rev. Hiram R. Hulse, 215 Tompkins Ave., New Brighton S.I., N.Y.
(439) '08 Prof. Mary I. Hussey, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
(452) '10 Prof. Henry Hyvernat, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D.C.
(231) '91 Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph.D., Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia, Pa.
(386) '05 Prof. James R. Jewett, Ph.D., 67 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass.
(485) '12 Miss Harriet E. Johnson, 32 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass.
(413) '07 Isya Joseph, Ph.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(151) '86 Prof. M. L. Kellner, D.D., Cambridge, Mass.
(338) '00 Prof. James A. Kelso, Ph.D., Western Theol. Sem., Allegheny, Pa.
(448) '09 Prof. John B. Kelso, Ph.D., Wooster Univ., Wooster, O.
(438) '08 Prof. Eliza H. Kendrick, Ph.D., Wellesley College, Mass.
(287) '96 Prof. Charles F. Kent, Ph.D., New Haven, Conn.
(460) '10 Rev. Raymond C. Knox, Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.
(406) '07 Prof. Albert C. Knudson, D.D., 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
(518) '14 Rev. Emil G. H. Kraeling, Mt. Airy Sem., Philadelphia, Pa.
(473) '11 Rev. M. G. Kyle, D.D., 1132 Arrott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.

(504) '13 Matthew W. Lampe, Ph.D., 1339 South 52d St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(519) '14 Elbert C. Lane, B.D., Hartford Theol. Sem., Hartford, Connecticut.
(395) '06 Robert Lau, Ph.D., 404 Kossuth St., Union Hill, N.J.
(486) '12 Rev. Robert F. Lau, A.M., Mendham, Morris Co., N.J.
(371) '03 Prof. Adelaide I. Locke, Wellesley College, Mass.
(372) '04 Prof. Lindsay B. Longacre, Ph.D., University Park, Denver, Col.
(71) '82 Prof. D. G. Lyon, D.D., Cambridge, Mass.
(474) '11 Rev. Alex. B. Macleod, Millis, Mass.
(319) '98 Prof. John E. McFadyen, D.D., United Free Church College, Glasgow, Scotland.
(300) '96 Prof. Arthur C. McGiffert, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(424) '08 Prof. John G. Machen, Ph.D., Princeton Theol. Sem., Princeton, N.J.
(516) '13 Prof. Max L. Margolis, 1519 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(219) '91 Prof. W. R. Martin, Ph.D., 581 W. 161st St., N.Y. City.
(327) '99 Prof. Shailer Mathews, D.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(505) '13 Rev. Walter A. Matos, Swarthmore, Pa.
(506) '13 Rev. John Meighan, 1256 N. 57th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(336) '00 Rev. Henry C. Meserve, Danbury, Conn.
(507) '13 Rev. John Miller, A.M., Coudersport, Pa.
(407) '07 Prof. Lucius H. Miller, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N.J.
(201) '90 Prof. E. K. Mitchell, D.D., 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn.
(35) '80 Prof. H. G. Mitchell, D.D., 36 Pinckney St., Boston, Mass.
(475) '11 Prof. Conrad H. Moehlmann, 51 Mulberry St., Rochester, N.Y.
(236) '92 Prof. J. A. Montgomery, Ph.D., 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Pa.
(449) '09 Prof. Lilla F. Morse, S.T.M., Mt. Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
(331) '99 Prof. Warren J. Moulton, Ph.D., Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(170) '87 Rev. P.S. Moxom, D.D., 83 Dartmouth Terrace, Springfield, Mass.
(419) '08 Mrs. Juliet E. O. Munsell, Chestnut Hill, Mass.
(241) '92 Rev. C. S. Murkland, D.D., 301 W. 96th St., N.Y. City.
(214) '91 Prof. W. Muss-Arnolt, Ph.D., Public Library, Boston, Mass.
(508) '13 Rev. Wm. M. Nesbit, A.M., 266 Orange Rd., Montclair, N.J.
(490) '12 Prof. Wm. R. Newbold, Ph.D., 212 St. Mark's Square, Philadelphia, Pa.
(478) '11 Miss Helen Nichols, Ph.D., Ogontz School, Ogontz, Pa.
(346) '00 Rev. James B. Nies. Ph.D., Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
(489) '12 Rev. Daniel I. Odell, 2112 North 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(476) '11 Miss Ellen S. Ogden, Ph.D., Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt.
(517) '14 Prof. Ernest William Parsons, Ph.D., Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N.Y.

(240) '92 Prof. L. B. Paton, Ph.D., 50 Forest St., Hartford, Conn.
(459) '10 Rev. Carl S. Patton, 162 E. 14th Ave., Columbus, O.
(154) '86 Prof. Wm. L. Pearson, Ph.D., Friends Univ., Wichita, Kan.
(323) '98 Prof. Ismar J. Peritz, Ph.D., Syracuse, N.Y.
(87) '83 Rev. J. P. Peters, D.D., 225 W. 99th St., N.Y. City.
(491) '12 Prof. Llewellyn Phillips, Bushnell Univ., Lewisburg, Pa.
(46) '81 Rev. Bernhard Pick, D.D., 140 Court St., Newark, N.J.
(378) '05 William Popper, Ph.D., Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.
(254) '93 Prof. F. C. Porter, D.D., New Haven, Conn.
(509) '13 Prof. Waldo S. Pratt, Mus. Doc., Hartford Theol. Sem. Hartford, Conn.
(176) '87 Prof. Ira M. Price, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(245) '92 Prof. J. Dyneley Prince, Ph.D., Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.
(361) '03 Prof. Harry L. Reed, Auburn Theol. Sem., Auburn, N.Y.
(30) '80 Prof. M. B. Riddle, D.D., 287 Ridge Ave., Allegheny, Pa.
(510) '13 Prof. Frank Harris Ridgely, Lincoln University, Chester Co., Pa.
(83) '83 Rev. J. F. Riggs, D.D., 56 Halstead St., E. Orange, N.J.
(105) '84 Prof. J. S. Riggs, D.D., Auburn, N.Y.
(455) '10 Prof. A. T. Robertson, D.D., Southern Bap. Theol. Sem., Louisville, Ky.
(389) '06 Prof. Benj. W. Robinson, Ph.D., Chicago Theol. Sem., Chicago, Ill.
(284) '95 Prof. Geo. L. Robinson, Ph.D., 2312 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
(180) '88 Prof. R. W. Rogers, D.D., Drew Theol. Sem., Madison, N.J.
(47) '81 Prof. C. J. H. Ropes, D.D., Bangor, Me.
(285) '95 Prof. James H. Ropes, D.D., 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass.
(387) '05 Prof. Elbert Russell, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
(183) '88 Prof. W. H. Ryder, D.D., Andover, Mass.
(456) '10 Prof. J. R. Sampey, LL.D., Southern Bap. Theol. Sem., Louisville, Ky.
(187) '88 Pres. F. K. Sanders, D.D., Topeka, Kan.
(511) '13 Prof. Henry A. Sanders, 1820 Hill St., Ann Arbor. Mich.
(377) '05 Prof. Wm. C. Schaeffer, D.D., Lancaster, Pa.
(477) '11 George V. Schick, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
(190) '88 Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Ph.D., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.
(457) '10 Rev. Samuel Schulman, D.D., 55 East 92d St., N.Y. City.
(463) '10 Prof. E. F. Scott, Queen's Univ., Kingston, Can.
(520) '14 Prof. William G. Seiple, North Japan College, Sendai, Japan.
(408) '07 Prof. Charles N. Shepard, Gen. Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(337) '00 Prof. Charles F. Sitterly, D.D., Drew Theol. Sem., Madison, N.J.
(55) '81 Prof. H. P. Smith, D.D., 606 West 122d St., N.Y. City.
(409) '07 Prof. John M. P. Smith, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(360) '03 Prof. Wm. B. Smith, Ph.D., Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
(328) '99 Prof. Wallace N. Stearns, Ph.D., Fargo College, Fargo, N.D.
(481) '12 Rev. Nathan Stern, Rabbi, Ph.D., Providence, R.I.
(90) '83 Prof. Jacob Streibert, Gambier, O.

(422) '08 Rev. Harry Le Roy Taylor, So. Edmeston, N.Y.
(74) '82 Prof. M. S. Terry, D.D. Evanston, Ill.
(111) '84 Rev. Roderick Terry, D.D., Newport, R.I.
(342) '00 Rev. Charles S. Thayer, Ph.D., 66 Forest St., Hartford, Conn.
(293) '96 Rev. John R. Thurston, 7 South Ave., Worcester, Mass.
(397) '06 Benjamin A. Tintner, 1242 Madison Ave., N.Y. City.
(440) '08 Prof. Olaf A. Toffteen, Ph.D., 4819 Langley Ave., Chicago, Ill.
(257) '93 Prof. C. C. Torrey, D.D., New Haven, Conn.
(32) '80 Prof. C. H. Toy, LL.D., 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass.
(480) '11 Rev. Harold H. Tryon, Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(492) '12 Prof. J. Milton Vance, Wooster Univ., Wooster, O.
(493) '12 Rev. H. B. Vanderbogart, Berkeley Div. School, Middletown, Conn.
(453) '10 Frederick A. Vanderburgh, Ph.D., 53 Washington Square, N.Y. City.
(309) '96 Prof. C. W. Votaw, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(512) '13 Louis Wallis, 5855 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill.
(33) '80 Rev. W. H. Ward, D.D., *The Independent*, N.Y. City.
(521) '14 Prof. Le Roy Waterman, Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
(271) '94 Prof. Henry J. Weber, Ph.D., Bloomfield, N.J.
(494) '12 Miss Katrine Wheelock, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
(495) '12 Rev. Wm. Curtis White, Aurora-on-Cayuga, N.Y.
(445) '09 Prof. Edward A. Wicher, D. D., San Francisco Theol. Sem. San Anselmo, Cal.
(465) '10 Prof. Charles B. Williams, Seminary Hill, Fort Worth, Texas.
(513) '13 Rev. Clarence Russell Williams, Ph.D., 1816 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
(233) '91 Rev. Moseley H. Williams, D.D., 1816 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(275) '95 Rev. Leighton Williams, D.D., Marlborough-on-Hudson, N.Y.
(113) '84 Prof. R. D. Wilson, Ph.D., Princeton, N.J.
(522) '14 Rev. Charles F. Wishart, D.D., Alleghany Theol. Sem., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(487) '12 Miss Eleanor Densmore Wood, M.A., Wellesley College, Mass.
(272) '94 Prof. Irving F. Wood, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
(488) '12 Rev. W. Carleton Wood, Ph.D., Winthrop Center, Me.
(320) '98 Pres. Mary E. Woolley, D.Litt., Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
(97) '84 Rev. Alfred A. Wright, D.D., 9 Clinton St., Cambridge, Mass.
(134) '85 Prof. G. F. Wright, D.D., Oberlin, O.
(412) '07 Rev. Royden K. Yerkes, D.D., 3437 Woodland Ave. Phila., Pa.
(358) '02 Abraham Yohannan, Ph.D., Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.
(428) '08 Prof. Blanche Zehring, Miamisburg, O.

LIBRARIES AND INSTITUTIONS

WHICH SUBSCRIBE FOR THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

Andover Theological Seminary,	Cambridge, Mass.
Auburn Theological Seminary,	Auburn, New York.
Bangor Theological Seminary,	Bangor, Me.
Beloit College,	Beloit, Wis.
Berkeley Divinity School,	Middletown, Conn.
Bowdoin College,	Brunswick, Me.
British Museum,	London, Eng.
Brown University,	Providence, R. I.
Bryn Mawr College,	Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Bucknell Library,	Chester, Pa.
Carnegie Library,	Allegheny, Pa.
Carnegie Library,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Catholic University of America,	Washington, D. C.
Chicago Theological Seminary,	Chicago, Ill.
Colgate University,	Hamilton, N.Y.
Columbia University,	N.Y. City.
Congregational Library,	Boston, Mass.
Cornell University,	Ithaca, N.Y.
Drake University,	Des Moines, Ia.
Enoch Pratt Free Library,	Baltimore, Md.
Episcopal Theological School,	Cambridge, Mass.
Free Library,	Philadelphia, Pa.
General Theological Seminary,	N.Y. City.
Gettysburg Theological Seminary,	Gettysburg, Pa.
Harvard College Library	Cambridge, Mass.
Johns Hopkins University,	Baltimore, Md.
Library of Congress,	Washington, D. C.
McCormick Theol. Seminary,	Chicago, Ill.
Manchester College,	Oxford, Eng.
Meadville Theological School,	Meadville, Pa.
Mount Holyoke College,	South Hadley, Mass.
Newberry Library,	Chicago, Ill.
Newton Theological Institution,	Newton Centre, Mass.
Northwestern University,	Evanston, Ill.
Oberlin College Library,	Oberlin, O.

Pacific Theological Seminary,	Berkeley, Cal.
Pacific Unitarian School,	Berkeley, Cal.
Philadelphia Div. School,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Public Library,	Boston, Mass.
Public Library,	Brooklyn, N.Y.
Public Library,	Buffalo, N.Y.
Public Library,	Chicago, Ill.
Public Library,	Cleveland, O.
Public Library,	Denver, Col.
Public Library,	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Public Library,	Jersey City, N.J.
Public Library,	Milwaukee, Wis.
Public Library,	N.Y. City.
Public Library,	St. Louis, Mo.
Public Library,	St. Paul, Minn.
Public Library,	Seattle, Wash.
Public Library,	Worcester, Mass.
Queen's University,	Kingston, Ontario, Can.
Royal Library.	Berlin, Germany.
Sage Library,	New Brunswick, N.J.
St. Charles Borromeo Library, Overbrook,	Philadelphia, Pa.
St. Joseph's Seminary,	Yonkers, N.Y.
State Library,	Albany, N.Y.
State Library,	Concord, N.H.
State Library,	Lansing, Mich.
State Library,	Sacramento, Cal.
Theol. and Rel. Branch, Public Library,	Cincinnati, O.
Trowbridge Reference Library,	New Haven, Conn.
Union Theological Seminary,	N.Y City.
University Club,	Chicago, Ill.
University of Michigan,	Ann Arbor, Mich.
University of Toronto,	Toronto, Canada.
University of Wisconsin,	Madison, Wis.
University of Zurich,	Zurich, Switzerland.
Vanderbilt University,	Nashville, Tenn.
Wellesley College,	Wellesley, Mass.
Wesleyan University,	Middletown, Conn.
Western Theological Seminary,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Williams College,	Williamstown, Mass.
Woodstock College Library,	Woodstock. Maryland.
Yale University,	New Haven, Conn.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

JOURNAL
OF
BIBLICAL
LITERATURE

EDITED BY
MAX L. MARGOLIS
WILLIAM H. COBB Wm. H. P. HATCH
COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF
BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

VOLUME XXXIV
1915

BOSTON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE
AND EXEGESIS
14 Beacon Street, Room 207
1915

PRINTED BY W. DRUGULIN, LEIPZIG (GERMANY)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Bacon, B. W. The 'Order' of the Lukan 'Interpolations' . . . 166

Barton, George A. A Sumerian Source of the Fourth and Fifth Chapters of Genesis 1

Berry, George R. The Authorship of Ezekiel 40—48 17

Goodspeed, Edgar J. The Salutation of Barnabas 162

Haupt, Paul. Hosea's Erring Spouse 41

— The Hebrew Noun *Melkh*, Counsel 54

— To know = to have sexual commerce 71

— Assyr. *atmu*, fledgling, in the Old Testament . . . 77

König, Ed. Der samaritanische Pentateuch und die Pentateuchkritik 10

Mitchell, H. G. Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew . . . 83

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Blake, F. R. The Hebrew expression בְּאַמָּה after Numerals . 180

Haupt, Paul. Hosea's Birthplace 182

— The Semitic Root *lak*, to press 183

— Heb. *zed*, haughty = Assyr. *sîttu*, remnant . . 184

— Semachonitis = Jungled Region 185

Sanders, Henry A. Some Greek Fragments in the Freer Collection 187

Proceedings, 1914 i

Financial Reports v

List of Members vii

List of Subscribing Libraries xv

Constitution and By-Laws xvii

A Sumerian Source of the Fourth and Fifth Chapters of Genesis

GEORGE A. BARTON
BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

FOR some years scholars have held that the list of antediluvian kings contained in the fragments of Berossos were probably the names of the patriarchs of Gen. 5 in a different form. Hommel[1] and Sayce[2] have both attempted to show how the two lists were different translations of the same Babylonian words.

These efforts were not fully successful. Some elements resisted all the solvents that could be turned upon them. At last, I believe, the Sumerian original has come to light in a tablet from Nippur in the University Museum in Philadelphia. Dr. Poebel has published[3] the tablet and translated[4] it, but has overlooked what seems to the writer its most interesting relations. He takes the names of all its kings to refer to monarchs who lived after the flood. In his view they are different from the names in the list of Berossos. The colophon at the end of the list, however, gives no intimation that the time covered by the tablet was dated from the flood. It gives the reader the impression that the chronology given went back to the dim beginnings of history.

[1] *PSBA.*, XV, 243—246.

[2] *Expository Times*, X, 353.

[3] Historical and Grammatical Texts: Vol. V of the "Publications of the Babylonian Section" of the University Museum, Philadelphia, 1914, No. 2.

[4] *Historical Texts*, Vol. IV of the same series, Philadelphia, 1914, pp. 73—140.

The names and reigns of the kings that concern us are as follows:—

Galumum: reigned 900 years;
Zugagib: reigned 840 years;
Aripi (or Ademê[5]), son of Mashgag, 720 years;
Etana, the shepherd, who went to heaven, who subdued all lands: reigned 635 years;
Pilikam[6]: reigned 350 years;
Enmenunna: reigned 611 years;
Melamkish: reigned 900 years;
Barsalnunna: reigned 1200 years;
Meskingashir: ruled 325 years;
Enmeirgan: ruled 420 years;
Lugalbanda: ruled 1200 years;
Dumuzi: ruled 100 years;
Gilgamesh: ruled 126 years.

In addition to these the name Mes(?)zamu appears, but the number of his years is lost.

As Poebel has recognized, the first two names are animal names, Galumum meaning "lamb" and Zugagib "scorpion". The human names, accordingly, begin with A-ri-pi, which may also be read A-de-mê[7]. When taken over into Hebrew Ademê was naturally assimilated in spelling to the Hebrew word אדם. In Sumerian the words "to heaven" are AN-ŠU, also read AN-KU. *An-ku* taken over into Hebrew would give us the etymology of Enoch, a name that has never been satisfactorily explained. Sumerian words which begin with a vowel sometimes take a guttural at the beginning on coming into Hebrew. Thus the Sumerian AŠ-TAN, "one", Semitic Babylonian "ištin", comes into Hebrew as עשתי (Jer. 1 3 and elsewhere).

[5] See Barton, *Origin of Babylonian Writing*, numbers 93 20 and 339.

[6] May also be read Welikam or Melikam.

[7] Poebel reads the name *Arpi*, apparently because in another fragmentary tablet he thinks the name is written *Arbum*, but both Poebel's copy and the photograph of the first tablet favor the reading *A-ri-pi*. The writer has endeavored to settle the matter by collating both tablets, but both have unfortunately crumbled too much to make collation decisive.

It is well known that ע frequently passes into ח[8], so that on this etymology the spelling חֲנוֹךְ is fully accounted for. The lengths of the reigns of these Babylonian kings do not correspond with the length of the lives of the patriarchs as given in Genesis, but it happens that the 635 years of the reign of Etana become the 365 years of the life of Enoch by the transposition of the first two digits!

The translation of Enoch, or the "going to heaven" of Etana is a theme which is elaborated in the Etana myth, where Etana mounted to heaven on the back of an eagle[9]. Unfortunately the tablet containing the myth is broken before the upward voyage was completed, so that we are in ignorance as to how, according to the Babylonian tale, the attempt succeeded.

Another possible derivation may be found in a suggestion made by more than one scholar that the Euedorochos of Berossos (a name which in his list is found in place of Enoch) is a corruption of Enmeduranki, who is said in a ritual text to have been king of Sippar[10]. In the king-lists the dynasties of Kish and Agade (the older name of Sippar) are counted the same. Enmeduranki, like Etana, was, accordingly, a king of Kish. Enmeduranki means "the hero who binds together heaven and earth", and was a most appropriate epithet of Etana. One may hazard the guess that the two were the same. If so, the name Enoch may have been derived in accord with the phonetic laws already pointed out, from AN-KI, the Sumerian for "heaven and earth", the last two elements of Enmeduranki.

Again Enmenunna may be translated into Semitic Babylonian as "Mutu-elu". Mutu means both "man" and "priest", or some high official[11], Poebel has shown that En-me is the designation of a certain kind of priest[12]. The translation given

8 See Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I, § 55, b, *a*.

9 See *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 115.

10 Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager*, No. 24, 11.

11 Muss-Arnolt, *Handwörterbuch*, 619, 620, and Knudtzon, *El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 55, 43.

12 *Historical Texts*, p. 114.

above is accordingly justified. It may also have been rendered by the one word *amêlu*. A Hebrew translator might also have rendered it by Enosh, placing אנוש in contrast with אדם.

The next one in the list, Pi-li-kam[13], translated into Semitic becomes *Ina-uzni-erešu*, "with intelligence to build", or in one word, *ummanu*, "artificer". Is it an accident that Kenan means "artificer"?

Melamkish gives us Lamech (למך) by the simple wearing away of the first and last radicals of Melamkish (מלמכש)[14].

Barsalnunna translated into Semitic Babylonian becomes "*Šiṯu-elu*"[15]; Seth is the transfer of the first element of this into Hebrew, the final radical having worn away, or having been accidentally omitted.

Meskingashir, literally translated into Semitic Babylonian, is *Mutu-ša-etlu*, "the man who is lord". The accidental omission of a single letter would make it *Mutu-ša-elu*, "the man who is exalted". Methusalah is the exact equivalent of this expressed in Hebrew letters.

Enmeirgan becomes, when translated into Semitic, *Mutu-šalal-eqla*[16], and Mahalalel is a much closer transfer of the first two elements of this to Hebrew than are Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Merodach-baladan, and Evil-merodach of the names *Sin-akhi-irba*, *Ashur-akhi-iddina*, *Marduk-apal-iddin*, and

[13] The sign *kam* Poebel failed to recognize. It is No. 364 א of Barton's *Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*. It is sometimes employed in other texts instead of other signs which had the values *ka* or *kam*. Here it is used for sign No. 357 of the work referred to.

[14] Langdon makes the suggestion (*Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man*, Philadelphia, 1915, p. 56, n. 7) that Lamech is the Sumerian *Lumḫa*, an epithet of the Babylonian god Ea as the patron of music. A more plausible suggestion is that Lamech is a corruption of a king's name as suggested above, and after it was corrupted it was confused with the name of the Sumerian god *Lamga*, the constructive god, whose emblem was the sign for carpenter (see Barton, work cited, No. 503).

[15] Meissner, *Ideogramme*, 1139.

[16] See Barton, *Origin of Babylonian Writing*, No. 229 18.

Amel-Marduk. Finally Dumuzi means "son of life", or "living son" and Jared means "descendant"[17].

The equivalent of Noah does not appear in this list, but there is no doubt that he was Ziugiddu, otherwise called Utnapishtim of the Babylonian accounts of the flood.

We have then the following equivalents, three of which are Hebrew translations of Sumerian names, three, transfers into Hebrew of the whole or of parts of Semitic Babylonian equivalents of these Sumerian names, three of which are transfers to Hebrew of portions of a Sumerian original, and one of which Noah, is still inexplicable. The correspondences, then, are

Sumerian	Semitic Babylonian	Hebrew
Adêmê		Adam
Barsalnunna	Šiṯu-elu	Seth
Enmenunna	Mutu-elu or *amêlu*	Enosh
Pilikam	Ina-uzni-erešu or *ummanu*	Kenan
Enmeirgan	Mutu-šalal-gan	Mahalalel
Dumuzi	Apal-napišti	Jared
Etana		Enoch
Meskingashir	Mutu-ša-etlu (elu)	Methusalah
Melamkish[18]		Lamech
Ziugiddu		Noah

It may be urged as an objection to the derivation of the names of these patriarchs from those of this Babylonian tablet, that the number of kings is much greater than the number of patriarchs, even though the tablet is fragmentary. It should be remembered, however, that the method of Biblical writers was in such matters selective. First Chronicles 1-9 is based on the Pentateuch and earlier historical books, but does not contain nearly all the names which those books record. Its author selected one here and another there. The genealogy of Jesus also in Matt. 1 omits the names of three Judean

[17] Possibly, derived as suggested below for Irad, by the dropping of the ר.

[18] Pilikam, if read Melikam, would by metathesis of the first two radicals and the loss of the last also give למך.

kings, Ahaziah, Jehoash and Amaziah; cf. Matt. 1 8 with 2 Kings 9-14.

The list of Berossos seems to have been derived from this list, but some changes and substitutions appear to have been made. Poebel has suggested[19] that Alorus is Laluralim who is said to have been a king of Nippur[20]. But the name Laluralim is glossed as *Zugagib*[21], "scorpion", and Zugagib is one of the royal names of our list. Concerning Alaporus there is no plausible suggestion. It might possibly be a corruption of Galumum, but one would have to suppose that the *g* wore away and that every other consonant underwent phonetic change.

Amelon is the Semitic Babylonian "amelu", and could have originated as Enosh is supposed to have done above. Ammenon, the Semitic Babylonian *ummanu* is, like Kenan, a translation of Pilikam. Megalorus might be a corruption of *Mutu-šalal* like Mahalaleel. Daōnos is clearly a corruption of Dumuzi. Euedorachos is, probably, a corruption of Enmeduranki, as pointed out above. Amempsinos has long been recognized as a corruption of *Amil-Sin*—a name not found in this list. Berossos substituted Ubara-tutu, the name of the father of Ut-napishtim in the version of the deluge from Nineveh, for the name of Lamech, in order to bring in the ancestry of Xisuthros. Xisuthros is Atraḫasis, another name for Ut-napishtim and Ziugiddu. We have, then, for Berossos:—

Berossos		Intermediate form	Sumerian
1. Alorus	36,000 years	Laluralim	Zugagib
2. Alaparos	10,800 „	Alapuru(?)	Galumum(?)
3. Amelon	46,800 „	Amêlu	Enmenunna
4. Ammenon	43,200 „	Ummanu	Pelikam
5. Megalorus	64,800 „	Mutu-šalal-gan	Enmeirgan
6. Daonos	36,000 „		Dumuzi
7. Euedorachos	64,880 „	Enmeduranki	Etana
8. Amempsinos	36,000 „	Amil-Sin	
9. Opertes	28,800 „	Ubaratutu	
10. Xisuthros	64,800 „	Atra-ḫasis	Ziugiddu

[19] *Historical Texts*, p. 42.

[20] Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, V, 47, 5 b.

[21] Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, V, 44, 17 b; cf. Meissner, *Seltene assyrische*

It is clear from this comparison that the priestly document of Genesis is independent of Berossos, and that in so far as the names in this new Sumerian list afford the source of both, Genesis stands nearer to the source than Berossos does. Berossos, moreover, has greatly exaggerated the number of years of each reign.

The antiquity of this tradition is attested by the fact that the tablet containing this list appears to have been written in the 156th year of the dynasty of Nisin, or in 2170 B. C.

But how does this Sumerian material compare with the J material of Gen. 2-4? It has long been recognized that the Cainite genealogy of J is probably the P genealogy in another form.

It is clear that Ademê of the Sumerian list could easily become "the man" (האדם) of J. Abel, who was a keeper of sheep, and was murdered, might well be Etana the shepherd, who went to heaven. The words SIBA LU, "the shepherd who", which in the Sumerian follow the name Etana, would, when combined, give the Hebrew הבל, if the *s*, which in Hebrew would become ש were thinned to a ה as the ש of the *shaphel* is in the Hebrew *hiphîl*[22]. Cain, which is in Hebrew another form of Kenan, would also be a translation of Pilikam. Enoch was probably derived from ANU-KU or AN-KI as above. Irad (עירד) corresponds to Jared of the other list and probably has some connection with Dumuzi. Is it a transfer from the Sumerian of the last two syllables of ZI-IR-TU[23],

Ideogramme, No. 6945. It is also said that the Semitic name of this king was Tabu-utul-bel. He is celebrated in the poems on the Babylonian Job; see Jastrow in this JOURNAL, XXV, 135 f., and Barton, *Commentary on Job*, p. 4 f.

[22] Langdon, *Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of man*, p. 56, suggests that Abel is the Sumerian *Abu*, a patron of pastures and flocks. It is, however, more difficult to account for the addition of an *l* to *Abu* than for the change of *s* to ה. As the names of the other antediluvian patriarchs suggested by Langdon do not at all correspond to those in Genesis, the line of derivation suggested above seems preferable.

[23] See Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, II, 59, rev. 9, and Zimmern's *Der Babylonische Gott Tamūz*, p. 13.

mother of Tammuz, or of IR-DA, "with tears"? In either case a prosthetic ע has been added as in עשתי[24]. Weeping was one of the characteristic features of the worship of Tammuz. Mahujael (מחויאל) is probably a corruption of Mutu-elu. Lamech and Noah are the same as in the P list.

The result for J is:

Hebrew	Semitic Babylonian	Sumerian
האדם		Ademê
Abel		siba lù (Etana)
Cain	Ina-uzni-erešu (or ummanu)	Pilikam
Enoch		an-ku or an-ki (Etana)
Irad		ir-da or ir-tu (Dumuzi)
Mehujael	Mutu-elu	Enmenunna
Methusalah	Mutu-ša-elu	Meskingashir
Lamech		Melamkish

If this analysis is correct the P document is in closer agreement, so far as the names are concerned, with the Babylonian original than the J document is. This is only what we should expect. The tradition must have reached J in an oral form. P was, perhaps, written in Babylonia where less confusion in the names might well be expected. P, with his taste for chronology, also seized eagerly on the numbers.

That Etana, according to this analysis, appears twice in the line of Cain is, perhaps, in accordance with the Sumerian list itself, for it is quite possible that in that list Lugal-banda is but Etana in another form. Etana is called a shepherd, and in the Etana myth the king whom Ishtar placed in control is also called a shepherd. Jastrow has conjectured that the king and Etana were the same[25]. Lugal-banda means the "prudent king", and in the Sumerian business documents a *nu-banda* is a kind of over-shepherd. It is quite possible that in the Babylonian list, itself, Lugal-banda is only Etana under another form. In this case the duplication is much older than the J document.

[24] עירד may be a corrupt enlargement of ירד.

[25] See *JAOS.*, XXX, 123.

The J document, however, like the Babylonian original, neither betrays a consciousness of a flood, nor brings its hero into the list of patriarchs.

It was noted above that this list begins with animal names, and that the first of the human names is Aripi or Ademê. Resolved into its constituent ideograms this name becomes *amilu-maḫaṣu-uzni*, "man of destructive intelligence". He is followed by Etana, the shepherd; he, by Pilikam, "with intelligence to build". It is an interesting coincidence that this succession predicates an evolution not unlike that formulated by modern science—first the long reign of animal life, then the successive periods of hunting, of herding, and of settled workers in metal!

Der samaritanische Pentateuch und die Pentateuchkritik

ED. KÖNIG
BONN

DIE Geschichte des samaritanisch-hebräischen Pentateuchs ist in ihren Grundzügen wohlbekannt. Man weiß, daß die von Hengstenberg sowie Keil verfochtene und einigermaßen noch in Stracks Einleitung nachklingende These, der Pentateuch habe schon vor 722 in Samaria existiert, keinerlei positives Zeugnis für sich geltend machen kann, aber eine ganze Reihe von Tatsachen gegen sich hat. Schon die Ausschließung der Samaritaner vom Bau des nachexilischen Tempels macht es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß der Besitz des Gesetzbuchs bei den Samaritanern damals nicht von den Juden vorausgesetzt wurde.[1] Außerdem spricht gegen jene alte These alles, was über die Entstehung und den Abschluß des Pentateuchs festgestellt werden kann. Sehr wahrscheinlich aber ist es, daß die samaritanische Gemeinde, die sich um das Jahr 432 v. Chr. zu Sichem konstituierte und einen Tempel auf dem südlich davon liegenden Berge Garizim baute, bald darauf auch den Pentateuch übernommen und zu ihrem — bekanntlich einzigen — Kanon gemacht hat. Denn dieser Zeitpunkt der kultischen Begründung einer besonderen Jahwegemeinde war der einzige natürliche Anlaß, das grundlegende Dokument

[1] W. Rothstein, Juden und Samaritaner, die grundlegende Scheidung von Judentum und Heidentum (1908): Hag. 2 10-14 sei ein urkundlicher Reflex der Tatsache, daß die Samaritaner begehrt hätten, an dem Wiederaufbau des jerusalemischen Tempels teilzunehmen, aber von Serubbabel und den anderen Häuptern der Judenschaft abgewiesen worden seien. Vgl. dazu auch meine Einleitung ins AT., S. 281 f.

der Jahwereligion zu übernehmen. Übrigens aber geschah die Konstituierung der Samaritanergemeinde zu Sichem (jetzt: Nâblus) wirklich um 432, wo ein Sohn des Hohepriesters Jojada durch Nehemia aus Jerusalem vertrieben wurde, weil er in einer Mischheirat mit einer Tochter Sanballats, des persischen Statthalters von Samaria, lebte (Neh. 13 28). Denn diese Nachricht ist durch die Papyri der südägyptischen Judengemeinde von Elephantine bestätigt worden, weil da in einem Briefe von 408/7 diese Gemeinde sich wegen der Zerstörung ihres Tempels auch nach Samaria an die Söhne des persischen Statthalters Sanballat wendet. Zwar ist auch wieder neuestens die Angabe des Josephus, der die Vertreibung eines gewissen Manasse, des Schwiegersohnes des Statthalters Sanballat, in die — ihm bekanntere — Zeit Alexanders d. Gr. gesetzt hat, bevorzugt worden.[2] Aber dem gegenüber hat W. Rothstein mit Recht auf die Bestätigung von Neh. 13 28 hingewiesen, die in der Erwähnung von Sanballats Söhnen in jenem urkundlichen Briefe von 408/7 liegt.

Man weiß ferner, daß die Kunde vom samaritanisch-hebräischen Pentateuch jahrhundertelang im Abendlande verschollen gewesen ist, bis der italienische Reisende Pietro della Valle 1616 ein Exemplar dieses Werkes nach Rom brachte, und der Text dieses Exemplars in der Pariser und Londoner Polyglotte gedruckt wurde. Dann hat allerdings der Engländer Kennicott, wie für sein hebräisches Altes Testament im allgemeinen, so auch für den samaritanisch-hebräischen Pentateuch, deren Besonderheiten er eine eigene Kolumne widmete, eine Anzahl von anderen Handschriften verglichen (1776—80), und der Berliner Orientalist Heinrich Julius Petermann hat sich nicht nur die ganze Genesis von dem damaligen Hohepriester der samaritanischen Gemeinde vorlesen, sondern auch — freilich wenig genau — die Varianten des samaritanischen Pentateuchs notieren lassen.[3] Aber jetzt ist nun endlich die

2 Steuernagel, Einleitung ins AT. (1912), S. 42, und G. Jahn, Die Elephantine-Papyri (1913).

3 Beides steht in den Anhängen von „H. J. Petermann, Versuch einer hebräischen Formenlehre nach der Aussprache der heutigen Samaritaner“ (1868), S. 161 ff.

erste kritische Ausgabe des samaritanisch-hebräischen Pentateuchs unternommen und zum Erscheinen gebracht worden.[4] Das ideale Streben eines deutschen Gelehrten hat sich diese echtwissenschaftliche Aufgabe gestellt, und er hat über ein Jahrzehnt entsagungsvollen Fleißes an ihre Durchführung gewendet. So hat also die deutsche Forschung die Ehre erlangt, den samaritanisch-hebräischen Pentateuch zum ersten Male in zuverlässiger Gestalt an das Tageslicht gefördert zu haben. Denn für die neue Ausgabe sind 80 Handschriften und Handschriftenteile, die, wie die beigegebenen Faksimiles beweisen, zum Teil äußerst schwer lesbar sind, verglichen und mit ihren Verschiedenheiten für die Herstellung des textkritischen Apparats verwertet worden.

Diese schon an sich äußerst wertvolle Ausgabe des samaritanischen Pentateuchs ist nun auch noch in einem sehr günstigen Zeitpunkte erschienen. Sie ist zum Glück gerade jetzt herausgekommen, wo sie in den Streit um die Berechtigung der modernen Pentateuchkritik eingreifen kann.

Auch den Lesern dieser Zeitschrift wird es ja nicht unbekannt geblieben sein, daß hauptsächlich seit dem Herbste des Jahres 1912 ein heftiger Kampf gegen die jetzt herrschende literarische Auffassung des Pentateuchs ausgebrochen ist. Die besondere Gruppe von neueren Gegnern der Urkundenhypothese, die in Aug. Klostermann ihr Haupt besitzt und besonders durch Joh. Lepsius, Joh. Dahse, Eerdmans und Harold M. Wiener vertreten wird, hat sozusagen einen Generalsturm auf die Festung eröffnet. Gegen Ende 1912 ließ Dahse sein Buch „Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage" erscheinen, und diesem Buche hat er eine Anzahl von Artikeln, wie z. B. in der „Studierstube" einen mit dem Titel „Wie erklärt sich der gegenwärtige Zustand der Genesis?" nachfolgen lassen, der auch separat erschienen ist. Diese Sondergruppe von Gegnern der neueren Pentateuchkritik nennt sich die textkritische, und ihr erster Satz ist dieser, daß die Gottesnamen nicht als Beweismaterial für die Scheidung von Schichten im

[4] August Freiherr v. Gall (in Gießen), Der hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner (Gießen 1914 bei Toepelmann), I. Heft: Prolegomena und Genesis.

Pentateuch verwendet werden dürfen, weil die Gottesnamen, wie sie vom massoretischen Texte dargeboten werden, nicht die ursprünglichen seien, sondern durch den Gottesnamenbestand, der in der LXX und anderen Gestalten des Alten Testaments vorliege, um ihren Wert gebracht würden.

Bei der Entscheidung dieser Frage ist nun der samaritanische Pentateuch berufen, eine bedeutungsvolle Rolle zu spielen, und zwar in dreifacher Hinsicht.

1. Das allgemeine Verhältnis zwischen dem jüdisch-hebräischen (*MT*) und dem samaritanisch-hebräischen Pentateuch ist ja dieses, daß der letztere von jenem in ziemlich vielen Hinsichten abweicht. Diese Differenzen beginnen schon im Gebiete der Orthographie. Denn die Vokalbuchstaben sind von den samaritanischen Schreibern ungleich häufiger, als im *MT*, gesetzt worden. Das geht so weit, daß sogar *Segol* und *Scheba mobile* oft durch Jod angezeigt werden, wie z. B. *Geschuri* (Deut. 3 14) hinter dem *Gimel* ein Jod hat. Fernerhin in der Formenlehre hat der *MT* sechsmal das abweichende *nâchnu* für „wir" (Gen. 42 11 usw.), aber der Samaritaner hat dafür das gewöhnliche *anâchnu* eingesetzt, und so setzen sich die Differenzen des Samaritaners fort.[5] Aber wie steht es mit den Abweichungen der Gottesnamen im Samaritaner? Für Elohim des *MT* steht Jahwe in Gen. 7 9 28 4 31 7 9 16a[6] und Exod. 6 2a, und für Jahwe des *MT* hat der Samaritaner ein Elohim in Gen. 7 1 14 22 20 18 und Exod. 3 4a. Also so wenige Verschiedenheiten zeigt der Samaritaner gerade betreffs der Gottesnamen. Folglich beweist auch der Samaritaner, mit welchem Unrecht die Gottesnamen neuerdings von Lepsius, Dahse und anderen als „das variable Element" des Textes hingestellt worden sind. Die Unrichtigkeit dieser Behauptung wird nun jetzt auch durch die neue Ausgabe des samaritanisch-hebräischen Pentateuchs aufs Deutlichste vor Augen gestellt. Denn die Abweichungen des Textes, die aus den verglichenen 80 Handschriften im kritischen Apparat zusammengestellt sind,

[5] Eine detaillierte Sammlung von Belegen gibt meine Einleitung ins AT., S. 96 f.

[6] In Gen. 35 9a ergänzt der Samaritaner das vom *MT* als selbstverständlich übergangene logische Subjekt durch Elohim.

zählen nach vielen Hunderten. Aber eine Durchsicht ihrer Masse hat mir das Resultat geliefert, daß Verschiedenheiten oder Verschreibungen in bezug auf die Gottesnamen nur an zwei Stellen vorkommen. In Gen. 21 17 begegnet neben dem Ausdruck „Engel Gottes" auch der bloße Ausdruck „Gott", und in 30 23 wird das Wort für „Gott" auch in einer Handschrift weggelassen. Durch diesen Tatbestand ist also abermals aufs Deutlichste erwiesen worden, daß die Gottesnamen am allerwenigsten das „variable" Element des Textes genannt werden dürfen. Stimmt doch der Samaritaner schon bis Exod. 6 2 mit dem *MT* in bezug auf die Gottesnamen etwa 400mal zusammen, was von Dahse freilich nicht erwähnt wird. Diese relativ große Gleichmäßigkeit in dem Abschreiben der Gottesnamen läßt sich ja auch nach den peinlichen Regeln erwarten, die den jüdischen Schreibern betreffs der Gottesnamen gegeben sind.[7]

2. Ebenso wichtig ist, daß diese fast völlige Identität der Gottesnamen im *MT* und im Samaritaner aus alter Zeit stammen muß. Denn der Sachverhalt ist folgender. In sehr vielen Erscheinungen hat der samaritanische Pentateuch die textgeschichtliche Stufe des *MT* überschritten, sich von ihr getrennt und ein späteres Stadium der sprachlichen und religionsgeschichtlichen Entwicklung betreten. Aber in bezug auf die Gottesnamen stimmt er, wie gesagt, mit dem *MT* fast ganz zusammen. Diese Zusammenstimmung kann nicht ein Moment der späteren Entwicklung sein. Denn in denjenigen Punkten, die der Samaritaner für sich allein hat, steht er unbestreitbar und anerkanntermaßen auf einer späteren Stufe der Textgestaltung. Z. B. betreffs der vom *MT* abweichenden Orthographie ist der Samaritaner weitergeschritten. Da hat er sogar die Stufe überschritten, die im *MT* die spätesten Bücher (z. B. die Chronika) einnehmen, und ist zu der Art hingeschritten, welche die Setzung der Vokalbuchstaben in der Mischna oder überhaupt im Talmud zeigt. Die Textmomente, in denen der Samaritaner mit dem jüdisch-hebräischen Pentateuch übereinstimmt, müssen folg-

[7] Vorgeführt in meiner Einleitung ins AT., S. 28 f.

lich aus einem älteren Daseinsstadium der beiden Texte stammen. Die fast völlige Gemeinsamkeit der Gottesnamen im *MT* und im Samaritaner muß auf die Zeit zurückgehen, wo der Pentateuch von den Samaritanern übernommen wurde. Demnach wirft der samaritanische Pentateuch für den Wert des Gottesnamenbestandes, der im hebräischen AT. vorliegt, ein bedeutendes Gewicht in die Wagschale.

3. Endlich hat die neue Ausgabe des samaritanischen Pentateuchs auch noch ein Hilfsmittel zur Widerlegung einer Hypothese geliefert, die im jetzigen Pentateuchkampfe aufgestellt worden ist. Nämlich Dahse meint nicht nur, die Urkundenhypothese stürzen zu können, sondern auch einen neuen Weg gefunden zu haben, auf dem der Gottesnamenbestand des hebräischen AT. erklärt werden könne. Dies ist seine „Perikopenhypothese". Der Wechsel der Gottesnamen soll im hebräischen AT. durch die Abgrenzung der Sabbatsperikopen (Parâschen) bestimmt worden sein. Wenn z. B. in dem Anfang der zweiten Parâsche (Gen. 6 9) ein neuer Gottesname (Elohim) auftrete, so hänge dies mit dem Beginn eines neuen Leseabschnittes zusammen.

Gegen diese Aufstellung muß natürlich schon von vornherein eingewendet werden, daß zwischen dem Anfang eines neuen gottesdienstlichen Vorlesungsabschnittes und dem Einsetzen eines anderen Gottesnamens kein logischer Zusammenhang gedacht werden kann. Außerdem ist weiter eingewendet worden, daß die Abgrenzung der Sabbatsperikopen, die in der rabbinischen Bibel von 1525/26 erscheint, keineswegs von jeher bestanden hat und am wenigsten auf Esra zurückgeführt werden kann, wie Dahse voraussetzt. Eben dieser Einwand ist nun durch die neue Ausgabe des samaritanischen Pentateuchs als völlig richtig erwiesen worden. Denn die Sabbatsperikopen, die von der samaritanischen Gemeinde im gewöhnlichen Jahre gelesen werden, besitzen in der Genesis folgende Anfänge: 1 1 4 25 8 21 12 1 17 1 21 1 24 1 25 19 29 1 34 1 39 1 43 26 und 48 3. Dagegen die jüdische Synagoge zählt in der Genesis nur zwölf Sabbatsperikopen, und zwar mit dem Beginn an folgenden Stellen: 1 1 6 9 12 1 18 1 23 1 25 19 28 10 32 4 37 1 41 1 44 18 und 47 28. Auch aus dieser Verschieden-

heit ersieht man, daß die Judenschaft nicht von Anfang an über die Abgrenzung der Vorlesungsabschnitte einig war. Folglich kann nicht schon kurz nach Esra, um das Jahr 432, die Parâscheneinteilung auf die Setzung der Gottesnamen eingewirkt haben, wie sie es doch getan haben müßte, weil die Gottesnamen im jüdisch-hebräischen und im samaritanisch-hebräischen Pentateuch im wesentlichen zusammenstimmen. Ein dritter Einwand gegen die „Perikopenhypothese" Dahses ergibt sich z. B. daraus, daß er selbst eine Menge Ausnahmen von der Einwirkung der gottesdienstlichen Leseabschnitte auf die Wahl der Gottesnamen ausdrücklich zugestehen muß.

Diese und alle anderen Einwände sind in meiner kürzlich erschienenen Schrift „Die moderne Pentateuchkritik und ihre neueste Bekämpfung" (Leipzig bei Deichert) innerhalb einer allseitigen Erörterung der brennenden Streitfrage im einzelnen entfaltet und belegt worden. Zugleich ist aber dort in einem Schlußabschnitte dahin gestrebt worden, mehrere formelle und inhaltliche Erscheinungen im Pentateuch als unerschütterliche Argumente der Urkundenhypothese durch die Vorlegung des Tatbestandes zu erweisen, und überhaupt die Grundlinien einer mir richtig scheinenden literarischen Auffassung des Pentateuchs zu ziehen.

The Authorship of Ezekiel 40–48

GEORGE R. BERRY
COLGATE UNIVERSITY

WHILE a few have questioned the authenticity of the book of Ezekiel, no one has doubted its substantial integrity, so far as known to the writer.

The authorship of Ezekiel 1-39 is not considered. For the present discussion it is assumed that these chapters are substantially the work of the prophet Ezekiel during the early part of the Babylonian exile.

Chapters 1-39 will here be designated as first-Ezekiel, and chapters 40-48 as second-Ezekiel.

The question of the authorship of second-Ezekiel will be considered from two standpoints, first that of thought, second, of language.

The thought of second-Ezekiel has no close resemblances to that of first-Ezekiel; and it has radical differences. The principal differences are the following. If Ezekiel is the author of second-Ezekiel, these chapters present a picture of the ideal future of the nation. Chapters 34-37 also present an ideal of the future. Between the two there is no resemblance. Chapters 34-37 are throughout a prophetic ideal; chapters 40-48 entirely a priestly ideal.

Again, the messianic picture of the two parts is entirely distinct. The portions of first-Ezekiel probably to be considered messianic are 17 22-24 21 32 (Eng. 27) 34 23-24 37 24-25. 17 22-24 pictures a world-ruler. 21 32 has also in mind a ruler, wearing the crown. The other two references are to a Davidic ruler.

The figure in second-Ezekiel corresponding to this messianic, Davidic, king is the prince, נָשִׂיא, who appears repeatedly. He is, however, a mere shadow of a prince. He is never called king, has no appreciable political power, and his distinctive work is almost entirely religious, to provide the offerings and care for the ceremonies. This term נָשִׂיא occurs repeatedly in first-Ezekiel, but in a sense entirely distinct from this. The one in mind is a political leader, and often the king.

Again, sin-offering and guilt-offering, חַטָּאת and אָשָׁם, are prominent in second-Ezekiel, they are not found in first-Ezekiel.

Again, the dominating principle of at least a large part of second-Ezekiel is an extreme conception of holiness, such as is entirely wanting in first-Ezekiel. While first-Ezekiel speaks more favorably of ritual matters than most of the other prophets, nevertheless his emphasis is always ethical. This conception of holiness in second-Ezekiel is more extreme than is found elsewhere in the Old Testament, and suggests not only distinct authorship from first-Ezekiel, but a time much later. The details of the arrangements and regulations of second-Ezekiel are dominated by the thought of guarding the holiness of the temple and all connected with it. Even the whole summit of the temple mount in Jerusalem is most holy, 43 12. Holiness is such a tangible reality that it can be materially transferred, by the clothes of the priests and by the offerings, 44 19 46 20. This thought is not found in P, unless in Lev. 6 11 (Eng. 18) 20 (Eng. 27), and the best interpretation does not find it there. The idea is explicitly denied in Hag. 2 11 f. Further, graves cause ceremonial pollution in their vicinity, 43 7-9, an idea not found elsewhere, and evidently not held in an earlier time, 1 Sam. 25 1, 1 Kings 2 34. The nearest analogy to this conception of holiness is found in Zech. 14 20 21, doubtless late post-exilic.

Various other matters of thought do not directly compare second-Ezekiel with first-Ezekiel, but indicate for second-Ezekiel a late date, and thus a date considerably later than first-Ezekiel. Most, but not all, of these indications have to do with the relation to P. Many passages in second-Ezekiel

resemble P, but usually with differences. The differences are of such a nature as to suggest for second-Ezekiel a date later than P. An acquaintance with P by the author or authors of second-Ezekiel is evident from such passages. There is also evident acquaintance with a usage later than P, and varying from it. The variation as given in second-Ezekiel thus represents largely a usage of a time later than P. Some of the variation is probably due, also, to the writer or writers of second-Ezekiel, being ideal modifications resulting from their general theories.

In several places the regulations of second-Ezekiel which are similar to those of P are more elaborate, more rigid, indicate larger quantities, or are more detailed and specific than in P. A sin-offering at the passover, Ez. 45 23, is found in second-Ezekiel only, cf. Ex. 12, Lev. 23 5, &c. At the feast of unleavened bread the burnt-offerings, Ez. 45 23, are larger than elsewhere, cf. the regulation in P, Num. 28 19. The meal-offering accompanying the burnt-offering is also larger, Ez. 45 24, cf. Num. 28 20 21. The meal-offering of the daily burnt-offering is also larger in second-Ezekiel than in P, Ez. 46 14, cf. Num. 28 5. The meal-offerings of second-Ezekiel elsewhere are also larger than in P, see 46 5 7, &c. In certain regulations, P gives them as addressed to Aaron and his sons, in second-Ezekiel they are addressed directly to the priests: thus Ez. 44 23, cf. Lev. 10 10-11, Ez. 44 29 a, cf. Num. 18 9 10, Ez. 44 30 a, cf. Num. 18 12-13, Ez. 44 31, cf. Lev. 22 8, Ez. 44 17-18, cf. Ex. 28 40-43. In the last case, the passage in Exodus has details not found in the passage in second-Ezekiel; but the latter passage adds one detail, of a generalizing nature, v. 18 b, "they shall not gird themselves with anything that causeth sweat". Again, regulations which in P speak of certain things as given to Yahweh are in second-Ezekiel specifically said to be given to the priests: Ez. 44 29 b, cf. Lev. 27 28, Ez. 44 30 b, cf. Num. 15 20-21, in the last case quite a different procedure being evidently in mind. General regulations enjoined upon the whole people in P are in second-Ezekiel applied specifically to the priests: Ez. 44 24 b, cf. Lev. 23 2 4, Ez. 44 24 c, cf. Ez. 20 12 13 20, the last being not from P but from first-Ezekiel. All the regula-

tions of Ez. 44 20-22 25 have close resemblances to the regulations of P, but with some differences. These regulations in second-Ezekiel relate to the priests. Ez. 44 20 is substantially identical with that concerning the high-priest in Lev. 21 10 10 6, and is stricter than the regulation concerning the ordinary priests in Lev. 21 5. Ez. 44 21 is the regulation laid upon Aaron and his sons in P, Lev. 10 8-9, here applied specifically to the priests. Ez. 44 22 is nearly identical with the regulation concerning the high-priest in Lev. 21 14, and more strict than that concerning the ordinary priests in Lev. 21 7. That is, the essential point is that in Lev. 21 14 it is provided that the high-priest shall not marry a widow; Lev. 21 7 does not place this restriction on the ordinary priests. Ez. 44 22 does, however, put this regulation upon the ordinary priests, with the exception that the priests may marry a widow of a priest. Ez. 44 25, again, is in substance identical with the regulations concerning the ordinary priests in Lev. 21 1-3, and is thus less strict than the regulations concerning the high-priest in Lev. 21 11. The tendency here manifested in second-Ezekiel is to make the regulations upon the ordinary priests more strict, so that they approximate to those earlier placed upon the high-priest. Ez. 45 10-12 is a regulation similar to that of Lev. 19 36, with the addition of much specific detail. Ez. 48 14 prohibits any sale of the land of the Levites, and is thus stricter than Lev. 25 32-34, which does make provision for sale under certain conditions.

Ex. 29 35-37 appears to be a conclusion of the ceremonies for purification of Aaron and his sons and for their consecration at their initiation into the priesthood. But these verses are much more an account of the purification and consecration of the altar, evidently the altar of burnt-offering. The much longer account of Ez. 43 18-27 is evidently based upon this passage in Exodus. This is explicitly the ceremony of purification and consecration for the altar of burnt-offering. This is not necessarily at the first making of the altar, v. 18 should, in fact, be translated: "These are the ordinances of the altar in the day of its being made ready to offer burnt-offerings thereon, and to sprinkle blood thereon." The ceremony of atonement

for the first day of the first month and for the first day of the seventh month, as it is usually, and probably correctly, understood, following 𝔊, in Ez. 45 18-20 also resembles Ex. 29 35-37, but less closely. This is a ceremony for cleansing the temple, at least it is principally that, the words of v. 20, "for every one that erreth, and for him that is simple" being given differently in 𝔊, and somewhat doubtful. The passage Ez. 43 18-27 will be first considered. V. 26 resembles Ex. 29 35 37; Ez. 43 19-20 25 resemble, although with much more detail, Ex. 29 36, with some resemblance to Ex. 29 12, Lev. 16 18, and other passages. Especially instructive is the phrase in Ez. 43 26, "so shall they consecrate it", וּמִלְאוּ יָדָו. This phrase "fill the hand" occurs a considerable number of times, mostly in P, having the regular meaning "to consecrate to the priest's office". Twice, 1 Chr. 29 5, 2 Chr. 29 31, it has a more general sense, but it is used of persons. In all its occurrences, therefore, except in Ez. 43 26, it is used in reference to persons. In this passage it is used of consecrating the altar of burnt-offering. It seems evident that it is here taken from the passage upon which this is based, that is, from the phrase תְּמַלֵּא יָדָם, Ex. 29 35. The reading of 𝔊 and 𝔖 "their hands" in Ez. 43 26 is evidently a correction to remove a difficulty, and is out of harmony with the passage itself.

With reference to Ez. 45 18-20 compared with Ex. 29 35-37, Ez. 45 18 resembles Ex. 29 36, and Ez. 45 20 resembles Ex. 29 37. There are also resemblances between Ez. 45 18-20 and the account of the day of atonement in Lev. 16, cf. especially Ez. 45 20 with Lev. 16 16 20 33. In this case, the presumption is that the much longer account in Leviticus is the later. It is generally recognized, however, that the day of atonement itself is in its origin later than the time of Ezra, and hence that the account in Lev. 16 and elsewhere is much later than most of P. Hence if Lev. 16 is later than Ez. 45 18-20, the latter may still be late, later than Ezra. The relation seems to be this. Ez. 45 18-20 is an account of a ceremony of purification for the temple twice a year. This is based somewhat upon Ex. 29 35-37, but this is a purification of the temple, as that is of the altar. In Lev. 16 it becomes a purification for

the temple, and for the altar, and also for the people, in the phraseology there used is specific mention of "the holy place, and the tent of meeting, and the altar", Lev. 16 20.

In P the killing of sacrifices is performed by the layman who presents them, Lev. 1 11 ff. 15 ff., in Ez. 44 11 it is done by the Levites. The custom of P is naturally the earlier. A suggestion of the custom of second-Ezekiel is found in 2 Chr. 29 34.

The altars of second-Ezekiel do not correspond entirely to any known in history. Their dimensions differ very greatly from those of P. The one in Ex. 27 1-8 was 5 cubits long, 5 cubits broad, and 3 cubits high. In the description of the altar in Ez. 43 13-17, the altar itself is 12 cubits square, but the base is 18 cubits square. Including the horns, the altar is 12 cubits high. The altar whose dimensions are given which is most nearly like this is the brazen altar of Solomon, described in 2 Chr. 4 1 as 20 cubits square and 10 cubits high. The altar of incense according to P, Ex. 30 1-5 37 25-28, was a cubit long, a cubit broad, and 2 cubits high. The altar described in Ez. 41 22 was 2 cubits long, 2 cubits broad, according to 𝔊, and 3 cubits high, the dimensions being similar to those of P, but larger. It is now generally held that this description in Ez. 41 22 does not apply to the altar of incense, but to the table of showbread. To this, however, there are several objections. It is called an altar, table is applied to it only as a descriptive term. Its dimensions are such that it is more nearly of the shape of the altar of incense than of the table of showbread. The table of showbread in Herod's temple, the only one of which the dimensions are known, was 2 cubits long, 1 cubit broad, and $1^1/_2$ cubits high. Further, the description speaks of the "walls", i. e. sides of the altar. An altar has these, a table has legs instead, in fact the representation of the table of showbread of Herod's temple on the arch of Titus shows it with legs, see *DB.*, vol. III, p. 462. If this is the altar of incense, as seems evident, it is here larger than in P as the altar of burnt-offering was larger, probably representing, approximately at least, the dimensions of the altars as used in the later post-exilic times, perhaps somewhat idealized, as

the use of numbers might suggest. It is recognized that the altar of incense itself is probably a late feature, as it is generally considered, yet in this case the account in second-Ezekiel seems to be later than that in Exodus, as it well may be.

The peculiar picture of the stream flowing from the sanctuary in Ez. 47 1-12 resembles several other passages, but especially Joel 4 18 (Eng. 3 18), and Zech. 14 8, both quite certainly post-exilic passages. Both are brief statements, the passage in Ez. 47 is much longer and more detailed, it seems to be evidently later than those passages.

Ez. 47 22-23 provides full citizenship, as manifested by inheriting land, for sojourners. Such a provision is not found in P or elsewhere, and is naturally later than P. Regulations elsewhere simply prescribe kindness and consideration for the sojourner, as Deut. 10 18 f., Lev. 19 10, &c.

Aside from the day of atonement, already discussed, there is only one place in which the regulation of second-Ezekiel is less elaborate than in P. This is the celebration of the new moon, Ez. 46 6-8, compared with Num. 28 11-15. The burnt-offerings differ slightly; in Ezekiel they are a bullock, six lambs and a ram, and in Numbers two bullocks, seven lambs and a ram. On the other hand, the meal-offering is larger in Ezekiel. But Numbers prescribes a sin-offering, 28 15, which is wanting in Ezekiel. This seems to indicate a slightly greater importance of this celebration in P than in second-Ezekiel. This is consistent, however, with a later date for second-Ezekiel, on the supposition that at the time of writing the new moon celebration was less highly regarded than earlier.

The language of second-Ezekiel will now be discussed. The following lists are based on those given in Driver's Introduction, those which he gives being phrases characteristic of Ezekiel, of H, and of P, with consideration also of those common to more than one of these. Separation between the usage of first-Ezekiel and of second-Ezekiel gives the following results. The following phrases are found in first- and second-Ezekiel: *son of man*, several times in each; *stumbling-block of iniquity*, five times in first, once in second, 44 12; *house of*

rebelliousness, often in first, the full phrase not occurring in second, but *rebelliousness*, מְרִי, once, 44 6, although the text is doubtful; *Lord Yahweh*, this phrase will be discussed later; *idols*, גִּלּוּלִים, often in first, twice in second, 44 10 12. In P, first-Ezekiel, and second-Ezekiel only one phrase is found, *this selfsame day*. In H, first-Ezekiel, and second-Ezekiel are found the following phrases: *to profane*, often in H and first-Ezekiel, once in second, 44 7; *my sabbaths*, several times in H, often in first-Ezekiel, once in second, 44 24; *to bear his iniquity*, often in H, once in first-Ezekiel, 14 10, twice in second, 44 10 12.

The phrases already cited are all, from these lists, that show similarity between first-Ezekiel and second-Ezekiel. The following phrases show different usage. The following are found in first-Ezekiel and not in second: *lands*, אַרְצוֹת; *behold I am against; satisfy my fury upon; I Yahweh have spoken it; and—shall know that I am Yahweh; set thy face toward* or *against; watercourses*, אֲפִיקִים; *put a person's way upon his head; wings*, אֲנַפִּים; *contempt*, שְׁאָט, and *contemn*, שׁוּט; *in the time of the iniquity of the end;* beginning a subject with a question.

The following are in P and first-Ezekiel, not in second-Ezekiel: *to be fruitful and multiply; for food*, לְאָכְלָה; *exceedingly; sojournings; peoples*, in the sense of *kinsfolk; rigor*, פֶּרֶךְ; *judgments; in all your dwellings; trespass*, noun and verb, מָעַל and מַעַל. The following are in P and second-Ezekiel, and not in first-Ezekiel: *kind; to swarm; as regards all*, לְכָל; *possession*, אֲחֻזָּה.

The following are in H and first-Ezekiel, not in second-Ezekiel: *I will set my face against; that sanctify you; whoever*, אִישׁ אִישׁ; *I will cut off from the midst of his people; to walk in the statute;* זִמָּה used of *unchastity; his blood shall be upon him; to bear the iniquity of (another)*. The long list of parallels between Lev. 26 and Ezekiel are all with first-Ezekiel, none with second-Ezekiel. In H and second-Ezekiel, not in first-Ezekiel, is found one phrase, *the bread of God*, as a description of the sacrifices.

The phrase *Lord Yahweh*, above mentioned, is a favorite

designation of God in first-Ezekiel, being found some two hundred times. In second-Ezekiel it is found 17 times, *Yahweh* 26 times, *God* once, and *God of Israel* twice.

From the comparisons thus far made, based on Driver's lists, it will be observed that the resemblances in phraseology between first-Ezekiel and second-Ezekiel are comparatively few, and the differences are very numerous. Also it will be observed that first-Ezekiel has numerous and striking resemblances to H, while these are very few in second-Ezekiel. Both parts of Ezekiel have resemblances in considerable number to P, but those which have to do with characteristic phraseology are much more numerous in first-Ezekiel than in second-Ezekiel.

Besides these comparisons, some further material may be added. In second-Ezekiel אֶל is found frequently in the sense of עַל. An approximate classification is as follows. In second-Ezekiel אֶל in its proper meaning is found 73 times, with the meaning of עַל 39 times. עַל with its proper meaning occurs forty times, and with the sense of אֶל three times. The significant fact is, of course, that, to express the meaning of עַל, אֶל occurs approximately as frequently as עַל, 39 times to 40. For comparison the facts were observed in the first three chapters of first-Ezekiel. Here אֶל occurs 22 times with its own force, and once in the sense of עַל; עַל 14 times with its own meaning, and twice in the sense of אֶל. It may be thought that these facts in second-Ezekiel are due to textual errors. This may be responsible for some cases, but cannot account for most of the usage. The usage in first-Ezekiel shows, in fact, about what might be expected from textual corruption, and no reason appears why second-Ezekiel should suffer more than first-Ezekiel in this respect. Further, in second-Ezekiel אֶל occurs in the sense of עַל in certain phrases and not in other phrases. The whole matter seems like the greater elasticity of late usage in second-Ezekiel.

כִּפֶּר, as is well-known, has two uses, a ritual and a non-ritual, entirely distinct. First-Ezekiel, in 16 63, has the non-ritual use, with Yahweh as the subject and the atonement made without thought of sacrifice. This is the only occurrence

of the word in first-Ezekiel. In second-Ezekiel the word occurs several times, and in each case with the characteristic ritual use, of atoning by legal rites. This is in direct contrast with the usage of first-Ezekiel. The passages in second-Ezekiel are 43 20 26 45 15 17 20. Of these passages, 45 15 and 45 17 refer to persons, in 45 15 the verb being followed by the preposition עַל and in 45 17 by בְּעַד. Both these constructions are frequent with the ritual use elsewhere, so that these passages show nothing distinctive. In the other three passages, however, 43 20 26 45 20, the reference is to things, and the verb takes a direct object. This is an unusual construction, the almost uniform construction with things, in the ritual use, being that the verb is followed by the preposition עַל. The ritual use, it may be observed, aside from second-Ezekiel, is limited to H and P. So far as known to the present writer, the only places, aside from these in second-Ezekiel, where the verb takes the direct object, when used of things, are Lev. 16 20 33 *bis*. Lev. 16 has also the other use, with עַל, in v. 16 18. This chapter, however, as already noted, is generally considered to be later than the most of P, and so later than the time of Ezra. To summarize, then, the facts in reference to the construction of כִּפֶּר with things are as follows. The uniform usage of P, aside from Lev. 16, and the uniform usage of H entire employ the construction with the preposition עַל. Lev. 16, later than Ezra, uses the same construction, with עַל, twice, and the direct object three times. This indicates quite clearly that the construction with the direct object is a late one, later than Ezra. This is the only construction, occurring three times, in second-Ezekiel. This indicates, therefore, for this part of second-Ezekiel, a late date, later than Ezra. It is worth while here also to recall the fact already mentioned, that Ez. 43 20, with direct object, is very similar to Ex. 29 36, with עַל, and Ez. 43 26 closely resembles Ex. 29 37, with the same contrast of usage. Ez. 45 20 is also parallel to Ex. 29 37, where עַל is used, although not as closely related as in the other cases.

Ez. 46 9 is similar to several passages, especially Ex. 34 23-24, Deut. 16 16. In these places in Exodus and Deuteronomy, and in several places elsewhere, the idea "appear before Yahweh"

is expressed by the Niphal of רָאָה followed by אֶת־פְּנֵי יהוה, אֶת being occasionally omitted. It is very commonly, and probably correctly, held that the original pointing was Kal instead of Niphal, giving the rendering, "to see the face of Yahweh", which was changed to the Niphal to avoid the material implication of the original reading. Ez. 46 9 uses an entirely distinct phrase, בּוֹא לִפְנֵי יהוה, not found elsewhere in such a connection, so far as the present writer knows. This seems to indicate a late period, the phrase being changed to avoid the difficulty of the other expression.

The Hebrew has three principal words for linen, פִּשְׁתָּה, usually in plural פִּשְׁתִּים, בַּד, and שֵׁשׁ. As descriptive of the sacred garments of the priests, second-Ezekiel uses פִּשְׁתִּים, 44 17-18. P, for the same purpose, uses בַּד and, less often, שֵׁשׁ, but never פִּשְׁתִּים. In Ex. 28 42, already referred to as parallel to Ez. 44 17-18, the word is בַּד. First-Ezekiel never employs פִּשְׁתִּים; in connection with the young man seen in vision as the agent of revelation, Ez. 9 2 3 11 10 2 6 7, it uses the word בַּד.

Many Hebrew words are found only in second-Ezekiel. Some of these, whose use has not much apparent significance, are not here mentioned. It seems worth while to call attention to the following words, however, none of which are found in first-Ezekiel, some only in second-Ezekiel, and others in second-Ezekiel and elsewhere in late literature. All of the words suggest late usage. רִצְפָּה, *pavement*, occurs elsewhere only in Esther and 2 Chr. The earlier words for this idea are מַרְצֶפֶת, occurring once, and קַרְקַע, used frequently. Yahweh's altar is called a *table*, שֻׁלְחָן, only in second-Ezekiel, 41 22 44 16, and in Mal. 1 7 12; Ez. 39 20 and Is. 65 11 not being parallel. The term is thus used several times in the later apocalyptic literature, e. g. in Enoch 89 50 73, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, T. Lev. 8 16, T. Jud. 21 5, Jubilees 31 16. עֲזָרָה in the sense of *altar ledge* is found only in second-Ezekiel; elsewhere only in 2 Chr. in the sense of the outer court of the temple. תְּרוּפָה, *healing*, is found only in Ez. 47 12, the word commonly used being מַרְפֵּא.

The syntax of second-Ezekiel makes a general impression

of lateness, in such matters as sentences with unusual arrangement of words, awkwardly and loosely constructed sentences, &c.

The facts thus far given seem to the present writer to give strong indications that first-Ezekiel and second-Ezekiel are of diverse authorship, and that second-Ezekiel is much later than first-Ezekiel.

Some further facts, however, indicate that second-Ezekiel is not a unit in point of authorship. The strongest indications are to the effect that chapters 40-42 are of different authorship from most or all of the remainder of second-Ezekiel. There is some conflicting evidence in reference to the early part of chapter 43. It is most probable that 43 1-17 should be joined with chapters 40-42, although it is possible that this portion should be joined with the following, leaving chapters 40-42 as a distinct portion. Well-marked peculiarities are found in chapters 40-42, and to some extent in 43 1-17, these being principally of language, which distinguish these chapters from the remainder of second-Ezekiel as well as from first-Ezekiel, some of these peculiarities not being duplicated elsewhere in the Old Testament.

Ez. 42 20 indicates that beyond the outside wall of the temple it is profane, i. e. common. This seems to be in contradiction to 48 12, where all that region is holy, as well as to 43 12 45 4, where a similar idea is expressed. This seems to separate between 40-42 and 43 1-17.

The idea "on this side—on that side" is expressed in chapters 40-41 repeatedly by the Hebrew מִפֹּה—מִפֹּה. This Hebrew phrase never occurs elsewhere in the Old Testament. The standing phrase in common use for this idea is מִזֶּה—מִזֶּה. This latter phrase is the only one used in the remainder of second-Ezekiel, being found in 45 7 47 7 12 48 21. Neither phrase, obviously, is found in chapters 42 and 43, and it is also true that neither is found in first-Ezekiel.

סָבִיב, *round about*, is found in Ezekiel both singly and in the repeated form, סָבִיב סָבִיב. In chapters 40-42 it occurs singly twice, repeated 23 times. In 43 1-17 it occurs once, repeated, 43 12, and three times singly. In the remainder of

second-Ezekiel it is found singly 11 times, repeated not at all. In first-Ezekiel it occurs repeated once, singly 11 times. Here 43 1-17 is partly like chapters 40-42, but more like the remainder. The almost unanimous usage of 40 1-43 17 is in contrast with the almost unanimous usage of the remainder of the whole book.

The preposition מִן before the article is ordinarily found as a distinct word, in the usage of the Old Testament generally, ן being not assimilated. *BDB.* says "מִן before article in all books much commoner than מִ". This statement, therefore, includes the usage of first-Ezekiel. In 40 1-43 17, however, the form מִ only is found, occurring 15 times. In all the remainder of second-Ezekiel the form מִן only is found, occurring 14 times.

The usual phrase to express the idea "facing in the direction of" is הַפֹּנָה, the Kal participle of פָּנָה with the article, followed by a noun in the accusative, with or without ה directive, giving the direction. This is the form found in first-Ezekiel, where it occurs twice, and in chapters 44, 46, and 47, where it occurs five times. This phrase does not occur in 40 1-43 17. Instead is found the phrase אֲשֶׁר פָּנָיו דֶּרֶךְ, and other suffixes, followed by the noun of direction. This is a very awkward phrase as compared with the other, and gives to דֶּרֶךְ almost a prepositional force, *towards*. This occurs 8 times in 40 1-43 17. A phrase that is a mixture of the two is found in 43 1. Aside from the phrase cited, the use of דֶּרֶךְ in this prepositional sense, *without* a verb, appears only in 40-42, being found there 13 times.

אֵילָם, porch, is found only in 40-41. The corresponding word in the remainder of second-Ezekiel, in first-Ezekiel, and elsewhere is אוּלָם, which is also found in 40-41.

A few other words that are found only in 40-42, or some part thereof, do not definitely indicate an authorship for these chapters distinct from the remainder of second-Ezekiel. They show a distinctive vocabulary in these chapters, however, which perhaps tends in that direction. Such words are the following. קָנֶה, in the sense of measuring-rod and also as a measure of length is found only in 40-42. אַיִל, projecting pillar, is found

only in 40-41 and in 1 Kings 6 31, where the text is doubtful. אַתִּיק, *gallery*, appears only in 41-42. בִּנְיָן, בִּנְיָה, and מִבְנֶה are found only in 40-42.

The form of 40 1-43 17 is in marked contrast with that of the most of 43 18-48 35. The first portion is entirely in the form of a vision, in which the writer is conducted by a "man", 40 3, the usual phrases, often repeated, being: "and he brought me", and "and he said unto me". In the second portion, the usual form is not of a vision. It is that of direct commands of Yahweh, the usual phrases being: "Thus saith the Lord Yahweh", כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יהוה, and: "saith the Lord Yahweh", נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יהוה, phrases which do not occur at all in 40 1-43 17. The only portions which in form resemble 40 1-43 17 are 46 19-24 and 47 1-12, which will be discussed later. Chapter 48 does not contain the phrases quoted, but is in the same general form, that of direct commands of Yahweh, and is closely connected with 47 13-23, where they do occur.

The facts given indicate that 40 1-43 17 are by one author, and that 43 18-48 35 are, at least for the most part, by a single author, who is not the author of 40 1-43 17. Nothing in language or thought gives any further strong indications of diversity of authorship in 43 18-48 35 beyond what has been noted. The regulation in 44 28, reading "no inheritance" with 𝔊, seems contradictory to the regulations prescribing an inheritance for the priests in 45 1-8 and 48 10. A certain amount of editorial revision is, of course, naturally to be supposed. In general there are similarities of thought and language throughout 43 18-48 35.

The argument thus far has assumed that P as a document belongs to the early post-exilic period. It is, of course, now held by many that the documentary view must be given up or modified. Its abandonment does not seem likely to the present writer. But even if P were considered much earlier than is usually done, that might modify the preceding argument somewhat, but it would not essentially change it, because it does not depend simply upon the regulations of P, but also upon the post-exilic usage.

The time of writing of the two portions of second-Ezekiel

remains to be considered. Various things have already been noted which indicate a date considerably later than the time of Ezra. These indications already noted deal principally with 43 18-48 35. Some further indications of late date in this portion will now be considered.

The only judges mentioned are the priests, 44 24, which is appropriate only to the time after Ezra, when the priests exercised political and judicial functions, as they did not earlier. The figure of the "prince" suits this period better than any other. He has no political importance, but great religious service. He is, however, evidently regarded as the head of the nation. He is thus entirely distinct from the actual Messianic expectation of any period. He is appropriate only to a time when the ceremonial of religion is the chief concern, which is, of course, the period after the exile. Under Persian and Greek domination, too, the political side was not much in the thought of the people, while the religious side was their immediate care.

In second-Ezekiel the only priests recognized are "sons of Zadok", 40 46 43 19 44 15 48 11. It will be observed that both portions of second-Ezekiel are included in these references. Nowhere else is the priesthood so much restricted as this. These sons of Zadok are descendants of Zadok who was placed in charge at Jerusalem by Solomon when he deposed Abiathar. In P all sons of Aaron are priests. At the return from the exile the regulation presupposed is that of P. The sons of Zadok are most prominent, but others are recognized as priests along with them. This is explicitly stated in Ezra 8 2, and is also implied in the treatment of earlier times in Chronicles, as in 1 Chr. 24 3-4. After that time, however, it is evident that the prominence of the sons of Zadok continued to increase, so that they came to comprise all or practically all of the priests. This is indicated by the fact that the Sadducees, a priestly party, originating near the beginning of the Maccabean period, derived their name, as it is now generally recognized, from Zadok. Further, Sirach, just before the Maccabean period, speaks of the sons of Zadok alone as priests, 51 12 ix. Second-Ezekiel, therefore, is simply describing the fact of this later

time, that the sons of Zadok are the priests, practically or entirely, this being a description rather than a limitation. The time thus indicated, then, is considerably later than that of Ezra.

The exceedingly prosaic, almost obvious, directions of Ez. 46 9, designed to avoid tumultuous crowds at the feasts, are in the manner of late Judaism, not of the earlier.

All the evidence, then, concerning 43 18-48 35 points in the same direction, indicating the composition of these chapters considerably later than the time of Ezra. Before seeking to indicate the occasion more precisely, however, it will be advisable to consider the other portion of second-Ezekiel, 40 1-43 17. Some features of language are shared by these chapters with the remainder of second-Ezekiel, and these suggest lateness. The mention of "the sons of Zadok" as the priests is also a feature common to the two portions, as just noted, and suggests lateness. The special peculiarities of language in 40 1-43 17 also indicate lateness. The general statement may be made, then, for this portion as well as for the other that a time considerably later than Ezra is indicated for its composition. Nothing as yet noticed gives any definite indication which of the two is the earlier. 43 1-17 may be a supplement to 40-42, perhaps added by a different hand, but it has many of the same peculiarities, and so is closely associated with it.

The date and specific occasion of 40 1-43 17 will naturally be considered first. This is chiefly a description of the temple, and its courts, with the various objects connected with it. What temple is in mind? Is it a description of a temple actually present or a temple of the future? How far is it actual and how far ideal? The account here is much more detailed than any description of the temple either of Solomon or Zerubbabel. The building itself in Zerubbabel's temple, however, was substantially identical with Solomon's, and this description, so far as comparison is possible, is apparently of a building substantially identical with that common plan. So far as courts are concerned, however, the temple of Solomon had actually only one court, while the temple here described

has two. In the Old Testament itself there is no account of the courts in Zerubbabel's temple, in the Maccabean period there were two, 1 Macc. 4 38 48 &c. The description of the courts here, then, does not correspond to those in Solomon's temple, but apparently it does to those in Zerubbabel's temple. The description here, then, of the temple and its courts is not a description of the actual temple of Solomon, if it has any relation to that it is as ideal. The description does correspond closely, however, to Zerubbabel's temple, so far as is known. It may be, therefore, a description of that actual temple, or an ideal description with some relation to it.

The purpose of such a description, however, could hardly be to furnish a mere account of a temple actually standing in its entirety. No service to be rendered by a description under such circumstances can be conjectured. The only natural suggestion is that it was a description designed to serve as a guide in the building or repair of the temple. This suggests, then, as the specific time of composition some occasion when the temple had been destroyed or materially injured and its rebuilding or restoration was contemplated. What occasions of this kind are actually to be found in the history? The first occasion is of course the destruction of the temple at the time of the Babylonian captivity. That occasion, however, is much too early for the indications already mentioned. Some have thought that the temple was destroyed or materially injured under Artaxerxes III, Ochus, in 346 B. C., Jos. Ant. xi, 7, 1. Others think that such an event took place under Ptolemy Soter in 320 B. C., Jos. Ant. xii, 1, 1. Neither of these events certainly included a destruction or material injury of the temple. The first is said to have included a desecration of the temple. On the second occasion the city was captured, and the temple might naturally have been injured. The partial destruction and desecration of the temple under Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B. C. is of course well-known, a destruction which seems to have been greater than is often thought, see 1 Macc. 4 38. In this case the temple was rebuilt and cleansed, and rededicated in 165. This Maccabean event, however, does not seem very probable, inasmuch as the Maccabean back-

ground is not definitely reflected in these chapters. Also, it is not easy to suppose that a Maccabean composition, at least of any length, can be found in a *prophetic* book. At the same time, this Maccabean origin is a possibility.

There seems to be a probability of a considerable injury to the temple on some preceding occasion, either in 346 or 320 B. C., the latter date seeming to be more probable. Aside from the historical references already mentioned, some Old Testament passages appear most probably to refer to such an event. This is not necessarily the case with Ps. 74 and 79. The most probable passage referring to this time is Is. 63 7-64 11 (Eng. 12), 63 18 and 64 10 (Eng. 11), being of special importance in this connection. This passage is sometimes supposed to have been written during the Babylonian exile, but all the remainder of trito-Isaiah, 56-66, is generally considered to have been considerably later than that, making such a date probable for this portion also. A date soon after 320 B. C. seems probable, then, for 40 1-43 17, with about 165 B. C. a possible date, but much less likely.

What date shall be assigned to 43 18-48 35, or to the most of this, if it may not be altogether a unit? The time is quite certainly not Maccabean, the condition of things presupposed is not of a Maccabean character. One fact not previously mentioned, however, suggests a reasonably late pre-Maccabean date, viz. the ideal treatment. This appears particularly in relation to the geographical features of the land, especially in 45 1-8 47-48. A pronounced ideal element here is obvious, the whole plan of laying out the land pays no attention to geographical facts, mountains and valleys are ignored, the greater width of the land toward the south is unrecognized, the stream, in 47 1-12, pursues a course which leads it over a mountain ridge, &c. Such ideal treatment, particularly geographical, is a conspicuous feature, as is well-known, of the apocalyptic literature of the Maccabean time. It is also found in the Old Testament, but particularly in the later prophetic portions, see e. g. Is. 65 17 66 22. This suggests that this portion, 43 18-48 35, is somewhat later than 40 1-43 17, i. e. somewhat later than 300 B. C.

What is the condition presupposed by this portion? The principal feature, relating to external circumstances, is that the writer contemplates a numerous population in Palestine, with representatives of all the twelve tribes, so that the land will need to be freshly allotted among the tribes. This allotment evidently has in mind the original allotment among the twelve tribes, to the account of which there are many verbal parallels. It is evident that during most of the Persian and Greek periods only a small part of Palestine was actually inhabited by the Hebrews. Hence such an expectation must have had in mind a considerable return of the scattered people. This expectation of such a return often recurred during the Persian and Greek periods; it might naturally be expected to be in mind at any time when circumstances looked reasonably favorable. Portions of the reigns of Ptolemy II and of Ptolemy III were thus favorable. Ptolemy II reigned from 285-247, and Ptolemy III from 247-222. The latter part of the reign of Ptolemy II, 264-248, was occupied with a war with Syria, which caused suffering in Palestine, which therefore would not be a favorable occasion. But any of the earlier part of the reign of Ptolemy II, or the reign of Ptolemy III seems favorable. Both rulers showed favors to the Jews. Ptolemy II is stated in Jewish tradition to have been a patron of the temple in Jerusalem, and to have liberated all Jewish captives in his realm, and also to have been the ruler under whose direction the Septuagint translation was made. Ptolemy III is said to have offered abundant sacrifices at the temple in Jerusalem, and the whole empire was especially prosperous in his reign. Hence either the period 285-264 or 247-222 seems favorable for such a composition as is in mind. The underlying principle of the writer was an extreme conception of holiness, which appears in his rearrangement of the population of the land, and also in the ceremonial regulations. This idea of holiness was an especial feature of the post-exilic time, and evidently increased as years went by, so that an extreme form of it would naturally be expected in the periods indicated. The ceremonial regulations here given probably represent the working of this principle of holiness in actual

practice quite as much as they do in the mind of the writer, and it may be even more. A later time than this might be possible, e. g. during the reign of Antiochus the Great after Palestine had passed under his control in 198 B. C. But a later time like that is less likely, principally because it does not seem probable at that late period that this portion would have been included among the prophets. The writer of 43 18-48 35 is evidently a priest, a fact which seems equally evident in reference to 40 1-43 17.

There are indications that the writers of second-Ezekiel were reasonably familiar with first-Ezekiel, as appears from the use of a small portion of the distinctive phraseology of first-Ezekiel. This is true to a greater extent of the author of 43 18-48 35 than of 40 1-43 17. There is no reason to think, however, that any portion of second-Ezekiel was designed by the author to be a supplement to first-Ezekiel. It is also evident from what has already been said that the authors of second-Ezekiel, particularly the author of 43 18-48 35, were especially familiar with portions of P, although some of the familiarity may be with the regulations of P in use more than with them in written form.

It has already been suggested that 46 19-24 and 47 1-12 are different in form from any other portion of 43 18-48 35. They do not have the phrases characteristic of this portion of second-Ezekiel, "thus saith the Lord Yahweh" and "saith the Lord Yahweh", and they do have the phrase "and he brought me", and related phrases, which are characteristic of the other part of second-Ezekiel. These phrases do not occur elsewhere in this portion, except in 43 18 44 1 4, which will be discussed later. Also, 46 19-24 resembles in contents the other portion of second-Ezekiel more than this portion, being similar to 40 44-46 and 42 13-14. Nevertheless the resemblances in phraseology of both passages, 46 19-24 and 47 1-12, are with the part of second-Ezekiel in which they stand, not with the other. How is this to be explained?

The probable solution seems to the writer to be as follows. 43 18-48 35, being composed later than 40 1-43 17, was written

without any reference to it, not having been designed as a supplement. The two were united by an editor, presumably not much later than the time of the second part, who found their common element in the fact that both were dealing in some measure with the temple. 47 1-12 may have been written by the author of the most of 43 18-48 35, and revised by the editor just mentioned, particularly by the addition of the phrases already referred to which are characteristic of the preceding portion. But inasmuch as these phrases seem quite closely connected with the remainder, it seems more probable that it was written by another author, and presumably by the editor himself. 46 19-24 bears even stronger marks of composition by this editor. This editor, being of about the same time as the writer of 43 18-48 35, and being a student of this portion, used the same general phraseology, but used also the introductory phrases of the other portion, in order to bind the two more closely together. The introductory words at the beginning of 43 18, "And he said unto me, Son of man", are also by the editor. This is an introductory phrase like those of the preceding portion, and serves to unite the two parts. When this is omitted, the verse begins with the characteristic phrase of the second portion, "Thus saith the Lord Yahweh". Part, and perhaps the most, of 44 1-6a was added by the editor. The characteristic phrase of this portion appears in 6b, "thus saith the Lord Yahweh", while elsewhere are the characteristic phrases of the preceding portion, "then he brought me", 44 1 4, and "And Yahweh said unto me", 44 2 5. At least these phrases of the preceding portion were added by the editor. How much more comes from the editor is not certain. Probably the most of v. 5 is from the original author, as this is closely connected with the following and serves well to introduce it. In that case, either the phrase of v. 6, "Thus saith the Lord Yahweh", originally stood at the beginning of v. 5, and has been transferred to its present position, or such a phrase stood there, which has been omitted. It is probable, then, that most or all of v. 1-4 are by the editor.

It seems probable, also, that 43 18-27 was transferred to

its present position by the editor, in order to form a close connection with the concluding verses of the preceding portion, as both have to do with the altar of burnt-offering. The original position of 43 18-27 was then in connection with 45 18-20 which it resembles, as already noted. 43 18-27, dealing with the altar, is of too special a nature to be a natural beginning of the original work. Such a transference leaves 44 5 as the beginning of the work, which by its general nature is well adapted for that purpose, and does indicate the nature of the thought of this portion better than any other single verse.

No further definite evidence of editorial activity appears in 43 18-48 35.

The completed work, comprising practically second-Ezekiel as it now stands, was united with first-Ezekiel by an editor. This was perhaps the same editor as the one just mentioned, but it seems more probable that it was another, but probably not very much later. The union with first-Ezekiel, it seems probable, took place by 200 B. C., otherwise this portion, second-Ezekiel, would probably not have been put with the prophets, but with the hagiographa. The principal reason for the union with first-Ezekiel would seem to be the use by second-Ezekiel of a few of the characteristic phrases of first-Ezekiel, particularly noticeable being such introductory phrases as "thus saith the Lord Yahweh", and "saith the Lord Yahweh". The similarity between first-Ezekiel and second-Ezekiel which would attract the attention of an editor is thus of a different kind from the similarity between the two parts of second-Ezekiel, already noted, thus suggesting the activity of two editors, already mentioned. The union with first-Ezekiel was also favored by the fact that Ezekiel was a priest, and second-Ezekiel deals with priestly matters. If Ezekiel was in the original order the last of the major prophets, that might also favor the union, this anonymous portion being put at the end of the collection of major prophets. But the original order of these prophets is actually quite uncertain.

The editor who united first-Ezekiel and second-Ezekiel

added but little to second-Ezekiel. A few slight additions have been made, either by this editor or subsequently, which serve to join the two parts more closely together. 40 1, or at least 40 1a, is such an addition, doubtless by this editor, serving as a seam to unite the two parts. 43 3 is also a similar addition, either by this editor or subsequently, being a reference to first-Ezekiel. There are no other obvious editorial additions.

A few explanatory statements may be added. It is usually supposed that there is no reference to the high priest in second-Ezekiel. A few have thought that official to be meant, it is true, by "the priest" in 45 19. In the light of what has already been said, that view is obviously to be accepted. The term "the priest" is, then, used here as a designation for the high priest, according to the common usage in P and elsewhere, which is here followed.

What is said concerning the Levites who went astray after idols, 44 10-14 48 11 is usually understood to be the sentence of degradation upon the pre-exilic priests of the high places, indicating that they are to be no longer priests but are to occupy a subordinate position and be known as Levites. According to the date here accepted such a view is, of course, inadmissible. The whole of 44 6-31 deals with the priests and Levites. Three elements seem to form the background of this treatment: the going astray of the Levites after idols (44 10 12 48 11), the introduction of foreigners into the temple, apparently not as attendants but as spectators (44 7 9), and the desire or attempt of the Levites to officiate as priests (44 13). The going astray after idols, at the period here in mind, means following after Greek gods. It is well known that Hellenizing tendencies were strong at this time. The career of Joseph the tax-collector, nephew of the high priest, beginning about 230 B. C., is an example of a man of prominence who was thoroughly given over to Hellenism. In general, Hellenistic influences were strong in Levitical circles. The author of chapter 44 seems to have in mind incidents in which the Levites were carried away by these tendencies while the priests were not so influenced. In the absence of detailed information concerning these times,

such incidents can not be definitely located, but they are natural under the circumstances. The entrance of foreigners into the sanctuary is closely associated in treatment with these transgressions of the Levites, and might readily be a result of these Hellenizing practices. That there was at least one attempt by the Levites in the time after Ezra to seize upon some of the duties of the priests is well-known, *DB.*, vol. IV, p. 88. This regulation forbids any such attempt. In general, this passage in chapter 44 favors the priests as against the Levites. Their work is described in terms which indicate it as subordinate, almost menial. No privileges of theirs are mentioned, some which were theirs in P are now tacitly or explicitly denied them. This is particularly the case with the tithe. That is assigned in Num. 18 21 24 to the Levites, while a tithe of the tithe is to be given from that to the priests, Num. 18 26. Here nothing is given to the Levites, and it seems to be intended to give all to the priests, for 44 30 assigns to the priests every contribution, תְּרוּמָה, a word which is elsewhere applied to the priests' tithe of the tithe, Num. 18 26-29, and to the tithe of the Levites, Num. 18 24, as well as to other contributions. At some time after Ezra the tithe was actually withdrawn from the Levites and assigned to the priests, and other regulations were changed to the advantage of the priests as compared with the Levites, *DB.*, vol. IV, p. 94. This whole passage, 44 6-31, has numerous resemblances to Num. 18, especially in phraseology.

After all, the view here presented is, so far as concerns second-Ezekiel, in substantial accord with the saying of the rabbis which has been so mystifying to critics that "the men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel".

Hosea's Erring Spouse

PAUL HAUPT

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN a Note on Hosea 1-3 Professor Toy stated that the romantic history of a man, wounded in his deepest feelings through an ill-fated marriage that saddened his life and colored his thought, seemed to him to have no foundation in the text (JBL 32, 77).[1] The author of cc. 4-14 could not be the author

[1] AG = Delitzsch, *Assyr. Grammatik* (1906).—AkF = Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter* (1915).—AL = Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke.*—ASKT = Haupt, *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte.*—AT = *Altes Testament.*—AV = *Authorized Version.*—AW = Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wörterbuch* (1886).—BAL = Haupt, *Beiträge zur assyr. Lautlehre* (1883).—CD = *The Century Dictionary.*—CoE = Haupt, *An Ancient Protest against the Curse on Eve* in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 50, No. 201 (Philadelphia, Sept. 1911).—DB = Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible.*—EB[11] = *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition.—GA[3] = Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* vol. 1, part 2, third edition.—GB[16] = Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebr. Handwörterbuch*, 16th edition (1915).—HK = Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen* (1911).—ICC = *International Critical Commentary.*—*Joel* = Haupt, *Joel's Poem on the Locusts* in ΞÉNIA (Athens, 1912).—KM = Küchler, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin* (1904).—MVAG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.*—NBSS = Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1910).—PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (London).—RB = Riehm-Bæthgen, *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums* (1893).—RP = *Records of the Past.*—RV = *Revised Version.*—SFG = Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze* (1879).—SGl = Delitzsch, *Sumer. Glossar* (1914).—TLZ = *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig).—TOCR = *Transactions of the Third Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908).—VG = Brockelmann, *Grundriss der ver-*

of c. 2 or the actor in the episodes of cc. 1 and 3 (*ibid.* p. 78, below). I am more conservative: c. 3 is, of course, secondary, but the poem in cc. 1 and 2 is the work of Hosea. It is, however, not his first prophetic utterance, but his last poetic production, just as the first chapter of the Book of Isaiah represents one of the latest poems of the great prophet (see Cheyne's translation in the Polychrome Bible, pp. 42. 161). Similarly the first two chapters of the Book of Amos contain the latest poem of that patriotic poet (OLZ 10, 309).

Although the first two chapters of Hosea contain *vaticinia post eventum*, this retrospective section was prefixed owing to its biographic character. The teacher of W. Robertson Smith and Geo. A. Smith, the late Professor A. B. Davidson, of Edinburgh, remarked in his article on *Hosea* (DB 2, 420[b]): Though referring to events in the early part of the prophet's career, cc. 1-3 contain the result of reflection on his whole history and teaching, and in date of composition may be the latest part of the Book . . . If the events be real, the words are written from a much later period in the prophet's history . . . Whether the events are real or not, cc. 1-3 were probably written at a late period of Hosea's life (DB 2, 421[a]).

Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten*[3] 106/7 says: *Das Rätsel löst sich durch die Annahme, daß Hosea erst nachträglich die Bedeutung seines häuslichen Schicksals erkannte. In dem Augenblick, wo er die Gomer nahm, wußte er noch nicht, wie es um sie stehe . . . Sein Weib bricht ihm die Ehe und macht ihn tief unglücklich. Er hängt dem schwermütigen Gedanken über sein persönliches Unglück nach, erfüllt zugleich von Schmerz über die allgemeine Not und Verderbtheit des Volkes Jahves. Da kombinieren sich beide Gedanken, er sieht eine Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem Kleinen und Großen, in einem das Bild des andern: als Repräsentant Jahves, als Prophet hat er tun müssen, was er*

gleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen (1908).—WF = *Wellhausen-Festschrift* = *Beihefte zur ZAT*, No. 27 (Giessen 1914).—WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*—ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*—ZWT = *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie.*—For the other abbreviations see vol. 29 of this JOURNAL, p. 112; *cf.* AJSL 26, 204; 32, 64; ZDMG 63, 530; GB[16] xi.

getan, erleben müssen, was er erlebt hat; so wie ihm sein Weib untreu ist, so hurt auch Israel ab von seinem Gott.

The idea (*cf.* EB 2121, l. 3) that cc. 1-3 were written about the end of the reign of Jeroboam II (783-743) prior to the assassination, at the hands of Shallum, of the fifth and last king of the dynasty of Jehu, Jeroboam's son Zachariah, whereas cc. 4-14 were composed under Menahem (743-737) prior to the Syro-Ephraimitic War against Judah in 735, is untenable; cc. 4-14 may have originated about 740; but cc. 1-3 are later.

Hosea's erring spouse is not an allegoric invention, but a historical person. The prophet not only wrote this poetic story of unfaithfulness, he lived it (cf. *Eccl.* p. 2, l. 7). The Paris *Temps* said of Theodore Roosevelt's lecture, which he delivered at the Sorbonne, April 23, 1910, that the impression produced was all the greater because Mr. Roosevelt did not present theories that he conceived, but experiences that he lived. Gomer bath-Diblaim may have been a maiden of *Dibl*, a village in northern Galilee, on the road from Ṣafed to Tyre, between the Ladder of Tyre (*Râs-al-Abiaḍ*) and Lake Ḥûlah (Bædeker, *Palästina*[7] 241). We need not regard *Diblaim* as the name of Hosea's father-in-law. According to a Jewish legend in *Shalshélth haq-Qabbâlâ* (see Simson's *Hosea*, 1851, p. 2; *cf.* EB 2126; EB[11] 13, 784[a], n. 1) Hosea died in captivity at Babylon, and was carried to Upper Galilee, and buried at Ṣafed. Arab. *dabl* means not only *boil*, but also *brook*, but *dibl* may be a transposition of *dilb* = Arab. *dulb*, nomen unitatis *dulbah* (Aram. *dúlbâ* = Assyr. *dulbu*; AkF 53) which is the name of the Oriental plane-tree. *Ber.* 40[b] (BT 1, 150, below) we find דובלי instead of דולבי, plane-trees. This explanation of the name *Diblaim* is preferable to combining it with דְּבֵלָה, *cake of dried figs* or Assyr. *dublu*, foundation (syn. *išdu*). We need not suppose that *Diblaim* is identical with *Beth-diblathaim* in northern Moab, so that Gomer might have been a Moabitess captured during the wars of Jeroboam; many scholars have inferred from 2 K 14 25 that Jeroboam II conquered Moab. The name *Gomer* means *Perfection, Beauty*, just as Arab. *jamâl*=beauty. The stems *gamar* and *gamal*=*kamal* are practically identical (ZDMG 65, 107, l. 14).

I showed on pp. 5 and 7 of my paper *The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus* (Chicago 1909) = *The Open Court*, No. 635 (April, 1909) that Tiglath-pileser IV sent colonists from Assyria to Galilee, after the Galileans had been deported to Assyria (2 K 15 29) in B. C. 738, and many of these colonists were Aryans; so it is by no means impossible that Gomer of Diblaim was an Aryan maiden, just as Delitzsch remarked in his first lecture on Babel and Bible (fifth edition, Leipzig 1905) p. 22 that the consort of Sardanapalus might have been a fair-haired princess of Aryan extraction (*cf.* BL 67, n. 12). In his letter to Prof. Delitzsch (*Babel und Bibel*[5], p. 58, n. 8) Col. Billerbeck suggested that this lady might have come from Ashguza, Saparda, or Gimir. The first of these cuneiform names is the correct form of the Biblical *Ashkenaz*. As to the second, Col. Billerbeck probably had in mind the district *Šaparda* in southwestern Media (*cf.* GB[16] 551[b]). This has no connection with the Biblical *Sepharad*; ספרד (Obad. 20) is a corruption of the name of the old capital of Galilee, ספור, afterwards צפורין, *Sepphoris*; see my translation of the conclusion of the Book of Obadiah in *Mic.* 49; *cf.* ZAT 34, 144. *Gimir* = Gomer in the OT (*cf.* Skinner's *Genesis*, p. 196) denotes the Cimmerians who seem to have spoken an Iranian tongue (contrast GA[3] 813). The Cimmerians may have been known about B. C. 750, although they are not referred to in the cuneiform texts before the end of the reign of Sargon (722-705). Hosea's foreign wife may have been called הגמרית, *the Cimmerian woman* (cf. *the Moabitess* in the Book of Ruth) and the poet may afterwards have substituted therefor in his poem גמר = *Perfection*. At any rate it is by no means certain that Hosea's erring spouse was an Israelitess. I have subsequently noticed that Peiser (*Hosea*, 1914, p. 2. n. 1) says that *Gomer* may allude to the Cimmerians. He thinks therefore (*op. cit.* p. 62) that the poem in the first two chapters of Hosea was written about 680 B. C.

According to ZAT 32, 8, below, the name *Gomer* expresses the desire that there should be no more (female) children after the birth of that daughter; but this is impossible. Nor can בת־דבלים mean *a daughter of two figs*, i. e. a woman who is worth but two figs (ZAT 33, 78; *cf.* BL 131, n. §). The

statement made in AJSL 22, 121 that גמר in later Hebrew means *to gratify the sexual appetite* is due to a misunderstanding. If the phrase גמר ביאה is to prove that גמר has that meaning, we might just as well say that *to accomplish* means *to gratify the sexual appetite* because *he accomplished his purpose* may occasionally be used in that sense. Nor does הכל גומרים בה, *Pes.* 87ᵃ (BT 2, 638) mean *they behaved like Gomer bath-Diblaim*; it is nothing but a haggadic etymology as are also the combinations of *Diblaim* with דבה and דבלה, or R. Jehudah's explanation שבקשו לגמר ממונן של ישראל בימיה. In הכל גומרים בה we must supply ביאה; it is an elliptic expression as is also our *to consummate* in the sense of *to complete* (a marriage) *by sexual intercourse.* In Syriac you say of a bishop אִתְגְּמַר, *he is complete* which is an elliptic expression for *his consecration is completed.* Marti cites the old explanation that גמר בת־דבלים means *consummata (in fornicatione atque perfecta) filia voluptatis.*

Gomer's unfaithfulness was no doubt an open secret, and Hosea may have been ridiculed as a cuckold. The announcement that it was Jhvh who commanded him, *Get thee an adulterous wife and adulterine children,* rehabilitated him in the eyes of the community. They had probably laughed at Hosea and his domestic troubles. The poet tells them, Israel's relations to Jhvh are far more serious than the relations between himself and his erring spouse.

Of course, the poet's statement that Jhvh commanded him to get an adulterous wife and adulterine children only means, It must have been ordained by Jhvh that my wife should be false to me, and her children bastards. He could not get adulterine children before he was married. Nor did the poet know the adulterous disposition of Gomer when he married her. Even when their first son was born, he entertained no doubts. But when his wife gave birth to a daughter, his suspicions were aroused: he felt no paternal love for the child, and doubted that it was his own flesh and blood. This feeling became a certainty when his wife bore a second son: he was convinced now that he was not the father of that child. Gomer's paramour may have been one of her own tribesmen, and her

adulterine children may have exhibited a pronounced non-Israelitish type. Hosea did not actually name his second son *Not-my-kin*, nor did he call his daughter *Uncherished*: these designations merely symbolize the poet's feelings toward his adulterine children. *To be called* is often used in the sense of *to be* (SFG 31; GB[16] 724[b]).

The cuckoldry of Hosea's erring spouse called his attention to Israel's backsliding: Israel had been false to her lord, JHVH, just as his own wife had been unfaithful to him. Israel's unfaithfulness could not dishonor JHVH, it could only dishonor Israel. Whoever is untrue to Truth does not cuckold Truth. In the same way Hosea felt that he had not been dishonored by his adulterous wife. He was no wittol, he had not winked at his wife's infidelity. He believed that it was ordained by JHVH that he should have an adulterous wife and adulterine children in order that his attention should be drawn to Israel's unfaithfulness, her defection from her Lord. This suggested to him that the name of his first-born son (who was, it may be supposed, his own child) might have a symbolical meaning. But this was an afterthought. When Hosea called his first-born *Jezreel*, he did not think of the bloodshed of Jezreel that was to be avenged on Jehu's House. This idea did not occur to him until his wife had born a second son. The name *Jezreel* means *May God make him thrive!* (cf. Arab. زرع الله الصبيّ للخير).

The town of Jezreel was at the eastern end of the Great Plain of Jezreel. King Ahab-ben-Omri of Israel and his second son Jehoram had a palace there, and Jehoram was slain by Jehu in the former vineyard of Naboth at Jezreel, while his nephew, King Ahaziah of Judah (the son of Jehoram's sister Athaliah) was mortally wounded near Ibleam. At Jehu's bidding Jehoram's mother, Ahab's Tyrian consort Jezebel, who was responsible for the judicial murder of Naboth and the relentless persecution of the prophets of JHVH, was hurled from a window of the palace at Jezreel, so that her blood bespattered the wall and the horses of Jehu's chariot, and they trod her under foot. The last king of the House of Jehu, Zachariah, was slain not at Jezreel, but at Ibleam, where he was assassinated

by Shallum, and which may be included in the Great Plain of Jezreel: it is about half an hour south of En-gannim, the modern *Jenîn* at the southeastern end of the Great Plain, while Jezreel (the present *Zerʿîn*) is more than ten hours north of *Jenîn*. 𝔐 קבל עם, 2 K 15 10, which cannot mean *before the people*, may be an intentional alteration for ביבלעם = 𝔊ᴸ ἐν Ιβλεαμ, made for the purpose of eliminating the discrepancy between the statement in 2 K 15 10 and the prediction in Hos. 1 4 which was interpreted to mean that the last king of the House of Jehu would be slain at Jezreel.

C. 3 of the Book of Hosea contains four couplets exhibiting the same meter as the genuine poem of Hosea in cc. 1 and 2. This epigonous production was added by someone who was scandalized at the statement that Hosea had been commanded by JHVH to get an adulterous wife and adulterine children. The worthy poetaster substitutes, *Go, and love a woman who loves another man, as I love the Israelites who love pressed cakes*, i. e. sweet cakes made of pressed grapes and flour, such as are still used in Cyprus at church festivals as a survival of Phenician paganism (*cf.* the translation of *Isaiah* in the Polychrome Bible, p. 170, n. 12). Even this mitigation seemed objectionable to subsequent editors; therefore the phrase *who loves another man* was pointed to read *who is loved by another man.* A woman may be loved by another man without reciprocating his love. She may also love another man without committing adultery, and even if she be an adulteress, she does not become a prostitute. The translation given in AV and RV, *a wife of whoredoms* instead of *adulterous wife and adulterine children*, is unjustified. The addition *an adulteress* after *who loves another man* in the first line of c. 3 is an erroneous tertiary gloss, just as the *again* in *Go again and love a woman who loves another man* is a later redactional addition. Professor Volz, of Tübingen, in his paper *Die Ehegeschichte Hoseas* (ZWT, 1898, pp. 321-325) took c. 3 to be an allegorical narrative added to c. 1 at a later date (*cf.* EB 2123, n. 2). According to AJSL 22, 130, on the other hand, c. 3 is by Hosea himself, and c. 1 by a disciple.

The four couplets in c. 3, which should be grouped in two stanzas, may be translated as follows:

A i 3, 1 Go, and love a woman
who ‹ love‹s› another man,
As ‹I› love the Israelites
who love pressed cakes.

ii 2 So I ‹bough›t her for fifteen shekels
and a coom of barley.—
3 "Many days shalt thou remain,
no man shall approach thee!"

B iii 4 ‹Thus› the Israelites will remain
for many days
Without king, sacrifice, pillar,
without ephod and t‹a›raphim.

iv 5 ‹But› the Israelites will seek
again their God,
Rushing to ‹Him› and His goodness
in the days of the future.

This theological poem was, of course, written after the Exile.

The Hebrew text of these four couplets should be read as follows:

A i 1, 3 לכ‹ה› אהב אשה ‹אֹהבת› רֵע
כאהבת‹י› את־בני ישראל ואֹהבי אשישי‹ם›:

ii 2 ואֶ‹כְ›רֶהָ־לִּי בחמשה עשר־כסף ולתך שערים:
3 ימים רבים תשבי־ל‹ך› לא־תהיי לאיש:

B iii 4 כ‹ן›־ימים רבים ישבו בני ישראל
אין־מלך ואין־זבח ואין־מצבה ואין־אֵפוד ו‹תְ›רפים:

iv 5 ‹ו›ישֻבו בני ישראל ובקשו אלהיהם
ופחדו אל‹יו› ואל־טובו באחרית הימים:

For the proper scansion of the Hebrew lines we must bear in mind that the initial vowel of the *nota accusativi* after a word ending with a vowel may be elided, and that words like לִי,לְךָ, also לָהֶם (i. e. *lahm*, pronounced like the German *lahm* = lame) may be enclitic. The so-called *Dageš forte conjunctivum* is due to the accentuation of a syllable before an enclitic; וְאֶכְרָהֶ־לִּי should be pronounced *wa-'ekhrêhállî* (cf. *Est.* 49, 13; GK[28] § 20, g). The second line of the first couplet should be read: *Kahavtîth-bĕnê-Israél wôhăvê ăšišîm* (cf. AJSL 26, 204).

The genuine poem of Hosea in the first two chapters consists of two sections; each section comprises two stanzas; each stanza is composed of two triplets with 3+2 beats (*Mic.* 66, n. 4). According to Duhm (ZAT 31, 18. 20) both Hos. 1 2^{b}-3 3 and c. 3 are written in prose, and 2 4-15[a] in pentastichs with three beats in each line. Peiser (*op. cit.* p. 60) arranges the text of cc. 1 and 2 in twelve tetrastichs with 3 beats in each hemistich. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton* (Tübingen, 1904) thinks that Hos. 2 4-15[a] contains twelve stanzas. Sievers, *Alttestamentliche Miscellen*, No. 5 (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Leipzig, May 13, 1905) p. 167 arranges 1 2^{b}-9 in five couplets with seven (2+2+3) beats in each line, and 2 4-15 in lines with 7 and 3 beats. C. 3 contains, according to Sievers, four couplets with seven beats in each line.

Apart from the secondary and tertiary explanatory glosses and theological additions, this poem of Hosea may be translated as follows:

JHVH said to ‹me›:

A i 1, 2 Go, get thee an adulterous wife
and adulterine children!
The land commits adultery,
departing from JHVH.
3 ‹I› got Gomer, the maid of Diblaim,
and she bore ‹me› a son.

ii 4 Then He said to ‹me›, Give him
the name *Jezreel*;

For shortly I shall avenge
the bloodshed of Jezreel
On Jehu's House; I'll end
the kingdom of Israel.

iii 6 ‹The prophetess› conceived again,
and bore a daughter.
Then He said to ‹me›, Give her
the name *Uncherished*;
I will no longer cherish
the House of Israel.

iv 8 Now when she had weaned *Uncherished*,
she bore a son.
9 Then He said ‹to me›, Give him
the name *Not-my-kin*;
For ye are not my kin, and I
am not your ‹God›!

B v 2, 4 Plead with your mother, plead!
for she is not my wife;
Let her put from her face her lewdness,
from her breasts her bawd‹r›y,
5 Lest I strip her naked, and set her
as when she was born.

vi 8 I'll hedge up ‹her› way with thorns,
make a wall around her;
9 She'll vainly pursue her lovers,
and seek, but not find them;
She'll say, I'll go and return
to my former husband.

C vii 10 ‹Behold›, she does not know
that it was I who gave her
Grain, and must, and oil,
lavished money upon her.

12 But now I'll bare her shame
in the sight of her lovers.

viii 13 I'll cause all her mirth to cease
and all her feasting,
15 The days of the Baalim she sacrificed
and put on her jewelry,
Pursuing her paramours
while Me she forgot.

I subjoin the Hebrew text of this poem. The complete text of the Book of Hosea with all glosses, a metrical translation, and explanatory and critical notes will be published elsewhere. I have discussed several sections of the Book of Hosea in my papers on the Heb. noun *melkh*, counsel, and Assyr. *atmu*, fledgling, in the OT, published in the present volume, also in my paper on Assyr. *ramku*, priest = Heb. *komer* in AJSL 32, 67-75. In the present paper I must omit all subsequent additions to the first three chapters. Some of them are Maccabean, *e. g.* 2 1-3 and 18-24. The *one head* referred to in 2 2 is the founder of the Maccabean dynasty, Simon, and the *brethren* and *sisters* in the following verse are the Jews rescued by Simon and Judas Maccabæus from Galilee and Gilead (AJSL 32, 75). The *Baalim* in v. 19 denote the Greek gods; *cf.* Ps. 16 4^b and the translation of this Maccabean psalm in JAOS 32, 124. For ועלו מן הארץ in 2 2 see my translations of Ps. 68 19 and Obad. 21 in AJSL 23, 223; 27, 49. The עלית at the beginning of Ps. 68 19 means עלית מן הארץ בהר ציון (contrast AJSL 23, 230, n. 25).

Nor can I give here any explanatory notes. I will add, however, that 2 4^b, *Let her put from her face her lewdness, from her breasts her bawdry*, does not refer to facial or intermammary tattoo marks (BL 61) but to the effects of habitual lewdness on the complexion and the breasts (BL 72). An old prostitute paints her face in order to cover up her faded countenance; her breasts tend to be pendulous. Hosea's statement does not mean merely, Just as a metal may be adulterated by foreign admixture, so the face and the breasts of a profligate

wife may be tainted and debased by adultery. For the threat in the following verse, *Lest I strip her naked, and set her as when she was born*, cf. Nah. 3 5b: *I uncover thy skirts to affront thee, exposing thy shame* (see my remarks in JBL 26, 24; ZDMG 61, 285, n. 19). Israel's shame was bared in the sight of her lovers (2 12) when she was humbled by Assyria; neither the Baalim nor her allies could prevent her fate.

For the *enjambement* (or *overflow*) in ii, 1-3; iii, 2; iv, 2 and 3 *cf.* AJSL 23, 240, and for the accentuation רִיבוּ in the first hemistich of the second section see WF 217, iii. The pointing נִבְלָתָה תָּרָפִים is explained JBL 33, 166, n. 12. The stem of נבלתה (2 12) is not נבל, but בלת = Assyr. *balâtu* (see GB16 481b HW 117b). This is connected with Assyr. *balâlu*, to pour out, overwhelm, and Heb. יָבָל, *stream*, Arab. تبليل, *drenching* and وبل, *downpour*, also with بلم (بلمت الناقة) and ابلاه الله حسنا = Assyr. *ilu ina dumqi uballilšu*.

ויאמר יהוה אל׳י׳

i A	1, 2	לך־קח־לך אשת זנונים		וילדי זנונים
		כי־זנה תזנה הארץ		מאחרי יהוה:
	3	ו׳א׳קח את־גמר בת־דבלים		ותלד־ל׳י׳ בן:
ii	4	ויאמר אלי׳	קרא	שמו יזרעאל
		כי־עוד מעט	ופקדתי	את־דמי יזרעאל
		על־בית יהוא	והשבתי	ממלכ׳ו׳ת ישראל:
iii	6	ותהר עוד ׳הנביאה׳		ותלד בת
		ויאמר ׳א׳ל׳י׳	קרא	שמה לא־רחמה
		כי־לא אוסיף ארחם		את־בית ישראל:
iv	8	ותגמל את־לא רחמה		ותלד בן:
	9	ויאמר׳אלי׳	קרא	שמו לא־עמי
		כי־אתם לא־עמי	ואנכי	לא־אלהי׳כ׳ם:

v B	2, 4	ריבו באמכם ריבו	כי־היא לא־אשתי
		ותסר זנוניה מפניה	ונא׳ופיה משדיה:
	5	פן־אפשיטנה ערמה והצגתיה	כיום הולדה:
vi	8	הגני־שך דרכ׳ה׳ בסירים	וגדרתי גדרה
	9	ורדפה מאהביה ולא־תשיג	ובקשתם ולא־תמצא
		ואמרה אלכה ואשובה	אל־אישי הראשון:
vii	10	ו׳הנה׳־היא לא ידעה	כי־אנכי נתתי־לה
		הדגן והתירוש והיצהר	וכסף הרביתי־לה:
	12	ועתה אגלה נבלתה	לעיני מאהביה:
viii	13	והשבתי ׳את׳־כל משושה	ו׳את׳־כל מועדה:
	15	את־ימי הבעלים ׳תקט׳ר־להם	ותעד נזמה
		ותלך אחרי מאהביה	ואתי שכחה:

The Hebrew Noun *Melkh*, Counsel

PAUL HAUPT
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN my paper *Assyrian Phonology with Special Reference to Hebrew* (AJSL 1, 176, n. 1)[1] I called attention to the fact that the cuneiform transliteration of the Biblical names *Abimelech* and *Ahimelech* was not *Abimalki* and *Aximalki*, but *Abimilki* and *Aximilki*, so that the second element of these compounds could not be *malk*, king, but *milk*, counsel, Aram. מִלְכָּא. The Masorites have recognized this word only in the Aramaic passage Dan. 4 24, מַלְכָּא מִלְכִּי יִשְׁפַּר עָלַיִךְ, *O King, let my counsel be acceptable to thee* (which would be in Assyrian: *šarrî, milkî elîka liṭîbû*; cf. *Est.* 16, 19) and in Neh. 5 7 where we have the Niphal נִמְלַךְ, *to take counsel*: וַיִּמְלַךְ לִבִּי עָלָי, *I consulted with myself*, lit. *my heart consulted in me*. In Assyrian we find *imdâlik* (= *imtâlik*, Aram. אִתְמְלִךְ) instead of Heb. יִמְלַךְ; Assyr. *ul immalik* means *he was ill-advised, injudicious, imprudent* (KB 6, 84, l. 65).

There are, however, a number of passages where we must read מֶלֶךְ, *counsel* = Aram. מִלְכָּא instead of מֶלֶךְ, *king* = Aram. מַלְכָּא. For the Syriac forms *mĕlik̲, málkâ*, king, and *mĕlik̲, milkâ*, counsel, *cf.* AJSL 1, 228; 23, 262, n. †. In Assyrian we have *mâliku*, counselor (*cf.* Aram. מַלְכָּא, 2 Sam. 15 12 = יוֹעֵץ; see Dalman) and *mâliku, malku*, prince. The two words are ultimately identical: Arab. *málik*, king, means originally *counselor*, just as Arab. *sâi̯i̯id*, lord (for *sau̯îd*; modern *sîd*, cf. the Spanish *Cid*) is connected with Heb. סוֹד, *council*, or Lat. *consul* with *consilium, consultor, consultum* (ZDMG 69, 172, l. 25). Arab. *málikah* means, not only *queen*, but also *keen in-*

[1] For the abbreviations see above, p. 41.

sight. Heb. מלך, *king* was compared to Lat. *consul* in Gesenius' *Thesaurus.* Arab. *málaka*, to rule, control, possess, is denominative; *cf.* Arab. *ḥikmah* = Heb. *ḥokmâ*, experience, wisdom, but *ḥukûmah*, rule, dominion, judgment, decision. The stem מלך, *to deliberate* may be connected with Arab. לוך, *to chew*, just as we use *rumination* for *meditation*; a *ruminator* is a man who pauses to deliberate and consider (see below, p. 183). For stems derived from nouns with the prefix מ *cf.* AJSL 23, 251 (also Arab. *mádaqa*, to crush = *dáqqa*, to pound). For Assyr. *maliku, malku,* counselor, governor, ruler, *cf. e. g.* KB 6, 2, p. 108, l. 5; p. 112, l. 31; p. 126, l. 32; also *malkâti*, thou art governess, *ibid.* p. 124, l. 4, and *mitluk milki*, counseling counsel, in the interesting cuneiform acrostic hymn of Sardanapalus, *ibid.* p. 110, l. 27. Zimmern's view that Heb. *mälkh*, king, may be an old Assyrian loanword (AkF 7) seems to me untenable.

Lat. *consilium* (for **consediom*) is connected with *considere*, to sit together, so that our *counsel* and *consider* are ultimately identical (for *l* = *d* cf. ZDMG 61, 195). *Consilium* means, not only *counsel* and *council*, but also *deliberation, insight, prudence, resolution, plan, intention, will.* We use *counsel* in the sense of *consultation, deliberation, advice, instruction, prudence, intent, plan.* Also Assyr. *milku* means *counsel, deliberation, resolution, insight, prudence*; it is a synonym of *ţêmu* = טעם (*cf.* Lat. *sapor*) which means *mind, sense, intellect, intelligence, information, news,* just as we use *mind* (= Lat. *mens*) not only for *intellect*, but also for *contemplation, thought, inclination, desire, intention, purpose.* Assyr. *ţêmu* (cf. JAOS 32, 18) is used also (like נפש) for *self* (AL[5] 163).

I showed in my paper *Wâteh ben-Hazael* (AJSL 1, 221) that Assyr. *šanî ţêmi*, alteration of the mind, denoted *mental derangement, insanity,* just as Syr. (דְתַרְעִיתָא) שְׁנִיוּתָא means *mental aberration, madness*: שִׁנֵּי מַעֲמֵהּ or אַשְׁנִי נַפְשֵׁהּ = *he feigned madness* (Heb. שנה את־טעמו, 1 Sam. 21 14, Ps. 34 1). *Cf.* our *to be out of one's mind* = to be insane. We use *alienation* (lat. *alienatio mentis*, Greek ἀλλοίωσις) for *insanity*; an *alienist* is a psychiatrist or specialist for the treatment of mental diseases. My explanation of Assyr. *šanî ţêmi* = Lat.

alienare mentem or *alienari mente* was doubted by Tiele in his *Bab.-assyr. Geschichte* (Gotha, 1888) p. 384, n. 4; see, however, HW 297[a] and GB[16] 851[a]. Assyr. *Šin*, moon, and *šattu* (constr. *šanat*) year, are derived from the same *šanû*, to change (for the connection between *Šin* and *Sinai* see JAOS 34, 415, below).

I stated above that מלך, *king* meant originally *counselor*, just as Arab. سيد is derived from סוד, *to take counsel*; cf. Georg Hoffmann, *Über einige phönizische Inschriften* (Göttingen, 1889) pp. 55/6. In Syriac the denominative Pael סַוֵּד and the Ethpaal אִסְתַּוַּד mean *to converse*; סְוָדָא denotes *conversation*, especially *intimate conversation of men sitting together*. We have the denominative Hiphil הסיד, *to converse, confer* in parallelism to the Hiphil המליך, *to take counsel* in Hos. 8 4 where we must read:

המלִיכו ולֹא ממִּנִּי הסִידו ולא־יֻדַּעתי׃

They took counsel, but not from Me;
they conferred without telling Me.

𝔗 has אַמְלַכְתֵּיהּ (see Dalman) *she counseled him* for ותסיתהו, *she persuaded him* in Josh. 15 18. The Aphel means both *to counsel* and *to make king*. Hebr. הסית is merely a byform of הסיד with partial assimilation of the ד to the ס. It does not mean *to incite, instigate, allure,* but corresponds to the German *bereden,* which means not only *to persuade*, but, in the reflexive form, also *to deliberate, confer with someone.* There is no connection between this הסית, *to persuade* and Assyr. *sîttu*, remnant (see p. 184). Nor can it be combined with Ethiop. *asḥáta*, to seduce, originally *to corrupt* (Heb. השחית) although a medial ح is sometimes secondary (AJSL 22, 205, below; *cf.* HK 26). The הם prefixed to המליכו is due to dittography. For the confusion of ר and ד in השׂירו instead of הסידו see *Mic.* 72, l. 1; *Joel*, n. 59; WF 208, n. 60, and for the שׂ instead of ס: *Mic.* 70, ζ; WF. 219, l. 9. According to some Jewish commentators השׂירו is miswritten for הסירו (see Wünsche's *Hosea*, p. 337). For ידעתי we need not read (following 𝔊 *οὐκ ἐγνώρισάν μοι*, 𝔖 ܘܠܐ ܐܘܕܥܘܢܝ) ולא הֹדְעֻנִי, but ידעתי should be pointed as passive = *I was not informed, notified.* Hos. 8 4 should be

preceded by v. 2 and followed by v. 12, and this triplet should be read as follows:

2 8, לִי זעֵק {ישראֵל} אלהֵי ידעֲנוּך {}:
4ª המלִיכו ולֹא ממֲנִי הסִידו ולא־יֻדֲעתי:
12 ואכתֲב־לו רֲב תורֹתִי כמו־זֵר נחשֲבו:

To Me Israel cried,
My God, we acknowledge Thee.
But they took counsel without Me,
they conferred without telling Me.
I wrote for them many instructions —
they were deemed alien.

This triplet should be followed by vv. 3. 1 (read כנפֵיו יפרֹשׂ כנֵשר). V. 4ᵇ should precede v. 2. The י in יזעקו (v. 2) is due to dittography. The transposition of ישראל was suggested long ago by Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Kimchi. For רבו תּוֹרָתִי read רֹב תּוֹרֹתַי (𝔖 ܣܓܝܐܐ ܕܢܡܘܣܝ). 𝔐 רבו = רוב, Esth. 10 3; the ו is due to dittography of the ר (ZDMG 63, 515, 18). *Cf.* the explanation of איסירם for וְאֵסוֹר in 7 12. *We acknowledge Thee* = We acknowledge Thee, the national God of Judah, as the God of Israel. *Alien* = non-Israelitish, not suitable for Israel; *cf.* Ex. 30 9, Lev. 10 1, Num. 3 4, 26 6. My religion was alien to their own way of thought, foreign from their thought, and foreign to their heart. The ancient Israelites were idolaters; David forced them to adopt the worship of Jhvh, but after the disruption of the kingdom they relapsed again into idolatry. They preferred the bacchanalian worship of the Canaanite Baals to the Law of Jhvh. Peiser, *Hosea* (1914) p. 31 reads: השירו כספם וזהבם, *they took away their silver and gold*, preceded by ירד פול המלך, *King Phul came down*; he derives השירו from נשר (*cf.* GB[16] 917ᵇ, l. 3).

The noun *melkh*, counsel, mind, is found in Hos. 7 3 5ᵇ 7ᵇ (also in Zech. 9 5ᵇ). The first of these passages is a gloss to 7 5ª which should be read as follows:

יום־יֹום הָחֱלוּ שֹׂרִים מחֵמֶת הַיִּין

Day by day the princes were sickened
with bottles of wine.

The *bottles* were, of course, leathern bottles (wine-skins). AV *with bottles of wine* is more correct than RV *with the heat of wine*. The pointing חֵמַת in Gen. 21 14 is wrong. The final *t* is a part of the stem (*cf.* Arab. حميت) not the feminine ending. Lagarde thought the absolute state was חֵמָת = *ḥimat* (a form like שֵׁכָר = Assyr. *šikaru*). Ibn Ezra and Kimchi explained חמת יין as נאד מלא יין. Grotius says: *In Hebraeo est ab utre vini.*—The verb החלו should be pointed as passive (Rashi: נעשו שרינו חולים). Similarly we must read הָזְנוּ in 4 10 18, and הָזְנִית in 5 3, also תָּזְנָה in Am. 7 17 (*cf.* AJSL 32, 70).—For יום we must read יום־יום; *cf.* my remarks on Ps. 90 5 in JBL 31, 116; ZDMG 65, 564, 3.—𝔐 מלכנו after יום is miswritten for מלכם. Duhm (ZAT 31, 25) reads יום מלכם which is supposed to mean *on the birthday of their king* (Zachariah). 𝔊 ἡμέραι τῶν βασιλέων ὑμῶν (but 𝔖 ܝܘܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܝܢ, 𝔍 *dies regis nostri*) read יום מלכיכם, not מלכיהם, as Duhm states; 𝔗 has יומא דמניאו עליהון מלכיהון. Duhm seems to have had in mind v. 7ᵇ where 𝔊 has πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἔπεσαν = כל מלכיהם נפלו. The reading מלכם is correct, but it must be pointed מִלְכָּם, *their counsel, their mind,* and this should be inserted in the second half of this verse, where we must read instead of משך ידו את לצצים, followed by כי קֵרבו כתנור לבם באָרְבָּם, at the beginning of v. 6:

השכִירו את־מִלְכָּם מלצִצים כי־קדח לבָּם

The sportlings fuddled their mind
when their brain was inflamed.

Sportlings is a contemptuous diminutive for *sports*, i. e. men who like fast living, revelers. As a rule, לץ denotes a *derider* or *mocker*, just as our *to make sport of* means *to deride*. The reading מלוצצים (Polel of לוץ) was suggested by Ibn Ezra, although he derived לצצים from לצץ. Since this participle was originally preceded by מלכם, the omission of the prefix מ may be due to haplography.—In משך ידו instead of השכירו we have again a confusion of ד and ר. Buhl (WF 84) adheres to 𝔐. Sievers (1905) reads השכירו מֶלֶךְ לצצים; see Guthe's translation in Kautzsch's AT³. Paul Ruben (1896) suggested משכירי for משך ידו.

In v. 6ª קרבו is a corruption of קדח (𝔊 ἀνεκαύθησαν, 𝔖 ܡܛܘܠ ܕܢܝܡ ܠܒܗܘܢ). This emendation was suggested long ago by Buxtorf the younger (1653). 𝔐 כתנור is a tertiary gloss, and בארבם after לבם is a corruption of בארֻבה. This is a misplaced quaternary gloss to the tertiary gloss בְּשֹׁבָךְ, *in a dove-cote*, which appears in v. 12 after איסירם in the corrupt form כשמע. 𝔊 ἐν τῇ ἀκοῇ read בשמע.—The ל prefixed to עדתם (*cf.* עדת דבֹרים, Jud. 14 8) is a misplaced variant to ב in בשׂבך (*cf.* WF 218).—For 𝔐 אַיְסִירֵם we must read וְאֵסוֹר = וְאֶאֱסֹר (GK[28] § 68, f). The suffix in איסירם is due to the suffix in the preceding אורידם; the first י represents the misplaced ו, *and*, and the second י is miswritten for ו in the (incorrect) *scriptio plena* אסור; this ו is due to dittography of the ר; *cf.* אפרוש, at the beginning of this verse, and רבו (Qᵉrê רֻבֵּי) = רוֹב = רֹב in 8 12.

The noun שׂוֹבָךְ, *dove-cote* (not שׂוֹבֶךְ!) is common in post-Biblical Hebrew (*cf.* EB 1560, 5). It is identical with שובך האלה, 2 Sam. 18 9, which denotes a *snarl of branches*; cf. שְׂבָכָה. *network, lattice* = شبكة. In Assyrian we have *šabikû*, head-band, net, (HW 638ª) which appears in Syriac as סְבָכָא. Heb. סבך, *thicket* (originally *interlacement, interweaving, entanglement, tangle, wattle*; cf. JBL 33, 291) is phonetic spelling for שׂבך. It would be better to read בסֹבָךְ or בשׂבָךְ in Gen. 22 13; בְּשֹׂבַךְ עץ, Ps. 74 5; מִשֹּׂבַכּוֹ, Jer. 4 7; שֹׂבַכֵּי יער, Is. 9 17, 10 4. Also *Semachonitis* = *Lake Ḥûlah* is derived from this word (see below, p. 186). 𝔗 has שׂוֹבַכָּא (Dalman, שׂוֹבַכָּא) for אֲרֻבָּה in Is. 60 8, כיונים אל ארֻבֹּתיהם, *like doves to their cotes.* For the Palestinian dove-cotes or pigeon-towers (מגדלות) see RB 1642; RE³ 19, 394, 45. Heb. מגדל means also *press, case, cabinet.* The original meaning of ארֻבה is *lattice, grating,* and the primary connotation of ארב, *to lie in wait* is *to try to tangle, entrap.*

Peiser combines בארבם in v. 6 with Assyr. *erbu*, income, from ערב (HW 127ᵇ). He reads כי־קרבו כתנור בארבם, which is supposed to mean *sie nahen, wie einem Ofen, mit ihren Geschenken,* and v. 12ᵇ: איסירם כשם על עֵדֻתם, *wie Šem auf Grund ihres Zeugnisses* (𝔖 ܕܣܗܕܘܬܗܘܢ made the same mistake) *will ich sie auslösen*; he thinks, this may be an allusion to the

story of Noah, while the לְצִיִּים in v. 5 may refer to Ham and Japhet (p. 29, n.***). He adds that the text of the Minor Prophets may be based on a *Kollegheft*. Duhm (ZAT 31, 26) reads כְּשׁוֹר עַד דַּעְתָּם, *wie ein Rind, bis sie's merken*, for כשמע לעדתם, Riessler (*cf.* JBL 32, 111) has אֵיסָרֵם כְּשֶׁמַע רַעְתָּם, *ich fessele sie entsprechend dem Ruf ihrer Schlechtigkeit*. Theiner (1828) rendered: *ich werde sie züchtigen, wie ich ihren Stämmen drohen liess*; Reuss: *ich züchtige sie, wie es in ihrer Versammlung verkündet wird*; Orelli (1908): *ich will sie mit dem Stocke züchtigen, dass sie zur Einsicht kommen* (אֲיַסְּרֵם בְּשֵׁבֶט לְדַעְתָּם).

V. 5[b] מָשַׁךְ יָדוֹ אֶת לְצִיִּים, for which we must read הִשְׁכִּירוּ אֶת מֶלְכָּם מִלְּצִיִּים, *the sportlings fuddled their mind*, is rendered by Orelli: *er wechselt Händedruck mit Höhnenden*; Augusti and De Wette (1810) translated: *er trinkt Spöttern zu*; Theiner: *zu denselben* (the feasts) *zieht der König Possenreisser hinzu*.

We must read in the second half of v. 12:

כְּעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם אוֹרִידֵם וְאֶסֹּר עֲדָתָם

I'll down them like birds of the air,
and shut up their flock.

This line is a gloss to v. 12[a] where we must transpose the two hemistichs (*cf.* JBL 31, 120, v. 2):

אֶפְרֹשׂ עָלֵיהֶם רִשְׁתִּי כַּאֲשֶׁר יֵלֵכוּ

I shall spread my net upon them,
as soon as they move.

The position of כאשר ילכו at the beginning of v. 12 in 𝔐 is due to the אשור הלכו at the end of the preceding verse.—For אוריד *cf.* Obad. 4. *To down* = to bring down, to cause to fall. V. 12[a] should be preceded by v. 11[a], and followed by v. 2[b]. V. 1[a] and v. 2[a] are explanatory glosses to v. 2[b], and v. 1[b] is a tertiary gloss to v. 1[a].

The first two words of 7 1 belong to the preceding chapter. We must read:

גַּם־יְהוּדָה יָשִׁית קָצִין־לָךְ בִּרְפֹּאִי לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל

O'er thee, too, will Judah set a leader,
when I heal Israel's nation.

This is a gloss to the last triplet of the preceding poem which I have discussed in my paper on Assyr. *ramku*, priest = Heb. *komer* (AJSL 32, 69). The hemistich בשובי שבות עמי is a tertiary gloss to ברפאי לבית ישראל. Duhm (ZAT 31, 24) combines not only the first two words, but the first two verses of c. 7 with the preceding chapter.

As stated above, v. 3 is a gloss to v. 5ᵃ. For מַלְכָּם in v. 3 we must point מַלְכָּךְ. The preceding ישמחו is not a transposition of ימשחו, but a corruption of וישנחו. This is a transposed doublet (WF 220, vi) of צחן; *cf.* שלמה = שמלה and צחק = שחק; the צ in צחנה, Joel 2 20 is due to the ח (ZDMG 64, 708, 25). Syr. צחנא means *filthy, impure*. In Arabic we have صخخة, *filth*, also سنخ and (with partial assimilation) زنخ, *to become rancid, tainted, fetid*. We find similar transpositions and partial assimilations in Bibl. Aramaic חספא = Syr. חצפא, חצבא, חזבא, Ethiop. צחב, Assyr. *xaçbu*, Arab. خزف, which are all modifications of חסב. The original form of צנח, *to be foul* was סנח, and שנח in our passage must be explained in the same way as השירו in 8 4 for הסידו. Heb. סנח (שנח) means *to muddle*, i. e. *to make muddy, foul, turbid, cloudy, confused*. The noun שרים at the end of the verse is a tertiary gloss, based on the first hemistich of v. 5ᵃ. In 𝔖, שרים at the end of v. 3 is combined with the first two words of v. 4: ܚܟܝܡ ܫܪܝܪ.

𝔐 בכחשיהם before שרים at the end of v. 3 is a corruption of בנחשיהם, *with their debauches*. This word is connected with נחשת (Ezek. 16 36) = *debauchery*, lit. *effusion* (cf. BL 37, l. 5; 90, n. 35). In Assyrian several words denoting *profusion, abundance, luxuriousness* mean also *voluptuousness, lecherousness, debauchery* (cf. Delitzsch, *Prol.* 72; HW 458ᵇ. 324ᵇ 377ᵃ. 287ᵃ. 177ᵃ). The original meaning of Assyr. *nuxšu* is *outpour, effusion, profusion*. In l. 43 of the Flood Tablet (KB 6, 233) it means *downpour*; see Haupt, *Akkad. Sprache* (1883) p. xlii. Assyr. *naxâšu*, to pour out, can hardly be connected with Arab. نشغ, *to water* (نشغ *nušuḥ* is said to mean *drunkards*). It seems to correspond to Syr. נחת, *to come down*; cf. אַחַת מִטָּרָא, *He sent down rain*, and Ps. 65 11:

נַחַת גְּדוּדֶיהָ בְּרְבִיבִים תְּמוֹגְגֶנָּה צִמְחָהּ תְּבָרֵךְ׃

which means: *Drenching its* (the earth's) *furrows with showers, Thou'lt make it* (the earth, *i. e.* the grain-field) *wave, Thou'lt bless its growth.* For the *waving* cf. Ps. 72 16: יִרְעַשׁ כַּלְּבָנוֹן פִּרְיוֹ, *its crop will wave like Lebanon* (JBL 33, 185) and Nah. 1 5 (ZDMG 61, 278). Heb. גְּדוּדִים means lit. *cuts* made by the plow; it does not denote *ridges* (thrown up by the plow) or *clods.* The prefixed תַּלְמֶיהָ רַוֵּה is an explanatory gloss to נַחַת גְּדוּדֶיהָ. Heb. נַחַת is an Aramaic loanword as is also תקף = ṯqp = Assyr. *pašâqu* (cf. GB[16] 888). For נַחֲשֶׁת from נחש = Aram. נחת, *to come down* cf. Arab. *názal*, rain, and *nuzâlah*, seminal discharge, from *názala*, to descend.

Hos. 7 3 should be read:

בְּרָעָתָם יְשַׂמְּחוּ מֶלֶךְ וּבְנַחֲשֵׁיהֶם

They muddle their mind with their badness
and with their debauches,

and this line is a gloss to v. 5[a]:

יוֹם־יוֹם הֶחֱלוּ שָׂרִים מַחֲמַת הַיָּיִן

Day by day the princes were sickened
with bottles of wine.

A third passage in this chapter, where we find the noun *melkh*, counsel, is v. 7[b] which is a gloss to the first half of that verse. Instead of the second hemistich of v. 7[a]: וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־שֹׁפְטֵיהֶם, *and they have devoured their judges*, we must read וְיִכְלוּ אֶת־שִׁפְטֵיהֶם, *and they complete their judgments*, i. e. *their punishments, their doom.* Heb. שֶׁפֶט (not שֹׁפֶט!) corresponds to Assyr. *šipṭu*, judgment, punishment. HW 638[a] reads *šibṭu*, from *šabâṭu*, to strike; contrast GB[16] 856[b]. We need not suppose that there was a noun שֹׁפֶט, *judgment*, so that 𝔐 שֹׁפְטֵיהֶם would stand for שָׁפְטֵיהֶם (*cf.* אֱלֹהִים for אֱלָהִים). The verb כלה, *to be completed* means also to be *final*, i. e. *settled, decided*, e. g. 1 Sam. 20 33: מֵעִם אָבִיו (כָּלְתָה הִיא 𝔐) וַיֵּדַע יְהוֹנָתָן כִּי כָלְתָה לְהָמִית אֶת דָּוִד, *Jonathan knew that it was determined by his father to slay David*, and Esth. 7 7: רָאָה כִּי כְלָתָה עָלָיו הָרָעָה מֵאֵת הַמֶּלֶךְ, *Haman saw that there was evil determined against*

him by the King (cf. our *his mind was all made up*). 𝔖 uses גמל = גמר = גרם (*Est.* 55). *They complete their doom* = they make it irrevocable, inevitable. The meaning of כלה in this sense is not *plotted*, as stated in Brown's lexicon. For 𝔐 כלה היא in 1 Sam. 20 33 *cf.* JAOS 25, 72.

V. 7ª must be read:

כֻּלָּם יְחַמּוּ כְתַנּוּר וְיִכְלוּ אֶת־שֹׁפְטֵיהֶם

They all are hot like an oven,
thus completing their doom,

and the gloss to it in the second half of this verse is:

כָּל מַלְכֵיהֶם נָפָלוּ אֵין־קֹרֵא־בָהֶם אֵלַי

which does not mean *All their kings are fallen, there is none among them that calls unto Me,* but *All their minds* (i. e. *intentions, purposes*) *fall to the ground; none among them invokes Me,* i. e. all their plans come to naught, because they are dissolute and irreligious. *Cf.* Ps. 5 11 where we must read הָשֵׁמֵם מועצותיהם יִפְלוּ, *Destroy them, let their plans fail* (lit. *fall* through). The prefixed מ in 𝔐 ממועצותיהם is due to dittography. For מַלְכֵיהֶם, *their kings* in Hos. 7 7ᵇ we must read again מַלְכֵיהֶם, *their counsels.* It is possible that this line is not a gloss to 7 7ª, but to 8 4 (הֵמְלִיכוּ וְלֹא מִמֶּנִּי הֵסִירוּ וְלֹא־יָדַעְתִּי, *But they took counsel without Me, they conferred without telling Me*) which I have discussed above, on p. 56.

C. 8 contains the first section of this poem, whereas c. 7 represents the second section. Each section consists of two stanzas, and each stanza is composed of two triplets with 3+2 beats. In the same way the poem in the preceding chapters 5 and 6 consists of two sections, each section comprising two stanzas, and each stanza two triplets with 3+3 beats; there the first section is contained in c. 6, and the second in c. 5. I have shown *Joel* 388, below, that the first four couplets of Joel's ancient poem on the locusts (which may be older than the earliest document of the Hexateuch) are preserved in c. 2 of the (Maccabean) Book of Joel, whereas the second section, which also consists of four couplets with 3+3 beats, is found in c. 1 (*cf.* JAOS 34, 427, n. 24; also *Micah*, n. 1 on VIII).

According to Duhm (ZAT 31, 26/7) Hos. 7 3–7 contains three quatrains of lines (hemistichs) with 3 beats; vv. 8—12: four quatrains with 3 and 2 beats; vv. 13—16: four triplets with 3 beats; *cf.* his metrical translation in *Die Zwölf Propheten* (1910) pp. 32/3. Still less acceptable is the arrangement of the lines in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. Marti combines 7 1–7 with 6 7–11, and 7 8–16 with 8 1–3 (8 4–14 being regarded as another poem). The section 6 7—7 7 contains, according to Marti, 10 tetrastichs. Sievers (*cf.* above, p. 49) gave the text in triplets and couplets with 5 (*i. e.* 3+2) beats; *cf.* Guthe's translation in Kautzsch's AT[3]. In Gunkel-Gressmann's AT Hos. 7 is not translated. Peiser arranges c. 7 in five quatrains with 3 beats in each line (hemistich). He reads *e. g.* v. 14:

ייליו בעמיו על משכבותם
על דגן בלבם יתגודדו

Sie jammern zu Ammiu auf ihren Lagern,
Für Dagon machen sie in ihrer Brust Einschnitte.

Similarly he reads v. 3:

בכחשיהם ישמחו מלך

Mit ihren Lügen erfreuen sie Melech.

This is all impossible.

I will give, in conclusion, the second section of Hosea's poem in cc. 7 and 8, which contains the three passages with the noun *melkh*, counsel. Other passages will be discussed in a dissertation by one of my students. It might be well to add that יתבולל in v. 8 is a corruption of יִתְבַּלֶּה־לוֹ; the לו is the so-called *dativus ethicus* (WF 219, l. 10). In Syriac we find מְבַלֵּא־לֵהּ עָלְמָא, *the world waxes old.* This verb means, not only *to wax old*, but also *to wear* or *waste away, be consumed, shrink, shrivel, dwindle*; it is derived from בלי which is a compound of the preposition ב with the negative לא (AJSL 22, 259). Ewald derived יתבולל, *er veraltet* from בלל = נבל. G. A. Smith considers the derivation from בלה improbable. Duhm (ZAT 31, 26) regards בלל as a byform of בלה.

Ephraim is like an unturned flapjack, one side of which is

burned, while the other is still raw, because the upper classes are overcivilized and degenerate, whereas the lower classes are crude and rude; the noblemen have abandoned the religion of Jhvh (אין־קרא־בהם אליו) while the common people still worship the Canaanite gods; the princes are atheists, the peasants idolaters.

For 𝔐 ידע instead of יתבונן (Is. 1 3) *cf.* WF 217, l. 2. 𝔊 has twice οὐκ ἔγνω, 𝔖 ܠܐ ܝܕܥ, but 𝔗 לא ידעין and לא מסתכלין, 𝔍 *nescivit* and *ignoravit.*

The famous passage concerning the baker is due to a misunderstanding of מַאֲוֵהֶם, *their lust* or *desire* (from אוה) in v. 6ᵇ. Similarly the gloss in Obad. 9, referring to the wisdom of the Edomites, is due to the misreading תבונה instead of תבואה (AJSL 26, 11). Heb. מַאֲוֶה is a form like Arab. *má'u̯aⁿ*, refuge, from اوى which means originally *to seek* (cf. German *aufsuchen, besuchen*). This מַאֲוֵהֶם was corrupted to מַאֲפֵהֶם (Lev. 2 4) and then to מְאַפֵּהם and אֹפֵהם. Also in Ps. 140 9 we must read אל־תתן מַאֲוֵי רשע, *Grant not the desire of the wicked!* (not מַאֲוַיֵּי or מַאֲוָיֵי!). The word was written מאווי, to indicate the consonantal ו, and the second ו was afterwards misread י (*cf.* Margolis' grammar, § 2, h). 𝔊 εἰς πέψιν and 𝔖 ܠܡܐܦܝܬܐ read מַאֲפֶה for מֵאֹפֶה in v. 4. Drake, *Hosea* (Cambridge, 1853), p. 120 suggested that מֵאֹפֶה might be pointed מַאֲפֶה. In this way we get rid of the baker in Hosea's poem. Wellhausen says, *Es wäre kein Schade, wenn wir den berüchtigten Bäcker des Hosea auf gute Manier los würden.* We must retain the baker, however, in the tertiarv gloss v. 4ᵇ. We must, of course, read, with Oort, כמו תנור בוער־הם אפה instead of כמו תנור בוערה מאֹפֶה. Grætz prefixed the ה of בערה to מאפה as ה interrogative, reading הַמְאַפֶּה ישבות מהבעיר. Ibn Ezra said that בֹּערה was accented בֹּעֵרה, not בֹּעֵרָה, because it was masculine, not feminine; he regarded it as a form like נחלה, Ps. 124 4 (ותניר לשון זכר על כן מלת בוערה מלעיל כמו לילה נחלה עבר על נפשנו). Hitzig-Steiner thought, מאפה alluded to מנאפים (preceding כמו תנור) which might also be read *min ôfîm.* Michaelis and Stuck suggested מאפים instead of מנאפים (*cf.* Simson's *Hosea*, p. 203). Nor does Oort's reading מִנֻּפְחִים, which has been adopted by Valeton, *Amos*

und Hosea (Giessen, 1898) p. 216, commend itself. Duhm reads at the beginning of v. 4: כֻּלֹּה מִן־אֹפִים *Alles ist hergenommen von den Bäckern.* 𝔐 מנאפים is correct; it is a misplaced gloss to the first hemistisch of v. 9, where we must read זְנֻנִים instead of זרים; 𝔐 מנאפים does not mean *idolaters*, but *adulterers*, i. e. *lewd* and *licentious* (cf. Matt. 5 28). Of course, כלם מנאפים might also be explained as a gloss to the first hemistich of v. 7ᵃ.

The statement in the tertiary gloss v. 4ᵇ, *the baker stops stirring the fire from the time he has kneaded the dough till it is fermented* is not germane to the genuine text of Hosea's poem, but it is correct: the baker makes up the dough and kneads it at night; after it has fermented, he kneads it again in the morning before it is baked. He must stir the fire in order to bake the dough, but during the process of panary fermentation a moderate heat is sufficient to keep the rising dough warm. Luther has *er lässt den Teig durchsäuern* (cf. Matt. 13 33) *und aufgehen.* Wellhausen's statement that ישבת מעיר (with the participle instead of the infinitive) is not Hebrew, is gratuitous; *cf.* GK[28] § 120, b; Nöldeke, Syr. Gr.[2], p. 205, below; WdG 2, 197, B (لم يزل قاعدا). In English the participle may be used instead of the infinitive; we can say *he ceases working, he stops stirring.* This is the so-called *participial infinitive.* Leimbach, *Die Weissagungen des Osee* (Fulda, 1907) explains מעיר (𝔖 ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ, 𝔍 *civitas*) as *Heizer* (stoker, fireman).

Heb. קשת רמיה is not a *deceitful bow*, but a *slack bow*, i. e. a bow which slackens when it is bent so that it is impossible to discharge an arrow (*cf.* ترامى, *to be lax, slack* = ارتخى). Luther's *loser Bogen* (Ps. 78 57) does not mean *loose*, but *deceitful*; in the Polychrome Bible Wellhausen rendered: *treacherous bow*, adding in the Notes on the Psalms: *A treacherous bow is like a gun that misses fire.* Still more impossible is Orelli's explanation, *ein tückisch versagender Bogen, der den Pfeil nach dem zurückschleudert, der ihn hält.* Nor can we translate, with G. A. Smith, *a bow which swerves*, or, with Duhm, *ein schlechter Bogen.* J. D. Michaelis (1782)

rendered: *wie ein Bogen, der nicht zum Ziele trifft*, and Fr. Rückert, *Hebr. Propheten* (Leipzig, 1831): *falscher Bogen.* In his *Kleine Propheten*[3] Wellhausen has correctly *schlaffer Bogen*; so, too, Reuss. Also Σ translated: *ἀντεστραμμένον* instead of 𝔊 *τόξον ἐντεταμένον* which may be a corruption of *οὐ ἐντεταμένον* (*cf.* Simson's *Hosea*, p. 226).

For מזעם at the end of v. 16ᵃ read ביום זעמם, lit. *on the day of the wrath against them*, i. e. *the day of their punishment.* Duhm reads מְעִזִּים, *making strong* instead of מזעם.

The reading מזבחותם instead of משכבותם is suggested by Guthe in Kautzsch's AT[3].

𝔐 על דגן ותירוש in the secondary passage v. 14 means *on account of grain und must*, i. e. *praying for good harvests and vintages.* It cannot mean in this connection *over their food and drink*, i. e. *during their meal* (cf. Lat. *super vinum et epulas*) although 𝔊 renders: *ἐπὶ σίτῳ καὶ οἴνῳ* (*cf.* *ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ*, Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 1, 3, 12) and 𝔍 *super triticum et vinum* (cf. *Kings*, SBOT 134, 27). Of course, *ἐπί* may mean also *for the purpose, for the sake of.*

For יתגוררו we must read יתגודדו. Döderlein (*apud Grotium*) says: *Forsan legendum* יתגודדו, *inciderunt se; sic LXX κατετέμνοντο* (*secabant sese*) *qua voce etiam Reg. 18, 28 utuntur.*

The Hebrew text of the second section of this Hoseanic poem should be arranged as follows:

i 7, 8 אפרים בעמים [α]יתבל[1]ה[5]־[3]לו [2]היה־עֻגה בלי־הפוכה׃
9 אכלו זֻנֻ[ג]ים כֹּחו[γ] והוא לא־ידע
וגם שיבה זֹ[ר]קה־בו והוא־לא יתבונן׃[δ]

ii 5ᵃ [ε]יום־יום () הָחֳלו שרים מִ[ח]מֶת הַיין׃[ζ]
6ᵇ כי־הלילה ישן מַאֲ[ו]הם בבקר הוא־בֹער[η]׃[θ]
7ᵃ כֻּלָּם יחמו כתנור וִ[י]כַלּוּ את־שִׁפטיהם׃

iii 11ᵃ ויהי אפרים כיונה פותה אין־לב׃

12ᵃ [] אפרֽ׳ש עליהֽם רשתֽי [כאשֽר ילֽכו]κ:
2ᵇ עתֽה סבבֽום מעלליהֽם נגד־פנֽי היֽו:μλ

13ᵃ iv אוי־להֽם כי־גדדֽו ממֽנֽי שֹד־להֽם כי־פשעֽו־בי:
16ᵃ {} היֽו כקֽשת רמיֽה {ישֽובו ל‹ב›על‹ים›}
יפֽלֽו בחֽרב שֹריהֽם ‹ביֽו›ם זע‹מ›ם:ν

(α) 7, 8 הוא (β) אפרים (γ) כלֽם מנֽאפים
(δ) 10 ו‹עֽנ›ה גאון ישראל בפניו ולא שבו אל יהוה אלהיהם ולא בקשֻׁהו
(ε) 3 ברעתֽם ישֽ‹נ›חו ‹מֽ›לך ובי‹נ›חשיהֽם oo: [בכל זאת: ξξ
(ζ) 6ᵃ. 5ᵇ ‹ה›שכי‹ר›ו את־(‹מ›לכ‹ים›) כי־ק‹דֽח›ππ לבֽם:
(η) 6ᵇ כאש לֶהבה [מלצצים ו (ϑ) 4ᵃ כמו־תנֽור בוע‹ר›־הֽם ρρ
(ι) 7ᵇ כֽל ‹מ›לכיהֽם נפֽלו אין־קֽרא־בהם אלֽי:
(κ) 12ᵇ כעוף השמֽים אורידֽם ‹וֽ›אֵס‹ו›ר‹ττσσ›עדתֽם
(λ) 1 ‹נגלֽה עֲוֹן אפרֽים ורע‹ת שֹמרֽון›υυ:
(μ) 2ᵃ ובֽל יאמרֽו ‹ב›לבבֽם כי‹ר›עתֽם זכֽרתי
(ν) 14.13ᵇ ואנכי אפדם והמה דברו עלי כזבים: ולא זעקו אלי בלבֽם כי
15 ‹יֵי›לילו על מ‹ז›ב‹ח›ותם על דגן ותירוש יתגו‹דד›ו י‹ס›רו בי: ואני
יסֽרתי חזֽקתי זרועֽתם ו‹ע›לי ‹חשֽבו רע:φφ

(ξξ) 7, 11ᵇ מצרֽים קראֽו אשֽור הלֽכו (oo) 3 שֹרים (ππ) 6 כתֽנֽור
(ρρ) 4ᵇ ‹אפה ישבת מעיר מלוש בצֵק עד חֻמצתו (σσ)12ᵇ‹ב›‹ש›‹בך› (ττ)6ᵃ ב‹אר›‹ב›‹ה›
(υυ) 1 כי־‹י›פעלו שֽקר ונגֽב יבֽוא ‹י›פשֽט נדֽוד בחוץ
(φφ)16ᵇ לשונֽם ‹בי›־לעֽג‹ה› באֽרץ מצרֽים

This may be translated as follows:

i 7, 8 Ephraim α‹shrink›s 'mong the peoples
βlike an unturned flapjack;
9 ‹Lewd›ness consumed her strength,γ
but she does not know it;
Her hair ‹is› sprinkled with gray,
but she does not ‹notice› it.δ

ii 5[a] ε‹Day› by day () the princes ‹were› sicken‹ed›
‹with› ‹bottles› of wine;ζ
6[b] Their dust, if it slept at night,
was rekindled ‹a›-mornings.ηϑ
7[a] They are all hot like an oven,
thus ‹complet›ing their doom▫.‹

iii 11[a] Ephraim is become like a pigeon,
gullible, senseless:
12[a] [] I shall spread my net upon them
[as soon as they move.]κ
2[b] Their deeds have now enveloped them,
they are before Me.λμ

iv 13[a] Woe to those who ran away from Me!
destruction to the traitors!
16[a] {} They were like a slackening bow,
{going back to ‹the Ba›al‹s›.}
Their princes will fall by the sword
‹on their day of› wrath.ν

(α) 7, 8 she (β) Ephraim is (γ) 4[a] they are all adulterers
(δ) 10 Israel's glory was humbled before Him, yet they did not return to their God. JHVH, nor seek Him despite all thisξξ
(ε) 3 They ‹muddle› their ‹m›in‹d› with their badness,
and with their de›bauch›es οο
(ζ) 5[b] The sportlings ‹fuddl›ed ‹thei›r (‹m›in‹d›)
when their brain ‹was› inflam›ed ππ
(η) 6 like a flaming fire (ϑ) 4[a] ‹they are› like a burning oven ρρ
(ι) 7[b] All their ‹m›in‹d›s fall to the ground,
none among them invokes Me.
(κ) 12[b] I 'll down them like birds of the air,
‹and shut up›σστ‹τ› their flock.
(λ) 1 ‹Laid bare is Ephraim's guilt, Samaria's badness ‹υυ
(μ) 2[a] But they do hot think ‹in› their heart
‹that› I mark their badness.
(ν) 3[b]. 14 But I will redeem them, though they have spoken lies concerning Me, and although they did not cry to Me in their heart, but howl‹ed› at their ‹altar›s, ‹lacerat›ing their flesh for grain and must, thus dis›obey›ing Me. Although I had ad-

monished them, and strengthened their arms, they planned mischief against Me.*φφ*

(ξξ) 7, 11[b] they invoked Egypt, they went to Assyria (οο) 3 the princes
(ππ) 6 like an oven [the dough till it is fermented
(ρρ) 4[b] ›a baker stops stirring the fire from the time he has kneaded
(σσ) 12[b] ‹in› a ‹cote› (ττ) 6[a] *in ‹a› ‹dove-house*
(υυ) 1 They practice‹›› deceipt, and thieves
come in, bands engage‹›› in plunder *without*
(φφ) 16[b] Their tongue derid‹ed Me in the land of Egypt.

To know = to have sexual commerce

PAUL HAUPT
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN §§ 154—156 of the Code of Hammurapi (2123—2081 B. C.) *ilmad*, he learned, and the reflexive stem *iltámad* mean *he knew* in the special sense of *he had carnal knowledge;* § 154 states: *If a man has sexual intercourse with his daughter, he shall be expelled from the town*, Assyr. *šumma amêlu^{m} mâratsu iltámad, amêlu šuâti âla^{m} ušêçûšu;* cf. Winckler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis* (Leipzig, 1904) p. 44, n. 2. The etymological equivalent of Heb. ידע, Assyr. *idû* is used in this sense, of a woman who has not known man, in § 130 of the Code: *If a man rapes another man's* (espoused) *wife who has not known a male and lives in the house of her father* (cf. BL 108) *that man shall be put to death.* In Deut. 22 24 a virgin betrothed to a man, who is raped by another man, is referred to as *his neighbor's wife.* The phrase *who has not known a male* is expressed in the Code of Hammurapi by *ša zikara^{m} lâ îdû*, just as we have in Jud. 11 39: והיא לא ידעה איש, *she had not known man*, and in Num. 11 39: וכל אשה ידעת איש למשכב זכר, *every woman that has known man by lying with a male.* This passage belongs to the secondary strata of the Priestly Code; משכב is a form of the infinitive (GK^{28} § 45, e)[1] which is common in Aramaic (*cf.* מִנְתַּן, Ezr. 7 20). I have pointed out in *Kings* (SBOT) 179 that דבר לאמר means *he said speaking*, not *he spoke saying.* Consequently it would be more correct to translate: *Every woman that has lain with a male, knowing man.* It is possible, however, that למשכב זכר is

[1] For the abbreviations see above, p. 41.

merely a gloss derived from אשר לא ידעו משכב זכר in the following verse.

In Syriac (and in Samaritan) we find instead of למד and ידע in this special sense the verb חכם, *to know, to discern, to be wise* or *experienced;* the original meaning of חכמה, *wisdom* is *experience;* see Haupt, *Koheleth* (Leipzig, 1905) p. 29, n. 8. Ethiopic *a'mára*, to know (originally *to see*, Assyr. *amâru*) and Arabic عرف, *to know* are used in the same way. The primary connotation of عرف is *to smell*; it is the Assyr. *erêšu* which means both *to smell* (be fragrant; *cf.* SGl 24, below) and *to be wise* (ZDMG 65, 562). *To smell*, to perceive through the nose, may mean *to perceive* in any way; *to smell out* denotes *to find out* by minute investigation. A sneaking spy is a *smeller*. French *sentir* means *to smell, to perceive, to feel.* Our *sense* is derived from the same word. *Scent* is merely an incorrect spelling of *sent.* We also say *to sniff danger* and *to nose* for *to find out.* Thieves call an informer a *nose.* According to Pliny (14, 90) Cato said that women were kissed by their relatives for the purpose of finding out whether they had partaken of any intoxicating beverage; Roman women were originally not permitted to drink wine (*propinquos feminis osculum dare ut scirent an temetum olerent . . . non licebat id feminis Romae bibere*). For the connection between *kissing* and *smelling* see JAOS 28, 120. 130, also BL 3 (Cant. 7 8).

Also the original meaning of ידע, *to know* may have been *to smell* and *to be fragrant.* I pointed out SFG 22, 1 (*cf.* Delitzsch, *Prol.* 26; contrast Schwally, TLZ 24, 357) that ידע was a *verbum cum ʾ originario.* The causative of this stem in Ethiopic is אידע, not אודע. Heb. הודיע (Aram. אודע) is a form like הוביש from יבש = يبس. Arab. ايدع الحجّ على نفسه, *he imposed upon himself the pilgrimage to Mecca* stands for اودع, from ودع (contrast NBSS 203; for Mehrî *wîḍa*, to know, see ZA 2, 278). The noun ايدع is said to denote *gum-dragon, saffron,* and *sapan* (or *bukkum*, i. e. بقم) *wood.* Gum-dragon or dragon's blood is a dark red-brown resin, Pliny (33, 116) calls it *cinnabaris* (κιννάβαρι Ἰνδικὸν = αἷμα δράκοντος).

The dragon's blood of Socotra is obtained from *Dracaena cinnabari*. Saffron is in Hebrew כַּרְכֹּם (BL 95) = Assyr. *kurkanû* (HW 436ᵃ, l. 3; SGl 129; KM 55, below; 142, *ad* l. 10; MVAG 9, 209). Both dragon's blood and saffron were used, not only as dyes, but also as perfumes and for medicinal purposes; so the original meaning of ابلع may have been *ἄρωμα*. Syr. *sámmâ* drug, medicine, poison, pigment, which is identical with Arab. *samm*, poison, and *šammâmât*, perfumes, is derived from Sumer. *šem*, *ἄρωμα* (SGl 263; contrast NBSS 95). *Cf.* ZA 30, 61.

According to Baumann (ZAT 28, 31. 125) ידע, *to have sexual intercourse* means originally *to acknowledge, to care for*. Schwally (ZDMG 52, 163) thinks, the primary connotation is to learn whether the bride is *virgo intacta*; in the East much importance is still attached to the *tokens of virginity* referred to in Deut. 22 15, although the criterion is not an infallible one (see Driver *ad loc.* in ICC; *cf.* BL 41. 117. 133; EB 690; DB 4, 595, †. 596ᵇ). But ידע is used both of men and women; a woman cannot test the virginity of a man. Socin suggested, the original meaning might be to see the face of the bride (*cf.* BL 101, n. 4). But ידע is used also of homosexual intercourse (Gen. 19 5). Moreover Greek *γιγνώσκειν* (Lat. *cognoscere*) has the same meaning, not only in the LXX and in the NT, but also in profane authors, *e. g.* in Plutarch's *Alexander*, c. 21 (*cf.* the passages quoted in Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, p. 571ᵇ). The idea that this use of ידע as well as of *γιγνώσκειν* and *cognoscere* may have been influenced by this special use of Assyr. *lamâdu* and *idû* (AkF 46) seems to me untenable. There is no doubt a connection between *γιγνώσκειν*, *to know* and *γίγνεσθαι*, *to be born*. Greek *γνωτός* means not only *known*, but also *related* by blood, *kinsman*, just as Heb. מודע, from ידע, *to know*, means, not *acquaintance*, but *relation, relative*. In English, *kin* means *race, breed, family*, and *ken* denotes *knowledge;* we have also *to ken* = *to beget, to bring forth*. The Germanic forms have been discussed by Collitz on p. 91 of his monograph *Das schwache Präteritum und seine Vorgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1912) = *Hesperia*, No. 1.

Also in Sumerian, *zu*, to know, has the same sexual meaning, *e. g.* ASKT 119, 18. In Sumerian incantations we often find

references to *female kids* (Assyr. *unêqêti*; cf. عناق)[2] *which have not known males* (Sumer. *nitaġ-nu-zu*), Assyr. *lâ petêti*, lit. *unopened* (cf. HW 101[a]. 312[b]. 553[a]. 616[b]; SGl 226. 286). This *unopened* does not mean *imperforate*, but *unplowed*. Assyr. *petû* = Heb. פתח (*cf.* Is. 28 24; JHUC, No. 163, p. 89[b]) means also *to plow*, especially for the first time (*cf.* § 44 of the Code of Hammurapi) and post-Biblical חרישה, *plowing* is used also of sexual congress (ZDMG 65, 562, l. 11; AJSL 27, 62, n. 9). Also Arab. حرث has this special meaning. *Cf.* also צפירתא דלא איפתח,[3] *Git.* 69[b] (BT 5, 604) and פתח פתוח (*Keth.* 9[a b]) = *open door*, i. e. *not virgo intacta* (for דלת, Cant. 8 8, see BL 5). Greek χέρσος means both *untilled, uncultivated* and *unmarried, childless* (cf. also ἄλοξ and Lat. *sulcus*).

The connection between mental knowledge and carnal knowledge ist evident in the Biblical legend of the Fall of Man which symbolizes the first sexual congress. He who eats of the *forbidden fruit in the midst of the garden* loses his childlike innocence; his eyes are opened, just as Adam and Eve perceived that they were naked. Celibacy was the ideal of the early Christian Church, conjugal copulation was regarded as something unholy, a result of the Fall (*cf.* Matt. 19 12, 1 Cor. 7 1 7; RE[3] 5, 192, 10; EB[11] 17, 754[b]). *Not to know good and evil* (that is, to be incapable of discerning between right and wrong; *cf.* Skinner's *Genesis*, p. 96) means *to be like a child.* Odyss. 18, 228 Telemachus says to his mother, Penelope: *I am intelligent, and know good and evil, I am no longer a child,*

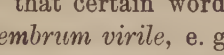
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ θυμῷ νοέω καὶ οἶδα ἕκαστα,
ἐσθλά τε καὶ τὰ χέρεια· πάρος δ' ἔτι νήπιος ἦα.

The Hebrew *to know good and evil* corresponds in some respects

[2] A *male kid* is *lalû*; cf. KB 6, 2, p. 84, l. 57; HW 377[a]. In Syriac, ענקא means *offset, sucker;* cf. عنق, *stalk* and عنقر. I stated in *Ezekiel* (SBOT) 64, 36 (*cf.* ZDMG 64, 704, l. 14) that the Arabic diminutive form *qutêl* was originally *qutâl*; Assyr. *unêqu* stands for *'unâqu* (cf. VG 1, 186, also 351—353). The *â* is preserved in *uzâlu*, young gazelle, and *suqâqu*, lane (= زقاق; *cf.* ZDMG 64, 708, l. 24). These forms have not been considered by Nöldeke, *Beitr. z. semit. Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1904) p. 30.

[3] *Cf.* εφφαθα, *be opened!* (Mark 7 34; S ואמר לה אתפתח) and Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.* p. 213; Dalman[2], § 59, 5.

to our phrase *to cut one's eye-teeth*, i. e. to know what is what, to be old enough to understand things; the eye-teeth are usually the last of the exposed teeth to appear (*cf.* JBL 21, 6; BL 66; ZDMG 63, 519, l. 25; JAOS 32, 5; CoE 505. 510. 511; also ZAT 35, 36). 𝔗 uses ידע מדע, lit. *knowing knowledge*, i. e. *sexually mature* for 𝔐 משתין בקיר which denotes a little boy below the age of puberty (AJSL 22, 255).

In the cuneiform script the ideograms for Sumer. *zu*, to know, and *su*, body, are originally identical. I have pointed out in AJSL 26, 1 that certain words for *body* have also the special meaning *membrum virile*, e. g. Talmud. גויה and Greek σῶμα (contrast HK 1). The oldest form of the character *su* (, originally) seems to represent the hypogastric (or suprapubic) region at the middle of the lowest part of the abdomen; the ideogram means therefore also *to increase*. According to Delitzsch, *Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen* (1907) p. 140 the character *zu* means *great of eye* () but the ideogram for *eye* is originally not triangular, but round, a segment of a circle with a horizontal line after it, which represents the optic nerve (; *cf.* BA 9, 1, p. 104, No. 406). Hilprecht stated in the second part of his *Old Babylonian Inscriptions chiefly from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1896) p. 41, n. 6: Originally *zu* and *su* had the same ideogram, which represents a vessel (cistern?) into which water flows. *Zu* means, therefore, *to flow into* or *to pour into, to add,* then *to increase one's knowledge, to learn, to known.* Barton (BA 9, 2, p. 4) thinks, the character represents a storage-jar with lines either for ornamentation or to indicate the contents of the jar; the storage-jar suggested the idea of increase, gain, and the ability to secure gain, such as wisdom, knowledge. This is just as impossible as the explanation given in Langdon's Sumerian grammar that the sign *su* represents a frame for stretching skins upon. Both *zu*, knowledge, and *su*, body, represent originally the suprapubic region. We find for both *zu* and *su* (BA 9, 1, p. 2, No. 7). The hairiness of the genitals, wich appears at puberty, symbolizes physical and mental maturity, procreation and discernment.

There is a connection between pubescence and knowledge. The *age of consent* (*i. e.* the intelligent concurrence in the adoption of the contract) for marriage was fixed by the common law at 14 for males, and 12 for females, and 14 is also the *age of discretion.* The entire period before 14 is called the *age of nurture* (CD 108[b]). At 14 both sexes are held to have arrived at years of discretion and are fully responsible to the criminal law. In Scotland the law fixes the attainment of puberty at 14 in males, and 12 in females. In Austria the nubile age is 14 for either sex, subject to the consent of the parents (EB[11] 1, 373[a]). In the villages near Jerusalem a girl generally marries at the age of 12 or 13 (BL 111).

This explains the connection between discretion, knowledge, and carnal knowledge, sexual congress. In the Biblical legend of the Fall of Man the Serpent symbolizes carnal desire, sexual appetite, concupiscence. This is the original sin which has been transmitted to all descendants of Adam; only the innocents are free from it. The Serpent in the story of the Fall of Man is a later addition: in the original form of the legend *Eve* (which means *serpent*; JAOS 32, 14, n. 29; CoE, n. 13) was the sole seductress.

Assyr. *atmu*, fledgling, in the Old Testament

PAUL HAUPT
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN the memorial volume published on May 17, 1914 in honor of Julius Wellhausen I have shown that the Assyr. *mûru*, colt = Arab. *muhr* is found in the Song of Deborah: instead of מְדִין, which is supposed to mean *rugs* or *saddle-cloths*, we must read מֹרִין, or מוֹרִין, and ישבי על מורין is a late gloss to רכבי אתונות which formed the beginning of the original poem (*cf.* JAOS 34, 422).[1] While *mûru* means *colt*, Assyr. *mâru*, which is derived from the same stem, is the common term for *son*. For the etymology of this word and its connection with תורה see ZDMG 69, 170, l. 19; *cf.* GB[16] xvii, *ad* 398[a] and 403[a], also my paper on Assyr. *mûr-nisqi*, war horse (GB[16] xviii[b], l. 6) in AJSL 32, part 3 (contrast ZA 17, 357).

Another synonym of *mâru* is *atmu*, nestling, fledgling, especially *young pigeon*. Sennacherib (vi, 19) says in his account of the Battle of Halûle (AL[5] 74): *kî ša atmi summati kuššudi itâraqu libbušun*, their heart cracked like that of a chased young pigeon (they were *pigeon-hearted*). Assyr. *tarâqu* corresponds to Heb. נתק for which we have רתק in Eccl. 12 6 (*cf.* GB[16] xix, *ad* 776[b]): עד אשר לא ירתק חבל הכסף, *ere the cord of silver* (the spinal cord) *be snapped* (for *n* = *r* cf. ZDMG 63, 517, l. 41).

Hos. 11 4 JHVH says that He watched Israel's first steps like a nurse supporting, with leading-strings, a child beginning to walk (*cf.* Deut. 32 11; JBL 33, 81). We use *leading-strings* now in the sense of *restraining guidance*; what was formerly known as *leading-string* is now called *safety-strap*. In French

[1] For the abbreviations see above, p. 41.

you say *mener un enfant à la lisière* or *laisse*, i. e. our *leash*. The term *leading-strings*[2] is used also for *yoke lines*, i. e. the ropes attached to the ends of the yoke, or bar, of the rudder-head. Dr. Ember informs me that the modern Heb. names for *leading-strings* are מושכות, or חבלי צעידה, or חגורות התְּרגול. The last term is, of course, based on the gloss in Hos. 11 3 where we must read:

ואנכי הרגלתי אפרים ולא־ידעו כי־אני רִבֵּאתים

I taught Ephraim to walk,
but they know not that I nursed them.

The verb ידע in the present passage does not mean *to acknowledge* (ZAT 28, 24). For לא ודעו, *they know not* (𝔗 ולא ידעין) see GK[28] § 106, g. The reputed Tiph'el תרגלתי in miswriting for the Hiph'il הרגלתי (so Marti) and the ל before אפרים belongs to the following tertiary gloss לקחם על זרועתיו, *He took them on His arms* (cf. WF 217, below). Duhm (ZAT 31, 35) reads לְקַחְתִּו לְזִרוֹעָיו, which is supposed to mean *ihn nehmend an* (!) *seinen Armen*. He thinks the meter is 3 + 2. The verb תרגל cannot be derived from Assyr. *tarkullu* (GB[16] 744[a]) since this word (*cf.* HW 303; SGl 140) means *mooring-post*; cf. ركن, *pillar*, from ركن, *to fasten*. Arab. ركل, on the other hand, is connected with רכל, lit. *footer* = *foot-hawker*, and רגל (for $g = k$ see ZDMG 65, 107, 14, and for $l = n$ ZA 34, 230; GB[16] xvii[b], l. 4). Instead of רָפָאתִים, *I healed them* we must read רִבֵּיתִים = רִבֵּאתִים, *I nursed them*. According to Geo A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets* (1896) 1, 294 this hemistich means *They knew not that I healed them*—presumably when they fell and hurt themselves. For the א instead of י in רפאתים see GK[28] § 75, rr. On the other hand, we find in Assyrian instead of רפה, *to sink, decline* (Jud. 19 9) from which רפאים (= רפיים; *cf.* ZAT 34, 143, below) is derived, רבי, e. g. *lâm Šamaš rabî*, before the sun sets (see my paper on Assyr. *rabû*, to sink =

[2] The modern use of *safety-strap*, or *security-strap*, instead of *leading-strings* is incorrect. A *security-strap* is a belt for a baby in a high-chair or baby-carriage. This belt is fastened around a baby's waist, and the ends are carried around the back of the chair.

Heb. *raphâh* in AJSL 32, part 3). We cannot read רַפְאֹתִים = רְפוֹתִים, from רפף = רפּ = רפשׁ, *to spread the wings, shield, protect*, since this root appears in Hebrew as רחף (*cf.* AJSL 23, 245; GB[16] 756[a]). For רְבָּה *cf.* Ezek. 19 2, Lam. 2 22. Just as we find in Lam. 2 23 רבה in connection with טפח, so *îrib* appears in Assyrian as a synonym of *uṭappî* = *uṭappiḫ* (ASKT 46, 44; *cf.* ZA 30, 98).

For *leading-strings* Hosea used the term חבלי אתם, lit. *fledgling-strings* or *youngster-strings*. 𝔐 אדם is a phonetic corruption of אתם (GB[16] xiv, *ad* 10[b]). We can hardly assume that אתם became אדם in Hebrew owing to the final *m*, although this partial assimilation is common in Assyrian (SFG 43, 2; AG[2] § 57, c; AJSL 26, 230, n.*). Similarly we say *rhythm* with דּ instead תּ. Delitzsch formerly read *admu* instead of *atmu*; but the byform *atamu* shows that the stem was אתם, not אדם (HW 721[a]; AL[5] 157[b]). The incorrect reading *admu* is still found in Dennefeld's *Geburts-Omina* (Leipzig, 1914) p. 84, l. 5; (*cf.* pp. 88. 220). Winckler (AoF 3, 231) thought that אדם in Hos. 11 4 meant *leather*; for אהדה he read אֶסְבֵּם, *ich will sie herumschleppen*. Grætz (*Psalmen*, p. 144) suggested חסד for אדם; this reading has been adopted by Cheyne and Nowack, but in his *Emendationes* Grætz proposed רחמים or נחומים.

I believe that *atmu*, fledgling, is connected with *ummu*, mother, just as we have in Assyrian *atxu* = *axu*, brother (AW 269; HW 39[a]; *atxû* is plural) and *atmû*, speech (HW 82[a]; AG[2] § 40, b) from *amû*, to speak = המה (not = חָוָה, GB[16] 217; *cf.* OLZ 17, 6). Also Assyr. *amûtu*, entrails (and extispicy, omen) is derived from this stem; *cf.* המו מעי (Jer. 31 20, Cant. 5 4) and המון מעיך (Is. 63 15) as well as Assyr. *iççarix kabittî* (HW 574[a]). An etymological connection between *amûtu* and מעים (HK 89. 176) is impossible. For the meanings of המה *cf.* my paper on the Trumpets of Jericho in WZKM 23, 361. Jensen (KB 6, 2, p. 92, l. 39; p. 94, l. 12) reads *a(t)ḫe* for *atxê*, but this parenthesizing is gratuitous; the character AT cannot be read *a* in Assyrian; nor can AT be ideogram for *brother*. Schrader made this mistake more than forty

years ago in his *Höllenfahrt der Istar* (1874) p. 106 (*cf.* RP 3, 137).

If *atmu*, fledgling, is derived from אם, the primary meaning of the word may be *mothered* (cf. Span. *madrero*). Since we have a number of stems with an initial י instead of an original א (ZA 2, 278) יתום, *orphan* might be regarded as a privative (NBSS 101) reflexive of אם, so that the original connotation would be *unmothered*, although יתום means *fatherless* rather than *motherless*. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Studien* (1874) p. 143 identified Assyr. *atamu* with Heb. יתום, but יתום = יֶתֶם would appear in Assyrian as *itâmu* or *itêmu*; cf. *išaru* = יָשָׁר. *Anâqâti*, milch-camels (Syr. נַמְלֵא מֵינָקָתָא; *cf.* Syr. מֵינַקְתָּא, *wet-nurse* = Assyr. *mušêniqtu*, ZDMG 34, 761, n. 1) is a loanword; see BA 1, 171, n.*; AkF 50; NBSS 205 (*cf.* 𝔗 אֲנָקְתָא = יְנָקְתָה).

Jhvh says of Israel in Hos. 11 4:

ואמשכהו בחבלי אתם וָאֶטֶה עָלָיו ואוכיל׃

I led it with fledgling-strings,
I bent over it, and fed it.

Cf. GB[16] xviii, *ad* 500[b]. Peiser, *Hosea* (Leipzig, 1914) p. 47 reads for the second hemistich: ואהיה להם מוכיל, which is supposed to mean *und bin ihnen Helfer*; he adds: *Der Sinn erinnert an* וְכִיל. Similarly Riessler (*cf.* JBL 32, 111, n. 13) renders: *Ich neigte mich ihnen zu, um ihnen Widerstandskraft zu verleihen*, deriving אוכיל from יכל, following 𝔊 *δυνήσομαι*. 𝔍 *declinavi ad eum ut vesceretur* is preferable. Nor must we read וָאַאֲכֵל instead of וָאוֹכִיל (*cf.* GK[28] § 68, g, n. 1; § 49, e). Rashi correctly explains our passage: חייתי מושכם תמיד בחבלים רכים אשר ימשוך בהם אדם את בנו, *I constantly led them with soft cords wherewith a man leads his child* (cf. Wünsche's *Hosea*, p. 486). An old glossator has added to חבלי אתם (which should not precede, but follow ואמשכהו) the explanation בעבתות אהבה, *with cords of love*. Nowack correctly marks this as a gloss. *Bonds of an enemy* would be עבתות שנאה, *cords of hatred*. Peiser cancels בחבלי אדם, and leaves בעבתות אהבה in the text.

After בעבתות אהבה we find a second explanatory addition, ואהיה להם כמרימי על על לחיהם, which is supposed to mean *And I was unto them as they that take off the yoke on their jaws.* A yoke, however, is not on the jaw, or on the cheek, but on the neck (*cf.* JBL 32, 113, n. 23 and p. 169 of the translation of *Ezekiel* in SBOT). 𝔖 therefore gives the unwarranted, but sensible, rendering דמרים נירא מן קדלהון. But we must evidently read: ואהיה להם כמרימי עללים בחבלים תחת שחיהם, *I was to them like those who hold up children with strings under their armpits* (cf. Jer. 38 12 and GB[16] xviii, *ad* 589a). There were male nurses for children: we read in Num. 11 12 כאשר ישא האמן את הינק, *as a* (male) *nurse carries the sucking child,* and in Is. 49 23 we find:

והיו מלכים אמניך ושרותיהם מיניקותיך

And kings will be thy nurses,
their princesses thy wet-nurses.

Cf. ZAT 34, 230, l. 8. The word עללים, *children* in our passages was corrupted to על, *yoke upon*, whereupon the following תחת, *under* was omitted as was also the preceding בחבלים owing to the בחבלי in the preceding verse (*vertical haplography*). Both עללים and חבלים were written עללי, חבלי (*cf.* AJSL 26, 205, ii). 𝔐 לחיהם is a corruption of שְׁחֵיהֶם or, rather, שְׁחָיֵהֶם. The noun שְׁחִי is the masculine to שְׁחִית, *pit.* In post-Biblical Hebrew we find both שחי and בית השחי for *armpit.* In Assyrian we have *šaxâtu* = Aram. שְׁחָאתָא (*cf.* GB[16] *s. v.* שחה).

In *Shabb.* 128b (BT 1, 633, below) we read: האשה מְדַדָּה את בנה אמר רבי יהודה אימתי בזמן שהוא נוטל אחת ומניח אחת אֲבָל אם היה גורר אסור, *A woman may lead her child on the sabbath. Rabbi Jehudah said, When? — She may do it in case the child lifts up and puts down one foot after the other; but when it drags, it is not permitted.* For אימתי, *i. e.* אֵמָתַי (not אֵמַתַּי or אֵימָתַי; cf. Dalman's *Wörterbuch* and Albrecht's *Neuhebr. Gr.* § 14) see AJSL 22, 251, and for מְדַדָּה *cf.* Is. 38 15, Ps. 42 5 (where 'A read אֲדַדֵּם, *I led them* instead of אֶתְדַּדֶּה for אֶדַדֶּה).

It is hardly necessary to add that Hos. 11 2 is a theological gloss; for קראו read כקראי and והם מפני for מפניהם following 𝔊 *καθὼς μετεκάλεσα* and *ἐκ προσώπου· αὐτοὶ κ. τ. ἑ.* 𝔖 מן קדמי ולבעלא דבחו.

The two genuine lines of Hosea's beautiful poem should be read as follows:

1 כי־נָעַר ישׂראל ואהבהו וממצרים קראתי לבני׃
4 ואמשכהו בחבלי אתם ואֶטה עליו ואוכיל׃

1 In Israel's youth I loved it,
from Egypt I called my child;

4 I led it with leading-strings,
I bent over it, and fed it.

Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew

HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL
TUFTS COLLEGE

Preface.—The construction without a connective.—The construction with וְ.—The construction with אוּלַי.—The construction with מִי יוֹדֵעַ.—The construction with אֲשֶׁר (שֶׁ-).—The construction with לְ.—The construction with לְבִלְתִּי.—The construction with לָמָּה.—The construction with מִן.—The construction with פֶּן.—The construction with לְמַעַן.—The construction with בַּעֲבוּר.

THE subject of this study was suggested by the distinguished scholar, Professor Franz Delitzsch. The result was a dissertation presented to the Philosophical Faculty at Leipzig, a part of which was printed privately under the title "Some Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew" in 1879. This brochure has been cited now and then, but no one, with the exception of Professor Eduard König[1], seems to have given it serious consideration.

It was due to König, in part, that a complete edition was undertaken; for it was he who, by calling attention to the incompleteness of the first, made the author feel that he owed it to himself to produce the chapters on constructions which he was apparently supposed to have overlooked or ignored. The impulse thus given, however, was strengthened by the advice of American friends who, after examining the original manuscript, advised the publication of it in its entirety.

The whole has been carefully rewritten, every statement tested, and all the notes verified. In some places the outline

[1] *Syntax*, § 396a, and elsewhere.

has been more fully developed, and new notes have been added to, or substituted for, the old ones.

The aim has always been, more clearly to define and more fully to illustrate the constructions discussed, and thus to prepare the way for a more satisfactory interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The construction without a connective

The simplest and easiest way to indicate a dependence of a word or clause on another is that in which the two are placed in immediate juxtaposition without a connective. It is therefore probably the most primitive, and it must have been a very frequent arrangement in the early history of the Hebrew language.[2] There are many instances of it in the Old Testament, especially in poetry. In such cases it would be too much to say that anything definite is *expressed*. At most there is suggested *a* relation the nature of which the reader is expected to be intelligent enough to be able to understand; but this challenge to the imagination is so effective that the very incompleteness of the expression sometimes produces greater vividness than would result from the use of the proper connective.

When two clauses are thus associated the verb of the second is oftenest in the imperfect, but the imperative also occurs. In both cases there is sometimes difficulty in determining just what is the relation that the writer intended to suggest, the imperfect as well as the imperative being capable of more than one interpretation. Thus, for example, there is room for doubt whether the imperfect in Isa. 41 7, or the imperative in Prov. 20 13, denotes purpose or result. Ordinarily, however, the context more or less clearly indicates which is intended. The following examples of the final construction without a connective are arranged with reference not only to the form of the verb in the clause denoting a purpose itself, but also to the character of the clause or sentence on which is depends. The succession may be:

[2] König, *Syn.*, § 59b.

1. Perfect . . . . . Imperfect.

In Isa. 41 2 one may translate, *that he may deliver nations*, &c. In Job 30 28 the imperfect takes the place of an infinitive after קום. See below. In Neh. 13 19 the purpose is negative, *that there might not enter*, &c.[3]; also in Exod. 39 23, where the verb היה is to be supplied. See 28 32.

2. Imperfect consecutive . . . . . Imperfect.

On Job 16 8 see 30 28. In 2 Chr. 4 6 the imperfect is in a parenthetical clause explanatory of one in which the purpose is denoted by an infinitive with ל. Add Isa. 41 7, rendered, *that it may not be moved.*

3. Imperfect . . . . . Imperfect.

Lev. 16 30, another explanatory clause after an infinitive with ל; Ps. 55 7 (6), where the second imperfect is a cohortative; 65 5 (4) 88 11 (10) 102 14. On the last two see above, Job 30 28. In Exod. 28 32 the purpose is negative. Comp. 39 23 above.

4. Imperfect . . . . . Imperative.

Ps. 110 2, rendered, *that thou mayst rule*, &c.[4]

5. Perfect consecutive . . . . . Imperfect.

Num. 35 11. See Eng. Vers., *to be cities of refuge.*

6. Imperative . . . . . Imperfect.

Exod. 18 19, rendered, *that I may advise thee*; Ps. 9 21 (20) 34 12 (11) 51 16 (14) 61 8 (7) 86 11, the parallel clause having the infinitive with ל[5], 118 19 (bis) 119 17, with which comp. v. 144; Lam. 3 30. In Exod. 7 9 the dependent verb has the jussive form,[6] in Ps. 39 5 (4)[7] and 119 145 the cohortative. In the following the purpose is negative, with אל instead of the more usual פן: Exod. 10 28 (juss.); Judg. 13 4a, in many MSS. and 𝔙; Ps. 19 14 (13); Job 36 21 (juss.).

7. Imperative . . . . . Imperative.

Deut. 1 21, where *go up*, *occupy* clearly means *go up to*

3 For לא 5 Heb. MSS. have ולא, and a few, both Heb. and Gr., have אשר לא or the equivalent.

4 𝔊𝔖 have the connective.

5 On the main verb see 𝔊𝔖.

6 Sam. has the connective.

7 Some MSS. have the connective.

occupy; 1 Sam. 20 36; Jer. 48 6; Hosea 10 12; Prov. 20 13.[8] Here, perhaps, belong also certain idiomatic expressions in which the leading verb is הלך, קום, or a similar one. See Gen. 37 14 44 4 &c.

8. Participle . . . . . Imperfect.

Isa. 5 11 (bis). Comp. 1 Sam. 29 11, where the infinitive with ל is used of a single act.

In the passages cited, when there is a second purpose, it is regularly connected with the first by ו conjunctive, but in Ps. 118 19 the connective is omitted. In Num. 35 11 the second final clause has a perfect consecutive, in Exod. 18 19 a jussive, in Ps. 55 7 (6) and 119 17 a cohortative, and in Isa. 41 2 and Jer. 48 6 a simple imperfect.

A simple imperfect is sometimes used in the second of two final clauses, the first of wich has an infinitive with ל. In such cases the second may be:

1. Substantially a repetition of the first, as in Lev. 16 30 and 2 Chr. 4 6; or

2. Simply coördinate with it, as in Jer. 4 17.

Note. In Syriac the omission of the connective before a final clause is comparatively frequent, and the perfect as well as the imperfect and the imperative is used in this construction. See Uhlemann, §§ 60, 5, b; 62, 2; 85, 4, d, *β*.

The construction with ו

The conjunction ו is not a mere copulative. It was originally a demonstrative, and always retained more or less distinct traces of this signification.[9] There is a construction implying purpose in which it is employed. Ewald is disposed to allow a very frequent occurrence in this sense. He makes the assertion that, "since the particle retains its successive force, ולא before the imperfect may mean *daß nicht = damit nicht*, whether reference be had to the present or the future", and that

[8] The verss. have a connective.

[9] Driver, § 122; *BDB.*, p. 251.

"ו alone may mean *daß* = *damit* with the perfect consecutive".[10] These assertions are expressly denied by Böttcher, who insists that ו can properly be said to become equal to *damit* "only before a jussive or an intentional (cohortative) the very nature of which it is to denote volition or purpose".[11] Driver's statement is, "that the weak ו is used with the imperfect — as a jussive or cohortative, if these exist in distinct forms, though not exclusively even then — in order to express the design or purpose of a preceding act".[12]

The truth seems to be that ו, by virtue of its demonstrative force, calls attention to an intimate relation between the clauses connected, but that the nature of the relation must be determined by a consideration of the clauses themselves, and especially of the modes by which the states or acts involved are presented. When the verb of the dependent clause is a voluntative, that is, either a jussive, or a cohortative, or an imperative, the form, in itself, suggests purpose, especially if the verb of the main clause, also, is a voluntative. When the dependent verb has the form of a simple imperfect, as in the case of the construction without the connective, there is sometimes difficulty in deciding on the precise relation of the clauses. If the leading verb is a voluntative, this other is usually influenced by it, so that it denotes, if not a pure purpose, an intentional result. In the Pentateuch the simple imperfect, in form, is often employed in a virtual command and followed by another imperfect, or its equivalent, denoting the end that the act or attitude commanded will serve. This is the construction to which Ewald refers in the passage quoted, and he seems to be perfectly correct in his interpretation of it. Indeed, the imperfect, in and of itself, without the influence of a preceding voluntative, may, as has been shown, denote a purpose. It is required only that the verb be essentially subordinate to that of the main clause, and that the agent presumably perceive this relation.

The final constructions in Hebrew differ in the degree of

[10] § 345*a*.
[11] § 979, 3. See also König, *Syn.*, § 364 o, p.
[12] § 60; comp. § 111.

confidence they permit concerning the fulfilment of a given purpose. The one with ו, as has been suggested, strictly speaking, denotes an intended result; that is, it presents the end of the act or attitude described or recommended as something whose attainment is not merely desired but more or less confidently expected.

In translating this construction it is usually best to use the English conjunction *that* between the clauses. In so doing, however, one must remember that the Hebrew did not so clearly define the thought to be conveyed, but said, and intended to say, for example, in Gen. 24 56, *Dismiss me, and I will go to my master.* See König, *Syn.*, § 364 p.

The construction with ו is frequent in the Old Testament. The examples that have been noted follow, arranged, like those without a connective, according to the forms of the verbs in the connected clauses:

1. Perfect . . . . . Imperfect.

The number of examples under this and the next two heads is naturally small, but there are enough to illustrate some of the possibilities in these combinations.

In Dan. 8 12, rendered, *that it may cast truth to the earth*, the dependent verb is a jussive.[13] In Is. 41 26, where there are two final clauses, the first has a cohortative, in form, but the second omits the ending. In Jer. 5 28, where the verb, omitted in the Greek, is perhaps a gloss, and Lam. 1 19, the form does not admit of modification.

2. Perfect . . . . . Perfect consecutive.

In Exod. 31 6 the perfect of the main clause, since it conveys a promise or assurance, is followed by the same construction as an imperfect. See GK, § 106, 3 (*a*).

3. Imperfect consecutive . . . . . Imperfect.

Isa. 41 7; 2 Chr. 23 19; in both of which the purpose is negative.[14]

[13] By a slight change in the text, following 𝔙, one might read *that truth might be cast to the earth, but* (finally), &c. Comp. Kittel.

[14] There are cases in which an imperfect seems to have the same force with ו consecutive as with ו conjunctive. Thus, 2 Sam. 11 1 is best

4. Imperfect . . . . . Imperfect.

The use of the imperfect in final clauses after an imperfect is sometimes due to the operation of the law for the succession of the tenses, which requires that, when the perfect with ו consecutive would be in order, if the verb is separated from the connective by the negative or any emphatic word or words, is must become an imperfect. In such cases its final force is largely dependent on the connection. The imperfect, however, may, and often does, itself denote purpose, especially in the voluntative forms, when it usually attaches itself immediately to the connective, thus making more evident the writer's meaning. The analysis that follows will indicate how frequently the imperfect is used after the imperfect to denote purpose, and how varied is the usage with reference to the two in the Old Testament.

a. When the purpose is affirmative;

(1) After a command or a request, the dependent verb has:

(a) The jussive form: Gen. 19 30, *that my soul may live.*

(b) The cohortative form, of which there are several examples: Gen. 50 5; Exod. 3 18 4 18 5 3; 1 Sam. 27 5; 2 Sam. 18 19; 2 Kings 7 13; Isa. 5 19, where ו is used in parallelism with למען; 41 23; Jonah 1 7; Dan. 1 12; Neh. 5 2; 1 Chr. 13 2f.

(c) A form unmodified, though capable of modification: 2 Sam. 19 38; Isa. 66 5; Ps. 51 9 (7) (bis).

(d) An ambiguous form: Gen. 1 9 26 19 32 41 34[15]; Exod. 5 9; Deut. 1 22 3 25; Josh. 7 3; Judg. 13 8; Isa. 2 3 55 7; Jer. 40 15; Prov. 31 7; Job 21 19; Dan. 1 12.

(2) After a question implying desire the dependent verb has:

(a) The jussive form: 1 Kings 22 20 = 2 Chr. 18 19.

(b) The cohortative form: Judg. 9 29; Amos 8 5 (bis).

translated, *to destroy the children of Ammon*, and 1 Kings 15 17, *to build Ramah*, because, if strictly rendered, the former anticipates a result the attainment of which is yet to be described and the latter one that is not to be attained. See 2 Sam. 12 26 31; 1 Kings 15 22. In both cases the infinitive with ל would be more correct and intelligible.

[15] For ותמש r., with 𝔊, ויחמשו.

(c) An unmodified form: Exod. 2 7, if the punctuation is correct.

(d) An ambiguous form: Deut. 30 12 13; 2 Sam. 15 4; Isa. 19 12; Jonah 1 11; Job 11 6[16]; Lam. 2 13.

(3) After an expression of deprecation the dependent verb has the cohortative form: Gen. 18 30 32; Judg. 6 39.

(4) After an expression of intention the dependent verb has:

(a) The jussive form: 1 Sam. 18 21.

(b) An ambiguous form: Exod. 3 3 8 4 (8); 2 Chr. 28 23.

(5) After a simple declaration the dependent verb is a jussive: Lev. 26 43[17]; 1 Kings 13 33[18]; Ezek. 14 7; Ps. 9 10 (9).

b. When the purpose is negative:

(1) After a command or a request the dependent verb is a simple imperfect with לא: Exod. 30 20; Lev. 19 17[19] 20 14; Deut. 20 8 (comp. vs. 5-7) 25 6; 2 Sam. 14 11; Jer. 11 19; Ps. 83 5 (4); Est. 1 19; Neh. 2 17.

(2) After a question implying desire the same construction is found: Judg. 21 17 (𝔊). See Moore.

(3) After a prohibition or a refusal, with לא or its equivalent, the dependent verb is a simple imperfect, with the same negative particle: Gen. 14 23 (with אם); Num. 18 3 32; Deut. 1 42 17 17 18 16 24 15; 2 Sam. 21 17; Isa. 7 12; Jer. 11 21.

(4) After a refusal or an excuse, with אל, also, the dependent verb is a simple imperfect and the negative לא: Lev. 10 9 16 2; 2 Sam. 13 25; Jer. 25 6 37 20 38 24.

(5) After a simple declaration the usage is still the same: Jer. 10 4.

5. Imperfect . . . . . Perfect consecutive.

a. When the purpose is affirmative:

(1) After a command or a request: Gen. 43 14; Exod. 8 23 (27)

[16] For ורע r., with the verss., ותרע.

[17] Sam. has a perfect consecutive.

[18] The verss. have the equivalent of the plural with ו consecutive.

[19] For לא Sam. has אל.

24 (28) (comp. v. 25 [29], with the infinitive) 10 25; Deut. 2 28 (bis) 16 18 19 4 5 24 5 13; 2 Sam. 21 6; 1 Kings 1 2; 1 Chr. 22 11.

(2) After a simple declaration: Gen. 24 7; Exod. 7 3; 1 Sam. 8 11 (bis); Isa. 60 16; 2 Chr. 12 8.

b. When the purpose is negative, after a prohibition or a deprecation, the dependent verb is a perfect consecutive, without a negative: Num. 4 15 20; Ps. 143 7.

Many other passages, especially with היה in the final clause, might have been cited under this (fifth) head.

6. Imperfect . . . . . Imperative.

The voluntative, in two of its forms, in dependent clauses denoting purpose, or, more exactly, intended result, is so familiar a usage, that it ought not to surprise any one to find the imperative sometimes taking the place of the jussive in such a construction. It should, however, be noted, that, in these cases, the imperfect of the main clause is as frequently as not connected with a preceding imperative, so that the combination is virtually that of the double imperative. See below. The imperative is used in the dependent clause:

a. After an independent imperfect: Gen. 19 8; Exod. 18 22; 1 Sam. 12 17; 2 Sam. 21 3; Jer. 2 19; Ps. 110 2[20] 128 5; Ruth 4 11.

b. After an imperfect introduced by an imperative: Gen. 12 2 20 7 45 18; Exod. 3 10; 1 Sam. 28 22; 1 Kings 1 12.

7. Perfect consecutive . . . . . Perfect consecutive.

Examples of this combination occur when, in a series of perfects following an imperfect or an imperative, any two are so related in thought that the connective may be rendered in English by a final conjunction. The series is introduced:

a. By an imperfect: Gen. 41 35f.; Exod. 18 21f. 23 11 25 28 (comp. v. 27) 28 35 41 (comp. 30 30) 30 16 40 9 10 15; Lev. 16 13 25 18 27; Num. 8 14; Deut. 19 12 13 19; 1 Kings 1 2 8 50; Ezek. 24 27; Ruth 2 16.

[20] For רוה r., with 𝔊𝔖, ורוה.

b. By an imperative: Gen. 6 21 45 10; Exod. 25 8; Num. 3 6.

Many other examples might have been cited, some of which have, in the dependent clause, היה followed by the infinitive with ל.

8. Perfect consecutive . . . . . Imperfect.

The examples under this head are variations from the rule illustrated in the preceding section. Those in which the series is introduced:

a. By the imperfect, so far as noted, have an imperfect in the final clause through the intervention of a negative. Thus, Exod. 30 12; Lev. 8 25 14 36 18 28 20 22; Num. 18 5 35 12; Deut. 22 8; Ezek. 34 22 44 19. Of two cases in which the series is introduced

b. By an imperative, one presents

(1) An affirmative purpose, Judg. 11 6; the other

(2) A negative purpose, namely, Exod. 28 43. In one other the series is introduced

c. By an infinitive absolute, the verb of the dependent clause being a jussive. So 2 Kings 5 10.

9. Perfect consecutive . . . . . Imperative.

This combination is found 2 Kings 18 32, where the perfect consecutive follows an infinitive construct.

10. Imperative . . . . . Perfect consecutive.

The perfect consecutive, as has been shown, may denote a purpose or an intended result after an imperfect, especially an imperfect that conveys a command or a request. There are instances, also, in which it is used after an imperative with a similar force. Among them are Gen. 8 17, *that they may be fruitful*[21]; Exod. 8 12 (16) 34 1 2; Num. 4 19 10 2; 2 Sam. 24 2; Jer. 48 26; Ezek. 20 20; 1 Chr. 15 12.

Other examples might have been cited, especially such as have היה in the final clause. In Gen. 47 23 the interjection הא takes the place of the imperative.

[21] 𝔊 om. *that they may swarm in the earth.*

11. Imperative . . . . . Imperfect.

The imperative does not often permit the use of the perfect consecutive in a final clause dependent on it. It usually requires after it a construction indicating a livelier interest on the part of the speaker in the result of the fulfilment of his command or request. A voluntative form, if available, is the natural expression for such an interest. Which of these forms shall be employed, depends, in many cases, on the person in which the verb must appear. If it is the first, and there is nothing to prevent, the verb will naturally take the cohortative ending; if the third, it will just as naturally be contracted to a jussive. When this verb is in the second person it regularly appears as an imperative, unless the purpose expressed is negative, when the imperfect is employed.

a. When the verb of the dependent clause is in the first person:

(1) The cohortative ending is added:

In the singular: Gen. 23 4 13 24 56 27 4 7 25 29 21 (after ℵ) 30 25 26 42 34 44 21 49 1; Exod. 24 12 33 5; Num. 9 8 22 19; Deut. 31 28 32 1; Judg. 11 37 16 28; 1 Sam. 12 7 11 16 28 7; 2 Sam. 14 32 20 16; 2 Kings 4 22 6 19; Isa. 49 20; Jer. 17 14 31 18; Ps. 39 14 41 11 119 34 73 115 117 125 146; Job 10 20 (Ḳre) 13 13; Ruth 4 4; 1 Chr. 21 2 (comp. 2 Sam 24 2); 2 Chr. 1 10 (after ℵ). Add Ps. 69 15 (14), where the purpose is negative, with אל.

In the plural: Gen. 19 5; Num. 11 13; Judg. 11 39 18 5; 1 Sam. 11 3 14 12 17 10; 2 Sam. 17 5; Isa. 1 18 41 22 [22] 23 51 23; Hosea 6 1; Ps. 80 4 (3) 8 (7) 20 (19) 90 14; Lam. 5 21 (Ḳre).

(2) The cohortative ending is wanting:

(a) On a final ℵ verb:

In the singular: Jer. 17 14.

In the plural: Ps. 90 12.

[22] In this verse there are two examples, but the second has been transposed. Read, *or show us things to come, that we may know their issue.*

(b) On a final ה verb:

In the singular: Gen. 24 14 49; 1 Kings 17 10; Hag. 1 8; 1 Chr. 21 22. Add Num. 11 15, where the purpose is negative, with אל.

In the plural: Gen. 42 2 43 8 47 19; Exod. 17 2; Amos 4 1; Cant. 7 1.

(c) On a verb with a suffix:

In the singular: Gen. 24 2f. 48 9; Exod. 33 13; Deut. 1 13 4 10 9 14; Judg. 7 4; 1 Sam. 9 26.

In the plural: Judg. 20 13; 1 Sam. 11 12; 2 Sam. 14 7.

(d) For no apparent reason:

In the singular: Judg. 16 26; 1 Kings 11 21; Ruth 4 4 (Kt.).

In the plural: Lam. 5 21 (Kt.). Add 1 Sam. 12 19, with אל.

The fact that, in three of the above examples, the verb is followed by a word beginning with a guttural does not explain the omission of the ending, there being numerous instances in which it occurs in such a situation. See Gen. 23 13 44 21, &c.

b. When the verb of the dependent clause is in the second person:

(1) An affirmative purpose is expressed by the jussive in Num. 17 25 (10), but in 2 Chr. 20 20 such contraction is impossible.

(2) A negative purpose might have been expressed by the jussive with אל, but in the cases noted the verb does not admit of contraction. They are Judg. 13 4 (bis)[23] and Jer. 17 21.

c. When the verb of the dependent clause is in the third person:

(1) The purpose being affirmative:

(a) It has the jussive form: Gen. 24 51; Exod. 7 9 (Sam.) 8 4 (8) 9 22 10 12 17 21 32 10; Num. 21 7 25 4; Judg. 6 30 14 15; 1 Sam. 5 11 7 3 28 22 29 4; 1 Kings 13 6 21 2 10 (bis); Isa. 30 8 55 3; Hosea 2 4; Mal. 3 10; Job 12 7b; 2 Chr. 30 6 8.

(b) It has an ambiguous form: Gen. 23 3f. 30 3 31 37 38 24 42 16 (bis); Exod. 2 20 4 23 5 1 9 1 13; Num. 18 2; Judg. 16 25;

[23] Many MSS. and ℵ omit ו in 4a.

2 Sam. 16 11; 1 Kings 18 37 21 10; Isa. 8 10a 26 2; Jer. 38 20; Ezek. 37 9[24]; Ps. 24 7 9 86 17 109 26f. 144 5; Prov. 16 3; Job 12 7a 14 6.

(2) The purpose being negative:

(a) It has an ambiguous form: 1 Kings 18 44, with לא; 2 Chr. 35 21, with אל.

(b) It has an unmodified form: Isa. 8 10; Ezek. 18 30.

12. Imperative . . . . . Imperative.

Gen. 38 8 42 18; Deut. 5 27 27 9 32 49; Judg. 16 5; 1 Sam. 20 31; 1 Kings 32 12; 2 Kings 18 31 = Isa. 36 16; Isa. 8 9b (bis) 29 9 (bis) 45 22 55 2; Jer. 5 1 6 16 25 5 27 12 17 35 15 51 45; Amos 5 4 6 (comp. v. 14); Ps. 37 27; Prov. 3 3f. 4 4 7 2 9 6 23 19 27 11; 2 Chr. 20 20.

13. Infinitive absolute . . . . . Perfect consecutive.

In Isa. 5 5 the infinitive absolute is twice used as a brief and abrupt substitute for the cohortative expressing a determination.

14. Infinitive construct . . . . . Imperfect.

a. A positive purpose takes the jussive form: 2 Chr. 29 10.

b. A negative purpose has an ambiguous form, with לא; Lev. 18 30.

15. Verbal particle . . . . . Imperfect.

The dependent imperfect has:

a. A cohortative form, after אין: 1 Kings 22 7 = 2 Chr. 18 6; 2 Kings 3 11.

b. An ambiguous form: 2 Sam. 9 1 after יש; 2 Sam. 9 3 after עוד; Isa. 19 12 after איה; Ps. 59 14 (13) after אין.

16. Nominal sentence . . . . . Imperfect.

The dependent imperfect has:

a. The jussive form: Jer. 9 11 a *a*; Hosea 14 10 a *a*.

[24] Some MSS. have the perfect consecutive.

b. An ambiguous form: Jer. 9 11 a *b*[25]; Hosea 14 10 a *b*; Mal. 1 10; Ps. 107 43.

Thus far the analysis has taken account of the construction only in the first or single final clause dependent on a given statement, command, &c. There are numerous cases in which there are two or three such clauses, each of them introduced by ל. The additional clause, or clauses, may be related in various ways to the first and take various forms of the verb to denote a purpose.

1. A second or third clause may be virtually a repetition of the preceding.

a. A cohortative in the one is then followed by:

(1) A cohortative in the other: Ps. 90 14.

(2) An ambiguous imperfect: Ps. 119 34.

b. An imperative in the one is followed by an ambiguous imperfect in the other: Isa. 55 2.

2. A second or third clause may be in antithesis with the preceding. In all the examples noted the second clause is negative and its verb a simple imperfect; and in all but one the negative particle is לא.

a. The imperfect with לא is found after:

(1) A perfect consecutive: Gen. 41 36; Num. 4 19.

(2) A jussive: 1 Sam. 29 4.

(3) An ambiguous imperfect: Gen. 42 2 43 8 47 19; Prov. 31 7.

(4) An imperative: 2 Kings 18 32.

b. An imperfect with אל is found: Exod. 5 9.

3. A second or third clause may be simply coördinate with the preceding.

a. A perfect consecutive is then followed by:

(1) An unmodified imperfect: Deut. 24 13.

(2) An ambiguous imperfect: Exod. 23 11.

[25] 𝔊 om. the connective.

b. A cohortative is followed by:

(1) A jussive: Isa. 41 23 (Kt.).

(2) A cohortative: 2 Kings 4 22; 2 Chr. 1 10.

(3) An unmodified imperfect, Isa. 41 23 (Ḳre).

c. An ambiguous imperfect is followed by:

(1) A cohortative: Hag. 1 8 (Ḳre).

(2) An ambiguous imperfect: Judg. 13 4, with אל after אל; Hag. 1 8 (Kt.).

d. An imperative is followed by an imperative: 1 Sam. 12 17; 2 Kings 18 31; Jer. 2 19.

4. A second or third clause may be subordinate to the preceding. The examples under this head are more numerous than under either of the others. The following varieties of construction have been noted:

a. A perfect consecutive followed by:

(1) An unmodified imperfect, with לא: Exod. 28 35; Lev. 16 13.

(2) An ambiguous imperfect, with לא: Gen. 41 36.

(3) A perfect consecutive: Gen. 8 17, *and multiply*, 45 11; Exod. 18 20; Deut. 24 13; 1 Kings 1 2b; Jer. 48 26; 1 Chr. 22 11.

b. A jussive followed by:

(1) An unmodified imperfect, with לא: 1 Sam. 5 11.

(2) An ambiguous imperfect: Exod. 10 12 32 10; Num. 17 25 (10); 1 Kings 22 20.

(3) A perfect consecutive: Dan. 8 12.

c. A cohortative followed by:

(1) A cohortative: Gen. 27 7 (comp. v. 25); Deut. 31 28; 1 Sam. 28 7; Ps. 55 7 (6).

(2) An unmodified imperfect: 2 Kings 7 13.

(3) An ambiguous imperfect: Exod. 4 18; Judg. 11 37[26]; Neh. 5 2.

d. An unmodified imperfect followed by the same: 2 Sam. 29 4.

e. An ambiguous imperfect followed by:

(1) A jussive: Jer. 38 20.

[26] Om וירדתי.

(2) A cohortative: Judg. 20 13; 2 Sam. 14 7[27]; Isa. 2 3.

(3) An ambiguous imperfect: Gen. 30 3; Deut. 1 22 9 14; 1 Sam. 29 4; Isa. 19 12; Jer. 25 6, with לא after לא, perhaps for אל, as in the preceding parallel clause; Ps. 86 17 107 43.

(4) A perfect consecutive, after לא: Exod. 28 43; Deut. 24 15; after אל, Jer. 17 21[28].

5. One of a series of two or three final clauses may be merely the complement of another. The following examples have been noted:

a. A perfect consecutive followed by a perfect consecutive: Dan. 8 12, literally, *and act and prosper* that is *and act prosperously.*

b. A cohortative followed by a jussive[29], Isa. 41 23 (Kt.), *that we may gaze at one another and see*, that is, *that we be amazed at the sight.*

The construction with אוּלַי

This construction should next receive attention, because it is similar in form to the foregoing, although in significance it presents a notable contrast to the assurance suggested by the simple connective.

The word אולי has received various explanations. The most plausible is that it is a compound of אוֹ, *or*, and לַי, *not*, another form of לֹא and the לֵא of לוּלֵא. So BDB.; comp. König, *LG.*, p. 111. In any case, like the Ass. *ūlā* it clearly has a meaning that harmonizes with such a derivation. It is sometimes employed after a voluntative. When so used it imparts to the clause to which it belongs an uncertainty that barely leaves room for hope. When the final form is given to the construction the fulfilment of the purpose expressed is represented as merely possible. In such cases the conjunction *that* may be supplied and אולי rendered by the English adverb *perchance.*

[27] 𝔖 has a perfect with ו.

[28] 𝔊 repeats the negative.

[29] נרא; Kre נראה.

Thus, while Gen. 16 2, the first example, literally rendered, would read, *Go in unto my handmaid; perchance I shall be built up from her,* since the act suggested has in view a desired result, the meaning is more fully and clearly expressed by the translation, *Go in unto my handmaid, that perchance I may have children from her.*

In this instance the verb of the protasis is an imperative. There are others of the same kind; also examples in which it is an imperfect, of one or another form, or even a perfect, with ו consecutive. The verb of the apodosis is, or should be, a simple imperfect, or its equivalent; for in Josh. 14 12 יהיה should be supplied and in Exod. 32 30, as appears from the Samaritan reading, the cohortative ending should be omitted. In Lam. 3 29 the place of the verb is taken by the particle יש.

The construction with אולי is used:

1. After a command or a request, the verb conveying the will of the speaker being:

a. An imperative: Num. 22 6 11; Josh. 14 12; 1 Kings 18 5; Isa. 47 12 (bis); Jer. 21 2 51 8; Amos 5 15; Jonah 1 6; Zeph. 2 3.

b. A cohortative: 1 Sam. 9 6 14 6.

c. An ambiguous imperfect: 1 Kings 20 31; Jer. 36 6f.; Lam. 3 29.

d. A perfect consecutive: 1 Sam. 6 5; Ezek. 12 3.

2. After a prohibition, with אל: Jer. 26 2f.

3. After a resolution conveyed by:

a. A cohortative: Num. 23 3; 2 Sam. 14 15.

b. An ambiguous imperfect: Gen. 32 21; Exod. 32 30; Num. 23 27.

There are several passages in which the construction with אולי affects two or three clauses. In one of them, Isa. 47 12, the particle is repeated. In all the others the clauses are connected by ו. The relation between these clauses is naturally varied, just as it is when the first is introduced by the simple connective.

1. The second clause is virtually a repetition of the first in Isa. 47 12, where, as above stated, אולי is repeated, the verb being a second imperfect.

2. The second is in antithesis with the first in Jonah 1 6, and the third with the second in 1 Kings 18 5. In both cases the verb in the latter of the antithetical pair, being preceded by אל, is an imperfect.

3. A second clause is coordinate with the preceding, and has an imperfect: Jer. 36 6f.

4. A second or third clause is oftenest subordinate to the preceding. The verb is then:

a. A perfect consecutive: Num. 22 11 23 27; Josh. 14 12; Jer. 26 2f.

b. A simple imperfect: 1 Kings 18 5; Jer. 21 2 26 2f. Here belongs, also, Num. 22 6, if the text is correct; but see v. 11.

It should be noted, as a point that indicates purpose, that, among these passages, the law concerning the succession of the tenses is followed only in Num. 22 11 23 27; Josh. 14 12; 1 Kings 18 5 (2 and 3); Jonah 1 6; Jer. 26 2f. (2 and 3). In all the rest the imperfect is employed in a second or third clause, after ו, without reference to the form of the preceding verb.

The construction with מִי יוֹדֵעַ

The question מי יודע, *Who knoweth*, &c., is found in three passages that are perfectly intelligible when translated literally, but acquire a clearer meaning when thrown into the form of a final clause after the pattern of that introduced by אולי. The best example of this construction is found in Joel 2 13f., which reads, *Return to Yahweh, your God; . . . . .; who knoweth but that,* that is, *that perchance, he may change*, &c. Here a series of imperatives is followed by an imperfect, and, in accordance with the law for the succession of the tenses, two perfects consecutive.

In Jonah 3 7-9 the king of Nineveh uses imperfects, with and without אל, in his proclamation, and they are followed by an imperfect, two perfects consecutive, and an imperfect with לא, making another regular series.

In 2 Sam. 12 22 the leading clause must be supplied in some such form as *I will fast* (coh.) *and weep*, to which *who knoweth*, &c., followed by an imperfect and a perfect consecutive, would be a natural pendant.

It is difficult to see any difference in effect between אולי and מי יודע. If there is any, it is, that, while the former represents the result desired as barely possible, the latter suggests that it is not absolutely impossible.

The construction with אֲשֶׁר (שׁ)

The conjunction ו, while it denotes a species of succession, does not deprive the clause following of a certain independence. However it may be reproduced in English, one must not lose sight of the fact that, to the Hebrew mind, it connected syntactically equal constructions, such constructions as may, and sometimes do, occur side by side without a connective. The second of these constructions may be, and, if a purpose is implied, is essentially subordinate to the first, and therefore may properly be interpreted as dependent; but there is no formal recognition of subordination. To *express* such a relation, other particles must be employed.

One of these is the relative אֲשֶׁר. The derivation of this word is a subject on which philologists disagree. The most plausible opinion is, that it was originally a noun, the Assyrian *'ašru*, "place", found in modified forms and meanings in the other Semitic languages.[30]

The peculiar color given to a final clause by this word has not been clearly defined.[31] To obtain a correct idea of its use

30 For a discussion of various views on this subject, see Böttcher, *LG.*, § 897, 8; König, *LG.*, pp. 323 ff.

31 König, who takes pains to note that this word is not discussed in the part of this study published in 1879, says only, that it "points to the aim of an event". *Syn.*, § 396 a.

and signification, one must first consider it as a proper relative, for, even as a relative, it introduces virtually intentional clauses. Compare the following passages: Exod. 21 13, *I will appoint thee a place whither* (*which . . . . . thither*) *he may flee;* Num. 23 13, *Go with me to another place whence* (*which . . . . . thence*) *thou mayst see them;* Deut. 1 33, *to show the way wherein* (*which . . . . . therein*) *we may go.*

These passages have a common stamp. The similarity of the construction to that in Latin in which the relative takes the subjunctive after it is apparent. The first quoted is particularly interesting, as affording an opportunity for comparing the word in question with others used to denote purpose. In Num. 35 6 the construction is the usual one when the object of the appointment of the cities of refuge is stated, namely, that with ל and the infinitive, in which the attainment of the given object is implied. In v. 11 there is a perfect consecutive, in the use of which, as has been shown, the accomplishment of the end in view is taken for granted. The relative gives the common idea a third nuance. The dependent sentence which it introduces has an attributive value nearly equivalent to that of the genitive מקלט, *refuge.* It therefore denotes a fitness or an adaptation which, in the other constructions, is less clearly indicated; but, for example in Exod. 21 13, it presents only the possibility of the act involved.

In the passages thus far cited the verb of the given clause is followed by a demonstrative by which doubt with reference to the antecedent of אשר is prevented. There is one in which this is not the case, namely, 2 Chr. 2 11 (12), which, in the Authorized Version, reads, *Blessed be the* Lord *God of Israel, ... who hath given to David the king a wise son, ... that might build an house for the* Lord. For *might* the revised versions have *should*, but the revisers evidently agreed with the original translators that אשר was a relative pronoun and, from the English point of view, the subject of the verb following. This is the natural rendering, but it is not incontestable; for the fact that, in the preceding chapter, v. 11, the same author clearly uses אשר as a final particle makes it possible

to doubt whether he may not have done so in this case, and impossible to prove the contrary.

There is room for a similar difference of opinion concerning Jer. 42 14 and Ruth 2 1; the question being, whether אשר in these instances is a final conjunction or a relative adverb equivalent to the *wherein*, lit. *which . . . . . in it*, of Jer. 42 3. That the word may be so used is clear from Gen. 35 13f.[32] If, however, in this passage one must render it *where* why may one not translate Naomi's question, *Shall I not seek thee a resting-place where it will*, or, in view of her evident desire to help her daughter-in-law, *where it may, be well with thee?* The English translators took this view of Jer. 42 14. Hence we read, *We will go into the land of Egypt, where we shall see no war;* of course with that result in view. Still, in both cases, as in 2 Chr. 1 11, the author may have had the strictly final idea.

There remain to be examined the passages in which אשר must be treated as a final conjunction. As such it seems not to have any peculiar significance, but to have been used in place of other particles. Thus, in Josh. 3 7 ו might have been employed. In Gen. 11 7, Exod. 20 26, and Eccl. 7 21, where the purpose is negative, ולא would have been equally correct.

The most interesting of all the examples of the construction under consideration are those in which אשר or שׁ takes the place of למען, which, as will be shown in another connection, almost always introduces clauses denoting a constant purpose. The latter would have been in place in the expression, *that* (שׁ) *they may fear*, Eccl. 3 14, or *learn to fear*, Deut. 4 10; also in Deut. 4 40 and 6 3 and Ruth 3 1, where an appeal is made to the universal desire for well-being. Comp. Deut. 12 25. Why it was not used is uncertain. Deut. 4 40 is especially puzzling, since it has both constructions. It has been suggested that here and elsewhere אשר is an abbreviation for למען אשר[33], but this explanation is unsatisfactory, since, if a writer were

[32] See, also, 1 Sam. 28 9 (*why*); Gen. 6 4 (*when*); Josh. 5 4 (*why*).

[33] Gesenius, *HW.*, art. אשר, B, 2.

inclined to use an abbreviation, he would naturally use it after, and not, as in this instance, before, the fuller form of expression. On the whole, it seems safest to regard the use of אשר in a final sense as a trace of the influence on the Hebrew of the Aramaic language, in which the relative is regularly employed at the same time to denote a purpose.[34] This explanation is favored by the fact that several of the passages cited as containing evident or probable examples of such usage are from books (Jer., Ruth, Eccl., Chr.) in which an Aramaic element has long been recognized, and as many more (Deut. 4 10 40 6 3; Josh. 3 7) show traces of having suffered from redaction.[35] Thus, there remain but two passages that date from the best period of Hebrew literature.

When a clause with אשר is followed by another also denoting a purpose, in one case (Deut. 6 3) this word is repeated, with ו; in one (Deut. 4 40) ולמען takes its place; and in two (Deut. 4 10; Jer. 42 14) ו alone suffices, the verb, which is separated from the connective, having the form of a simple imperfect.

The construction with ל

The origin of the preposition ל is in dispute, but, whether it is a relic of a primitive noun[36] or "a radically independent linguistic product"[37], there can be no doubt of its demonstrative character. It differs, however, as a demonstrative, from ו in at least one particular. The conjunction always indicates a sort of succession. In using it one naturally *passes* from one to another of the connected ideas. When, therefore, a verb logically dependent on a preceding is introduced by it, the only question is that of the distinction between result and purpose, or, rather, between simple and intended result.

[34] On biblical Aramaic see Kautzsch, *Gram.*, § 73, 3, b; also Dan. 6 9 (8) 18 (17). On Syriac, see Uhlemann, § 85, 3; also Deut. 12 25 28, as well as 4 40.

[35] See *JBL.*, 1899, p. 87.

[36] Giesebrecht, *Die hebräische Präposition Lamed*, § 1.

[37] König, *LG.*, i, p. 275.

The case with ל is different. Its primal meaning is *toward*, and, in this sense, it is like a weathercock, being capable, under favoring circumstances, of indicating various directions from an unchanged standpoint. Hence, if it may be used to point out that in *prospect* of which, it may also be employed to call attention to that in *retrospect* of which, a given act is performed.[38] Thus it has the force of *in view of* as well as of *with a view to*, in other words, it denotes cause as well as purpose, and one of these uses may be mistaken for the other.

The difficulty in distinguishing cases of purpose is increased by the fact that ל, as a demonstrative, may point, not only forward and backward, but sideward, that is, introduce a concomitant of the main thought. This usage, in some books, is common, much more common than most students of the Old Testament seem to have discovered, although Ewald long ago called attention to its frequency.[39]

The three functions of ל thus far described grow naturally from its original meaning. There is another. The transition from *toward* to *to* or *unto* is easy, and the preposition made it early in the history of the language, thereby producing a class of cases in which it is used to denote the result of a given act or state. Giesebrecht (§ 22) asserts that the ל of result is as frequent as that of aim or object; but this statement only shows how easy it is to mistake the one for the other.

Thus it appears that the preposition ל may denote, among other things, not only purpose, but cause, concomitance, and

[38] According to Ewald, § 217*d* (c), "ל can indicate the external cause or object with reference to which, as at the time existing or happening, something occurs." Among the passages cited in illustration of this statement are Gen. 4 23 and Exod. 12 42. Giesebrecht, § 21, a, discusses the subject more fully in its relation to the noun, giving a variety of examples. Those on which he lays most stress are Num. 16 34; Isa. 30 19; Jer. 10 13 15 16; Hab. 3 12 16; Ps. 18 45 (44); Job 36 27.

[39] *LG.*, § 280*d*, he says, "The infinitive with ל becomes gradually more frequent as a means of subordinating to the sentence any incomplete verb describing merely accidental conditions." For examples, see Noldius, *Concordantiae*, 414a.

result, and that care is necessary to avoid mistaking one or another of the last three from the first.

When the preposition has a final sense it directs attention to the end at which the subject aims in performing the act described. This act is supposed to be the proper means of attaining the end in view; hence there is implied a probability of its attainment. The probability implied borders so closely on assurance that the construction is often found where the historical sequence would be more exact[40]; but, so long as ל retains its place, the realization of the purpose may be denied. If it is denied, no further attempt in the same direction is to be expected, for ל, like ו, introduces a purpose that is exhausted by a single effort.

The preposition ל is found with several classes of Hebrew nouns. It is most frequent with the *nomen actionis*, which corresponds in many respects to the English infinitive and is usually called the infinitive construct. The noun thus introduced is regularly placed after and, naturally, quite near the verb on which it depends. It may, however, for the sake of emphasis, precede the principal verb. When it follows the same it often causes the removal of adverbial clauses which would regularly precede it toward the end of the sentence and takes them under its own government. See 2 Kings 8 29. This precaution against ambiguity is not always observed, especially by later writers. The necessity for a close connection arises from the fact that the word governed by ל, as a rule, has for its subject the subject, or the object, direct or indirect, of the principal clause. The connection is so close that a negative preceding the verb of this clause affects the whole construction, a fact that has sometimes been overlooked by interpreters of the Old Testament. Indeed, the leading verb, or a word intimately connected with it, often determines very definitely the signification of the noun that follows with ל to denote the object of the act described.

The following analysis is based on a nearly complete list of

[40] Comp. Deut. 17 3 with 29 17 (18), Judg. 19 3 with v. 9, and Hosea 2 11 with 11 9.

relevant passages. It is intended to show the relation of the subject of the dependent to the main clause as well as the general character of the verbs or other constructions that are followed by ל in a final signification.[41]

The preposition ל is employed to denote aim or object:

A. With an Infinitive:

I. When the subject of the dependent is at the same time the subject of the principal clause:

1. After verbs denoting a change of place, to indicate the object of the change:

a. When the change is voluntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Come, go, &c.:

ארח: Job 34 8.

אתה: Isa. 56 9.

בוא: Gen. 23 2 (bis) 30 38 (bis) 39 11 14 42 5 7 9 10 12[42] 47 4; Exod. 5 23 12 23; Lev. 14 36 (bis); Num. 4 3 15 19 23 (bis) 30 7 89 8 24; Deut. 4 5 (and elsewhere in this book and Joshua) 19 5 24 10 31 11; Josh. 2 2; Judg. 11 12 18 9 19 15 20 4 10[43] 21 22; 1 Sam. 2 36 16 5 23 10; 2 Sam. 19 16 21 26 24 21 (where בוא is to be supplied); 1 Kings 2 19 5 14 17 18 (bis); 2 Kings 2 15 4 1; Isa. 16 12 60 13 66 15; Jer. 4 11 (bis לא ל; comp. לבלתי) 16 8 44 12 14 (bis)[44]; Ezek. 20 3 38 12 (ter) 13 44 25; Hag. 2 16; Zech. 2 4 (1 21) (bis); Ps. 41 7 (6) 96 13 = 98 9; Prov. 23 30; Job 2 1 (bis) 11 (bis); Est. 4 8 (bis); Dan. 10 14 11 6; Ezr. 9 11; Neh. 4 2 (bis) 9 15 23; 1 Chr. 12 23 (22) 16 33 19 2; 2 Chr. 9 1 11 16 20 4 11 26 16 29 15 30 1 5.

הלך: Gen. 18 16 27 5[45] 31 19 32 7 (6) 37 12; Exod. 4 27 13 21

[41] To avoid ambiguity the *nomen actionis* will hereafter be referred to as the infinitive.

[42] In v. 7 בוא (1 plu.) is to be supplied; in v. 9, for emphasis, the order is reversed. The recurrence of this arrangement will hereafter be indicated by putting the number of the verse into Italics.

[43] For לעשות לבואם r., with 𝔊, לבאים לעשות.

[44] For הבאים לנור שם 𝔊 has הגרים and, for ולשוב, לשוב.

[45] For להביא r., with 𝔊, לאביו.

(bis); Num. 14 38 24 1; Deut. 1 33 20 4; Josh. 9 11 22 9; Judg. 2 6 9 9 11 13 18 9 17; 1 Sam. 29 11; 2 Sam. 6 2 19 16; 1 Kings 18 16 (bis) 22 13; 2 Kings 8 8 9 9 18 35 16 10; Isa. 30 2 29; Jer. 25 6 (bis) 31 2 41 12; Hosea 5 6; Hab. 1 6; Zech. 2 6 (2); Ruth 1 1 7 2 8; Neh. 8 12 (quater); 1 Chr. 18 3.

יצא: Gen. 11 31 12 5 14 17 30 16; Exod. 4 14 16 27 18 7; Num. 22 36 31 13; Josh. 9 12; Judg. 4 18 22 11 31 34 21 21; 1 Sam. 9 14 13 10 18 6[46] 23 15 30 21; 2 Sam. 6 20 20 7; 1 Kings 9 12; 2 Kings 4 39 7 12 9 21; Isa. 7 3 26 21; Jer. 4 7 37 12 41 6; Ezek. 30 9; Micah 5 1; Prov. 7 15 (bis) 25 8; Dan. 9 22 11 44 (bis); 1 Chr. 14 15; 2 Chr. 35 20.

ירד: Gen. 11 5 12 10 42 3; Exod. 2 5 3 8 (bis); Judg. 7 24 12 *12*; 1 Sam. 10 8 (bis); 2 Sam. 19 17 21 25; 1 Kings 2 8 21 18; Isa. 30 2 (bis) 52 4; Jonah 1 3; Cant. 6 2 (bis); 1 Chr. 7 21; 2 Chr. 22 6.

סבב: 1 Chr. 16 43, in the sense of **שוב**; Pi., Ps. 26 6f. (bis), in its proper meaning.

עבר: Exod. 12 23; Num. 13 32; Deut. 4 26 6 1 9 1 11 8 11 31 30 18 31 13; Josh. 1 11; Judg. 10 9 12 1; 2 Sam. 19 19 (18) (bis) 20 13; 1 Kings 22 24 = 2 Chr. 18 23.

עלה: Gen. 38 13 46 29 50 7; Exod. 34 24; Deut. 9 9; Josh. 22 33; Judg. 6 35 15 *10*; 1 Sam. 1 3 (bis) 21 2 19; 2 Sam. 5 17; 1 Kings 11 15 18 42 (bis); 2 Kings 1 3 6 7; Isa. 57 7; Obad. 21; Jonah 4 6; Zech. 14 16 (bis) 18 19; Ps. 122 4; Ezr. 1 5; 1 Chr. 13 6 21 18; 2 Chr. 35 20.

שוב: Deut. 24 19; Judg. 14 8; 1 Sam. 17 15; 2 Sam. 6 20 23 10; 2 Kings 4 31 8 29 = 2 Chr. 22 6; 2 Kings 9 15; Jer. 43 5 44 14[47]; Ezek. 13 22[48].

Here belong, also, certain passages in which motion is only implied. This so-called pregnant construction is found: with **חרד**, 1 Sam. 16 4 and 21 2; with **רגז**, Isa. 28 21 (bis); with **רוץ**, Hi., Judg. 15 14; with **שאג**, Judg. 14 5 and Ps. 104 21.

(2) Haste, flee, &c.

אוץ: Josh. 10 13; Prov. 28 20; Hi., Isa. 22 4.

[46] Om., with 𝔊, לשור.
[47] 𝔊𝔏 om. לשבת.
[48] For להחיתו the version seem to have read לְחָיוֹתוֹ.

אזל: Jer. 2 36.
ברח: 1 Kings 11 17.
הרס: Exod. 19 21 24.
חוש: Hab. 1 8; Ps. 70 2 (1) (bis) 119 60, with an intervening antithetical clause.
חפז, Ni.: 1 Sam. 23 26.
חתר: Ezek. 12 12; Jonah 1 13.
נוס: Isa. 20 6.
נוע: Ps. 59 16 (Kt.).
נפל: 2 Kings 5 21.
סער: Hab. 3 14. Comp. Marti.
רדף: Ps. 109 16 (15).
רוץ: Gen. 18 2 24 17 20 29 13 33 4; Jer. 51 31 (bis).
שוט, Pil.: Amos 8 12.

(3) Approach, depart, &c.

בקש, Pi.: Lev. 19 31; Judg. 18 1; 1 Kings 10 24 = 2 Chr. 9 23; Ps. 40 15 (14); Neh. 12 27.
לוה, Ni.: Isa. 56 6 (bis).
נגש: Gen. 19 9; Exod. 28 43 30 20 (bis); Lev. 21 21 (bis); Judg. 9 52; 2 Kings 4 27; Ezek. 44 13 (bis); Ni., 2 Sam. 11 20.
קרא: 2 Sam. 19 16; Jer. 51 31.
קרב: Exod. 12 48 36 2; Lev. 18 6 19 20 16 21 17; Num. 17 5 18 22; Deut. 20 10 25 11; 1 Sam. 17 48; 2 Sam. 15 5; Isa. 34 1; Ezek. 40 46 43 9[49] 44 15 16 45 4; Ps. 27 2; Eccl. 4 17 (5 1).
בדל, Ni.: Ezr. 6 21.
נסע: Num. 21 4; Josh. 3 14; Ezr. 8 31.
סור: Exod. 3 4; Deut. 11 28 28 14; Judg. 14 8 19 15; 1 Kings 22 32; 2 Kings 4 8; Jer. 15 5.
עזב: Josh. 24 16; Jer. 2 13; Prov. 2 13; Ruth 1 16; 2 Chr. 32 31.
אסף, Ni.; Judg. 16 23 20 14; 1 Sam. 13 5; Neh. 8 13[50]; 2 Chr. 30 13.
זעק, Ni.: Josh. 8 16.
יעד, Ni.: Exod. 29 42. In Josh. 11 5 this word is separated from the infinitive by two imperfects consecutive.
עטר: 1 Sam. 23 26.

[49] Read הקרבים, as in 40 46.
[50] For ולהשכיל 𝔊 has להשכיל. Comp. GK, § 114*p*.

קבץ: 1 Sam. 28 1; Ni.: Ps. 102 23; 2 Chr. 20 4; Hith.: Josh. 9 2.
קהל, Ni.: Josh. 22 12; Est. 9 2 (comp. v. 16).
פוץ, Hi.: Exod. 5 12.

b. When the change is involuntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Bring, send, &c.:

אתה, Hi.: Isa. 21 14.
בוא, Hi.; Gen. 2 19; Lev. 17 4 9; Deut. 6 23 (with למען); Neh. 8 15 10 32; Ho.: Lev. 6 23 16 27; Ezek. 30 11.
יצא, Hi.: Gen. 15 7; Exod. 16 3 32 12 (bis); Lev. 22 33 25 38 (bis) 26 45; Num. 15 41; Deut. 1 27 9 28; 2 Kings 15 20; Ezek. 46 20.
נהג: Gen. 31 18; Isa. 63 14.
נחה, Hi.: Neh. 9 12.
ירד, Hi.: Gen. 43 22.
סבב, Hi.: 1 Sam. 5 10.
עבר, Hi.: Josh. 7 7.
עלה, Hi.: Exod. 17 3; Lev. 11 45; Num. 16 13 20 5; 1 Kings 9 15.
צוה, Pi.: Est. 4 5, in the sense of שלח.
קרא: 2 Kings 3 10.
שוב, Hi.: Job 33 30[51]; Ezr. 10 10.
שלח: 1 Sam. 22 17 25 40; 2 Sam. 1 14 10 2 = 1 Chr. 19 2; 2 Sam. 24 16; 1 Chr. 13 9; Pi.: Gen. 8 8; 2 Chr. 32 31.
שפך: Ezek. 14 19.

(2) Snatch, drive, &c.:

טול, Hi.: 1 Sam. 20 33[52].
נדח, Ni.: Deut. 19 5.
נצל, Hi.: Gen. 37 22.
נתץ: Isa. 22 10.

(3) Cause to approach, depart, &c.:

נגש, Hi.: Mal. 1 8.
קרב, Hi.: Lev. 22 21; Num. 28 22 (see v. 19) 31 50.

[51] For לְאִיר בּוֹ read לְאוֹר בּוֹ.
[52] Kittel r., יִטֹּל, as in 18 11.

בדל, Hi.: Num. 16 9.
גלה, Hi.: Amos 1 6.
סור, Hi.: 2 Chr. 35 12.
קדשׁ, Hith.: 1 Chr. 15 14.
אסף: Zeph. 3 8 (with קבץ); Eccl. 2 26 (with כנס).
כנס: Eccl. 2 26 (with אסף).
קבץ: 1 Sam. 28 1; Zeph. 3 8 (with אסף).
קהל, Hi.: 1 Kings 12 21; Ezek. 38 *13*, where it is followed by three additional infinitives.

(4) Give, take, &c.:

נגב: Prov. 6 30.
לקח: Gen. 7 3 22 10; Exod. 10 26; Lev. 9 4 14 49; 1 Sam. 8 12, where the infinitive with ל is coördinated with the perfect consecutive, 15 21; 2 Sam. 12 4; Jer. 25 28; Ezek. 15 3 (bis)[53] 27 5; Eccl. 7 27, where Delitzsch would supply this verb[54].
מכר, Hith.: 1 Kings 21 20; 2 Kings 17 17.
נתן: Lev. 18 20; Deut. 28 12[55]; Isa. 43 20; Ezek. 44 30; Lam. 1 11 5 6; Ezr. 9 8 (bis); Neh. 9 20.
קבל, Pi.: Ezr. 8 30.
קנה: 2 Sam. 24 21; 2 Kings 12 13; Ruth 4 10.
שׁקל: Est. 4 7.

Add the related word,

בחר: Deut. 12 5 11 (here, only, with ב) 21 14 23 24 16 6 11 26 2; 1 Kings 11 36 14 21; Neh. 1 9; 2 Chr. 12 13.

2. After verbs denoting a change of position, to indicate the object of the change:

a. When the change is voluntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Stand, sit, &c.:

נשׂא, Hith.: Dan. 11 14.
נצב, Ni.: Exod. 5 20 7 15; Num. 22 34; Deut. 29 9-11; 1 Sam. 1 26; Isa. 3 13.

[53] For היקח r., with 𝔊𝔗, היקחו.
[54] It is not impossible that קהלת is here a mistake for לקחת and אמרה, for אמר, an interpolation. See 12 8.
[55] For ולברך r., with Sam. 𝔊, לברך.

עמד: Lev. 18 23[56]; Num. 16 9; Deut. 5 5 10 8 18 5; 1 Kings 8 11 13 1; Isa. 3 13; Jer. 18 20; Ezek. 21 26 44 15; Obad. 14; Ps. 106 23 109 31; Ezr. 3 10[57]; 2 Chr. 20 23 (bis).

קום: Gen. 19 1 37 35; Exod. 32 6; Num. 32 14; Deut. 19 16; Josh. 8 3; Judg. 10 1 19 5 7 9; 1 Sam. 25 29 (bis); 2 Sam. 12 17; 1 Kings 2 19; 2 Kings 7 5; Isa. 2 19 21; Jonah 1 3; Ps. 76 10 (9) 119 62; Cant. 5 5; 2 Chr. 20 19.

שכם, Hi.: Judg. 19 8; 1 Sam. 15 12 29 11.

ישב: Gen. 37 25; Exod. 18 13 32 6; Judg. 5 16; 1 Sam. 20 5 24; Jer. 16 8 (bis) 40 10; Ezek. 44 3; Joel 4 (3) 12; Ps. 27 4 (bis); Prov. 9 14 23 1; Est. 3 15.

Add the related verbs:

עור: Ps. 59 5 (4); Hithpol.: Isa. 64 6.

קיץ, Hi.: Ps. 59 6 (5).

(2) Turn, bend, &c.:

הפך: 2 Kings 5 26.

סבב: 1 Sam. 15 27; 2 Chr. 18 31 (comp. 1 Kings 18 32).

פנה: Lev. 20 6; 1 Kings 8 28; Eccl. 2 12; Hi.: Jer. 49 24.

כרע: Judg. 7 5 6.

נטה: Exod. 23 2; 2 Sam. 2 19; Jer. 14 8.

שקף, Hi.: Ps. 14 2 53 3 (2); Prov. 4 1.

(3) Seize, smite, &c.:

נכה, Hi.: Num. 22 23.

נקש, Hith.: 1 Sam. 28 9.

תמך: Gen. 48 17.

b. When the change is involuntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Raise, set, &c.:

נשא: Lev. 10 17; Num. 18 22; Ezek. 10 16; Amos 6 10; Zech. 2 4 (1 21); Pi.: Jer. 22 27 44 14.

רום, Hi.: 1 Sam. 2 8, where this verb is in parallelism with קום; Ezek. 45 15.

יסד: Ps. 8 3.

[56] For לרבעה r. לרבעה.

[57] For Hi. r., with some MSS. and the verss. Ḳal.

כון, Hi.: Ezr. 7 10 (ter); 1 Chr. 28 2 29 16; 2 Chr. 12 14 19 3 30 19; Po.: Isa. 51 13.

נוח, Hi.: Judg. 3 1.

נתן: Lev. 14 29 18 23 26 1; Ezek. 24 8 (bis); Eccl. 1 12 (bis) 17, where the second דעת should probably be treated as a noun (Kittel), 8 16 (bis) 9 1, corrected by 1 13; Dan. 9 3, where this verb has the sense of שום (see 11 17); Ezr. 9 8, where the subject is expressed with the first of two infinitives; Neh. 9 17.

שום: 2 Kings 12 18; Jer. 7 30 11 13 44 12; Hab. 2 9; 2 Chr. 11 16.

שית: Ps. 17 11.

שתל: Ezek. 17 8 (ter).

Under this head may also be placed:

פקד, Ni.: Neh. 12 44; Ho.: 2 Chr. 34 12.

(2) Turn, bend, &c.

מתח: Isa. 40 22.

נטה: Ps. 119 112; Hi.: Gen. 49 15; 2 Sam. 3 27; Jer. 25 4; Prov. 5 2.

פנה, Hi.: 1 Sam. 10 9.

3. After verbs denoting a doing or a making in general, to indicate the object of such activity:

בנה: Josh. 22 23 (ter); Jer. 7 31 19 5 32 35; Ezek. 17 17; Ezr. 3 2; 2 Chr. 2 2.

יצר: Isa. 49 5; Jer. 33 2.

עשה: Gen. 50 20 (with למען); Exod. 8 14 29 1; Lev. 8 34; Num. 8 7 12 15 3 (bis) 8 29 5; 2 Sam. 7 21 = 1 Chr. 17 19; 1 Kings 14 9 16 7; 2 Kings 6 2 17 11 17; Isa. 2 20; Jer. 11 17 32 22 44 19; Ezek. 13 18 22 3 45 17; Eccl. 2 6; 2 Chr. 20 36.

פעל: Job 33 30 (bis)[58].

4. After any verb describing an operation, to indicate the immediate object of that operation.

The verbs thus far classified have been of so general a character that, unless they were in some way limited, one

[58] For לַאור ב׳, Kittel r. לְאיר ב׳.

could not predict what was the object to be expressed. The verb יצא, for instance, is capable of introducing any number of final infinitives. A characteristic of the construction under discussion, therefore, has seemed to be, that the main clause had a greater extension than the one dependent on it. The leading verb has, however, in many cases, been outwardly so modified that its extension was more or less reduced, if not contracted to that of the dependent infinitive. A verb may be inwardly so limited, that is, be so narrow in its signification, as to permit the use of one of a very brief list of infinitives, or even of but a single verb in this construction, after it. In the passages next to be cited the verbs found in the main clause will naturally be largely of this class.

Sometimes the infinitive is almost a synonym of the verb preceding. This is the case in the following passages: Lev. 16 30; Num. 8 21 (atone, to cleanse); 1 Kings 3 9 (judge, to discern); Isa. 56 6 (serve and love, to be a servant); Ps. 101 8 (exterminate, to cut off); Neh. 12 24 (laud, to praise); 2 Chr. 29 24 (make a sin-offering, to atone).

In the following passages, also, the leading verb is narrowly limited by its signification: Exod. 29 36; Lev. 8 11 (anoint, to sanctify); Deut. 4 35 (be shown, to know) 36 (cause to hear, to instruct) 8 2 (after למען) 13 4; Judg. 3 4; 2 Chr. 32 31 (test, to know); Deut. 20 19 (make war, to capture); Isa. 28 24 (plow, to sow) 42 18 (look, to see); Jer. 32 33 (listen, to receive instruction); Ezek. 21 33 (28) (be polished, to shine)[59]; Hab. 2 1 (watch, to see); Zech. 2 6 (2) (measure, to see); Ps. 10 9 (lie in wait, to catch); 1 Chr. 10 13 (ask, to learn).

In the following passages the leading verb is restricted by outward modification: Gen. 4 11 (open the mouth, to receive) 42 27 (open a sack, to give fodder); Exod. 2 16 (fill a trough, to water); Deut. 13 6 (5) (speak apostasy, to thrust from the way) 20 4 (make war for, to save) 28 12 (open heaven, to give rain); 1 Kings 3 11 (ask discernment, to hear); Jer. 7 18 (knead dough, to make cakes) 18 32 (dig a pit, to catch); Ezek. 22 20

[59] For להכיל r. לההל.

(blow fire upon, to smelt); Ps. 11 2 (fix an arrow, to shoot) 37 14 (bend a bow, to bring down, to slay) 64 4 (3) f. (bend an arrow, to shoot).

In the remaining passages the main clause does not suggest what is to follow, but the infinitive actually used is recognizable, as pointing to a probable outcome of the act described. Here belong Exod. 39 3 (cut into threads, to work); Lev. 22 8 (eat, to defile); Num. 15 3 (offer a special offering, to make); Deut. 8 2 (afflict, to test; after למען) 16 (test, to do good; after למען) 24 8 (take heed, to observe, do); Judg. 15 10 (bind, to do) 12 (bind, to give) 16 5 (bind, to torment); 2 Sam. 8 2 (measure, to kill, save alive); 1 Kings 8 43 (know, to fear, know; after למען) 12 21 (make war, to restore) 18 6 (apportion, to pass over); 2 Kings 23 35 (tax, to give; bis); Isa. 10 2 (scribble, to turn, rob) 58 4 (fast, to smite, make heard) 63 12 (cleave water, to make); Jer. 1 12 (watch, to perform) 16 7 (break bread[60], to comfort) 18 20 (speak, to turn back) 31 28 (watch, to pluck up[61], pull down[61], break down, destroy[61], injure, build, plant); Ezek. 3 18 (speak, to warn, save alive) 13 5 (build, to make a stand) 16 26 (repeat harlotry, to provoke) 17 14 (keep a covenant, to stand) 30 21 (be strong, to grasp) 33 8 (speak, to warn) 39 14 (bury, to cleanse); Hab. 2 9 (get gain, to set); Zech. 11 10 14 (cut, to break); Ps. 59 1(0) (watch, to kill) 102 20 f. (look, to hear, release) 106 8 (save, to make known)[62] 119 95 (wait, to destroy) 145 11 f. (speak, to make known); Prov. 22 20 f. (write, to make known) 23 4 (toil, to become rich); Job 33 16 f. (terrify[63], to remove) 38 25-27 (cleave, to cause rain, to satisfy, make grow); Lam. 2 14 (uncover, to bring); Neh. 4 2 (conspire, to come, to make war, injure); 1 Chr. 11 10 (exert one's self, to make king); 2 Chr. 20 36 (unite, to make) 32 18 (call, to frighten, disturb) 36 6 (bind, to bring).

[60] For להם, with 𝔊, r. לחם.

[61] Wanting in 𝔊.

[62] In this case ל with the infinitive is coördinated with, and explicative of, למען with a noun.

[63] For יַחְתֵּם r., with 𝔊𝔖, יְחַתֵּם.

5. After היה, expressed or understood:

a. In the sense of *become:* Gen. 1 14 9 11; Exod. 40 15.

b. In the sense of *be:*

(1) When it connects the infinitive with a verb to which the same might have been directly attached; Num. 7 5 8 11; Jonah 4 6.

(2) When it connects the infinitive directly with its own subject: Jer. 44 14 (𝔊). In 1 Chr. 23 4 and 28 21 the copula is to be supplied.

(3) When the copula is supplemented by a prepositional phrase: Exod. 23 2; Num. 31 3; Dent. 13 10 (9) 17 7; 1 Kings 16 21, Ezek. 27 9 44 7. In 1 Sam. 25 41 (הנה), Isa. 60 9; Micah 7 3; Neh. 12 24 (bis) the copula is to be supplied. In Neh. 9 19 (bis) מעליהם is equivalent to מהיות עליהם.

6. After nouns, where the insertion of אשר היה is required to complete the meaning: Gen. 1 15; Exod. 30 16[64]; Num. 29 5[64]; Ps. 31 3 (2); Prov. 1 4 6 24; Neh. 10 34 (33)[64]. In 2 Chr. 24 4 the noun is a construct followed by two infinitives without the preposition.

II. When the subject of the dependent is the same as the object of the principal clause:

1. After verbs denoting a change of place, to indicate the object of the change:

a. Bring, send, &c.:

אתה, Hi.; Jer. 12 9.

בוא, Hi.: Gen. 39 14 17; Lev. 20 22; Num. 14 3 20 4; Deut. 9 4; 1 Sam. 21 16; Jer. 2 7; Ezek. 44 7; Ps. 78 71; Eccl. 3 22; Dan. 1 3f. (bis); Neh. 12 27.

בקש: Isa. 40 20.

הלך, Hi.: Amos 2 10.

יבל, Hi.: Isa. 23 7.

יצא, Hi.: Exod. 19 17; Deut. 4 20; Ps. 142 8 (7).

[64] These passages are cited here because from Lev. 17 11, it is clear that the subject of כפר, Pi., may be either the offerer or his offering.

סבב, Hi.: 2 Chr. 13 13.
עלה, Hi.: Num. 21 5.
שוב, Hi.: Jer. 38 26.
שלח: Gen. 45 7 (bis) 46 28; Exod. 23 20 (bis); Num. 13 17 16 28; Deut. 34 11; Josh. 6 25; Judg. 18 2 (bis); 1 Sam. 19 11 (bis) 15; 2 Sam. 10 3 (bis; after בעבור) 5 = 1 Chr. 19 5; 2 Kings 9 17, where the object of the principal verb is indefinite, 18 27 = Isa. 36 12; Isa. 61 1-3 (sexiens, once before שלח)[65]; Jer. 19 14 36 21 37 7; Zech. 1 10 7 2; 1 Chr. 18 10 (bis); 2 Chr. 24 19 34 8; Pi.: Gen. 3 23 19 13; Exod. 8 25; 2 Kings 24 2; Ezek. 5 16.
שמע, Pi.: 1 Sam. 23 8.

b. Cause to approach, depart, &c.:

קרב, Hi.: Exod. 28 1; Lev. 7 35; Num. 16 9 (bis).
בדל, Hi.: Lev. 20 26; Deut. 10 8 (ter).
עזב: 2 Sam. 15 16; 1 Chr. 16 37.
קדש, Pi.: Exod. 28 3 29 1 44 30 30; 1 Sam. 7 1; Hi.: 1 Chr. 23 13 (ter).
ספה: 1 Sam. 2 36.
קבץ: Ezr. 7 28; Pi.: Ps. 106 47 (bis) = 1 Chr. 16 35.

c. Give, take, &c.:

נתן: Exod. 30 15; Lev. 10 17 17 11; Num. 8 19 (bis); 1 Sam. 8 6; Ezek. 20 12.
לקח: Exod. 14 11 21 14; Num. 23 *11*; Deut. 24 4; Judg. 20 10; 1 Sam. 8 12 (ter); 2 Sam. 7 8 = 1 Chr. 17 7; 2 Sam. 12 10.

Add the related words:

בחר: 1 Sam. 2 28 (ter).
בקש, Pi.: Isa. 40 20.
שכר: Deut. 23 5; 2 Kings 7 6; Ezr. 4 5 (סכר); Neh. 13 2.

2. After verbs denoting a change of position, to indicate the object of the change:

a. cause to cling:

דבק, Hi.: Jer. 13 11.

[65] לשום or לתת (3) with the intervening words is probably an interpolation.

b. Raise, set, &c.:

יסד, Hi.: Hab. 1 12.

מנה: Jonah 2 1.

נוח, Hi.: Gen. 2 15 (bis).

נשׂא: Exod. 36 2.

נתן: Gen. 1 17 f. (bis); 1 Sam. 8 6 (comp. v. 5); 1 Chr. 16 4 (ter); 2 Chr. 9 8 (comp. 1 Kings 10 9).

עמד, Hi.: Ezr. 3 8; Neh. 6 7; 1 Chr. 15 16 19 21 22 2; 2 Chr. 8 14 (bis) 31 2 (ter).

פקד: Jer. 15 3 (quater); Hi.: Josh. 10 18; Jer. 1 10 (sexiens).

שׂום: 1 Sam. 8 5 (comp. v. 6); 1 Kings 10 9 (comp. 2 Chr. 9 8); 2 Chr. 23 18.

Similarly

משׁח: 2 Chr. 22 7.

3. After verbs denoting a doing or a making in general, to indicate the object of such activity:

יצר: Ps. 104 26.

עשׂה: Exod. 28 42 36 18; 1 Kings 7 18 22 49 (48)[66]; 2 Chr. 2 17 4 12 13 26 15.

4. After any verb describing an operation, to indicate the immediate object of that operation:

Exod. 28 28 (bind, to be) 31 3-5 (fill, to devise, work) 36 18 (fasten, to be); Deut. 6 24 (fear, to keep alive)[67]; Judg. 1 14 (incite, to ask); 2 Sam. 7 29 = 1 Chr. 17 27 (bless, to be); Ezek. 16 33 (bribe, to come) 30 21 (bind, to be strong); Ps. 105 39 (spread, to give light) 106 4 f. (remember, to see, to rejoice, boast); Prov. 22 21 (cause to know, to return); Job 2 3 (incite, to destroy) 36 20 (desire, to remove?); Eccl. 3 18 (test, to see).

III. When the subject of the dependent is at the same time, in an oblique case, loosely connected with the main clause:

1. After verbs denoting a change of place, to indicate the object of the change:

[66] For עשׂה אניות r. עשׂר אניות.

[67] The infinitive is here coördinated with a noun.

a. When the change is voluntary, after:

בוא: Gen. 6 20 (comp. v. 19).
שוט, Hithpol.: 2 Chr. 16 9.

b. When the change is involuntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Bring, send, &c.:

נגש, Hi.: 2 Sam. 13 11 17 29.
עלה, Hi.: 1 Sam. 19 15.
קרא: 1 Sam. 28 15; Ps. 50 4; Dan. 2 2.
שלח: Gen. 38 20; Ezek. 17 7; 2 Chr. 2 2 28 16. In Ezek. 17 15 the main clause has the accusative (limit of motion) of the country for the dative of the people.

Add the related word,

מטר, Hi.; Ps. 78 24.

(2) Give, take, &c.:

בחר: Deut. 7 6 14 2 18 5 21 5 (bis); 1 Chr. 15 2 (bis) 28 4; 2 Chr. 6 5 6 29 11 (ter).
נתן: Gen. 15 7 28 4 20 (bis); Exod. 5 21 22 6 9 24 12; Lev. 20 24; Num. 33 53 35 2; Deut. 1 27; Josh. 1 11 7 7 24 4; 1 Kings 3 9 18 9; 2 Kings 12 16; Isa. 50 4; Jer. 32 39 43 3 (bis; after למען); Eccl. 3 10; Est. 4 8 (ter); Dan. 11 17; Ezr. 9 9 (bis); Neh. 9 24 36; 2 Chr. 34 10 (bis) 11 (bis) 35 12.

Add the word

מלא, Pi., with יד, in the sense of *confer:* Exod. 32 29[68]; Lev. 16 32 21 10; Num. 3 3.

2. After verbs denoting a change of position, to indicate the object of the change:

שום: Gen. 30 41; Ho.: Gen. 24 33.
נטה, Hi.: 1 Kings 8 58 (bis).

Also

עור, Hi.: Isa. 50 4; Ezr. 1 5.

3. After verbs denoting a doing or a making in general, to indicate the object of such activity:

[68] For ולתת 𝔊𝔖 have לתת. Comp. GK, § 114*p*.

בנה: 1 Chr. 17 4.
עשה: Exod. 28 4 31 10 35 19.

4. After any verb describing an operation, to indicate the immediate object of that operation:

Exod. 13 21 (lead, give light, to go); Josh. 11 20 (strengthen, to meet); Judg. 9 24 (strengthen, to slay); 2 Sam. 20 9 (seize, to kiss); Prov. 7 4f. (call, to keep); Job 37 7 (seal, to know).

5. After היה, expressed or understood:

a. When the subject of the infinitive is represented by a noun belonging with the copula: Gen. 47 24[69]; Josh. 11 20; Isa. 23 18. In Lev. 10 9-11 (bis)[70] 25 17; 2 Sam. 16 2; Ps. 33 18f. (bis) 101 6; 1 Chr. 9 32; 2 Chr. 4 6 the copula is to be supplied.

b. When the subject of the infinitive is represented by a suffix belonging with the copula: Gen. 47 2 4; 1 Kings 8 29; 2 Kings 15 19; Isa. 49 6; Ezek. 20 12; Hosea 8 11; Hab. 3 14 (comp. Kittel); Neh. 1 6. In Gen. 33 8; Exod. 31 13; Jer. 22 17; Ezek. 12 2 (bis); 2 Chr. 26 19 the copula is to be supplied.

6. After nouns, where the insertion of אשר היה is required to complete the meaning: Exod. 39 41; Deut. 1 33; Isa. 49 5; Ezek. 20 20.

IV. When the subject of the infinitive is a word not found in the principal clause:

1. After verbs denoting a change of place, to indicate the object of the change:

שלח, Pi.: Mal. 2 4 (comp. Bewer).
בדל, Hi.: Deut. 4 42, in the sense of *set apart*.
קדש, Hi.: 2 Chr. 7 16.
לקח: Ezek. 17 14 (bis).

[69] Here, and in 2 Chr. 4 6, the phrase containing the subject follows, instead of preceding, the infinitive. In the Greek of Gen. 47 24 both are wanting.

[70] For ולהבדיל Sam. 𝔊𝔖 have the equivalent of להבדיל. Comp. GK, § 114*p*.

נתן: Num. 35 6; Josh. 20 3; 2 Kings 15 19; Isa. 49 6; Jer. 29 26.

בחר: 2 Chr. 6 5 6.

2. After verbs denoting a change of position, to indicate the object of the change:

עור, Hi.: Ezr. 1 1 = 2 Chr. 36 22 (comp. 1 Kings 2 27).

3. After verbs denoting a doing or a making in general, to indicate the object of such activity:

בנה: 1 Kings 8 13 16; 2 Chr. 6 2 5.

4. After any verb describing an operation to indicate the immediate object of that operation:

Judg. 9 23f. (deal treacherously, to come, return)[71]; Isa. 10 2 (rob, to be); Ezek. 21 28 (23) (recall, to be taken) 22 3 (outpour, to come).

5. After היה, expressed or understood:

a. When it means *become:* Exod. 40 15, where it is followed by its own infinitive in the sense of *be.*[72]

b. When it means *be:* Josh. 20 9. In 2 Sam. 16 2 (bis); Eccl. 3 18 the copula is to be supplied.

6. After nouns, where the insertion of אשר היה is required to complete the meaning:

Num. 35 15; Isa. 49 6.

V. When the subject of the dependent clause is indefinite and the verb may often be rendered by the English passive:

1. After verbs denoting a change of place, to indicate the object of the change:

a. When the change is voluntary, with:

יצא: 2 Kings 12 13[73].

[71] For ולשוב דמם r. ולשום דמם.

[72] On והיתה, see KG, § 144*b*.

[73] For לְחַזְּקָה r., with 𝔊^{L}𝔖𝔗, לְחַזֵּק.

b. When the change is involuntary, with verbs signifying:

(1) Bring, send, &c.:

בוא, Hi.: Exod. 25 14 36 3; Lev. 7 30 10 15; Ho.: Gen. 43 18 (ter).

יצא, Hi.: 2 Kings 12 12 f.

סור, Ho.: 1 Sam. 21 7; Dan. 12 11.

שלח: Num. 16 12 21 32 22 37; 2 Sam. 10 2; 1 Kings 18 10; 2 Kings 1 6; Pi.: 1 Sam. 31 9 = 1 Chr. 10 9; 2 Chr. 32 31.

(2) Gather, separate, &c.:

בדל, Ni.: 1 Chr. 23 13.

קבץ: 2 Chr. 24 5.

קדש, Hi.: Judg. 17 3; 1 Chr. 26 27.

(3) Give, take, &c.:

לקח: Exod. 27 20.

נדב, Hith.: Ezr. 2 68.

נתן: Gen. 24 32; Exod. 30 15; Lev. 18 21; 1 Sam. 2 15; 2 Kings 22 6; Ezek. 21 16 (11)[74]; 2 Chr. 35 12.

בחר: 1 Kings 8 16; 2 Chr. 6 5.

מכר, Ni.: Est. 7 4 (ter).

קנה: 2 Kings 12 13 22 6.

2. After verbs denoting a change of position, to indicate the object of the change:

כון, Hi.: 1 Kings 5 32 6 19[75].

נתן: Exod. 40 30; 2 Chr. 4 6.

עמד, Ho.: Lev. 16 10 (bis).

שום: Ezek. 30 21.

3. After verbs denoting a doing or a making in general, to indicate the object of such activity:

בנה: 1 Chr. 22 19; 2 Chr. 2 5 (6).

עשה: Exod. 27 3 28 3 30 18 35 19 36 18; 1 Kings 7 16; 1 Chr. 23 5; 2 Chr. 4 20 7 6.

[74] For למרטה Kittel suggests למרצח or לטובח.

[75] For לתתן r. לתנת. See GK, § 66 *i*.

4. After any verb describing an operation, to indicate the immediate object of that operation:

Exod. 29 33 (make atonement, to install, consecrate); Judg. 16 6 (be bound, to torment); Isa. 60 11 (be open, to bring); Jer. 32 39 (fear, to be well); Ezek. 21 16 (11) (be polished, to give) 28 (recall, to be caught) 30 21 (be bound, to give); Ps. 67 3 (2) (cause to shine, to know) 102 21f. (release, to tell); Dan. 9 24 (be determined, to finish, complete, atone for, bring, seal, anoint) 11 35 (stumble, to refine, purify, whiten); 1 Chr. 22 2 (hew, to build)[76].

5. After היה, expressed or understood:

a. When the copula stands alone: Judg. 3 4.

b. When the verb is supplemented by a prepositional phrase: Exod. 25 27 29 29 (bis); 2 Chr. 26 15 36 20 f. In Ruth 4 7 the copula is to be supplied.

6. After nouns, where the insertion of אשר היה is required to complete the meaning: Exod. 25 27; Num. 29 5; Isa. 49 6; Ezek. 22 20[77]; Prov. 1 1-3 (ter).

There are a few instances in which an indefinite participle takes the place of an infinitive. A good illustration of this usage is found in 2 Sam. 10 3, with the participle, properly rendered, *those who should comfort,* compared with v. 2, where the same verb, *send,* is followed by the infinitive, *to comfort.* Other clear cases are 1 Chr. 16 4, where the participial expression, *those who should serve,* is followed by three infinitives coördinate, with it and with one another, as they are rendered in the English Version. See, also, 2 Chr. 20 29 (bis) and, finally, Ezek. 39 14, where, because the Greek Version has an infinitive for the second of the two participles (מקברים), some would make the Hebrew text conform to that reading. Such a change, however, is forbidden by the evident fact that *those who shall pass through* and *those who shall bury* are different parties. This should have been made clearer, as perhaps it was

[76] Note that, in several of these passages, the verb of the principal clause is passive.

[77] For קבצת r., with 𝔊𝔖𝔗, בקבצת.

originally, by inserting a connective between the two participles. See Toy, *SBOT.*

In the foregoing pages care has been taken to note numerous instances in which a verb was followed by two or more infinitives with ל; but this has been done only when the infinitives were coördinates, that is, when they were all immediately subordinate to the leading verb, and denoted as many more or less distinct objects of the act or state thereby described. The number of such infinitives after a given verb is generally not more than two, as in Gen. 23 2, the same being connected by ו; but sometimes, as in Isa. 61 1-3, there are as many as six, and the connective is entirely omitted. In Exod. 32 6 and Jer. 7 18 an infinitive absolute takes the place of the second infinitive construct with ל. In 1 Sam. 8 11 f. the infinitive with ל is coördinated with a preceding perfect consecutive.

There is a class of examples of the plural use of ל as a final particle in which a first infinitive denoting purpose is followed by one or more others subordinate to it or in more or less regular subordination one to another. In such a series an infinitive with ל may serve, not only to denote a purpose, but to introduce the aim or object of the act or state which it at the same time describes. When so used it requires a plural classification. Thus it happens that Deut. 9 1, for example, is cited twice under I. 1, a (1), while Num. 16 9 appears under I. 1, b (3) and 2, a (1) and also under II. 1, b.

There are not many examples of this class, but the combinations they represent are comparatively numerous. The following have been noted:

1. When the first infinitive has for its subject the subject of the main clause:

a. A second, subordinate to it, having the same subject, follows: Gen. 1 7; Num. 18 22, where the purpose is negative; Deut. 9 1 11 31 20 4 18 19 28 12 30 18; Josh. 1 11; Judg. 15 10 12 18 9 19 15; 1 Sam. 13 10 29 11; 2 Sam. 19 21 26; 1 Kings 8 11 12 21; 2 Kings 17 17; Jer. 18 20 37 12 44 12 14b; Ezek. 3 18 22 20; Jonah 4 6; Hab. 2 9; Zech. 2 6 (2); 2 Chr. 20 36 32 31.

b. It has two others in successive subordination: 2 Sam. 19 16; Job 38 25-27; Neh. 4 2.

c. It has two others, subordinate to it, but coördinate with each other: Isa. 30 2; Jer. 16 8.

d. It has a coördinate, and the two together have a subordinate, with the same subject: Isa. 56 6; Jer. 51 31.

e. It is followed by a subordinate having for its subject the object of the first: Exod. 29 1; Prov. 22 20f.; Neh. 12 27.

f. It is followed by three others, subordinate to it, but coördinate with one another, having for their common subject the object of the first: 1 Sam. 8 12.

g. It has two subordinates, both of which have its object for their common subject, while the second has a subordinate with the same subject: Num. 16 9.

h. It has a coördinate, with the same subject, and the two have a subordinate whose subject is the direct object of the first and the indirect object of the second: Exod. 13 21.

i. It has a subordinate whose subject appears in an oblique case in connection with the second: Gen. 15 7; Deut. 1 27 33; Josh. 7 7; 2 Chr. 35 12.

j. It has a coördinate, and the two have a subordinate with an indefinite subject: Ps. 102 20-22.

2. When the first infinitive has for its subject the object of the main clause:

a. A subordinate with the same subject follows: Exod. 36 2; Lev. 10 17; Ezek. 44 7.

b. It has two coördinates, with the same subject the second of which has subordinate with the same subject: Deut. 10 8.

c. It has a subordinate whose subject is the object of the first: Exod. 36 18.

d. It has a subordinate whose subject appears in an oblique case in connection with the first: Ezek. 20 12.

e. It has a subordinate with an indefinite subject: 1 Chr. 22 2; 2 Chr. 26 15.

3. When the first infinitive has a subject which appears in an oblique case in the main clause:

a. It has a subordinate with the same subject: Deut. 18 5; 1 Kings 3 9; Ezr. 1 5; 2 Ch. 2 2.

b. It has a subordinate whose subject appears in an oblique case in connection with the first: Josh. 11 20.

c. It has a subordinate with an indefinite subject: Jer. 32 39.

4. When the first infinitive has a subject not represented in the main clause:

a. It has an antithetical coördinate, with לבלתי and the same subject, and the two are followed by two others in successive subordination, with the same subject: Ezek. 17 13f.

b. It has a subordinate whose subject is the object of the first: Eccl. 3 18.

5. When the first infinitive has an indefinite subject:

a. It has a subordinate with the same subject: Judg. 3 4; 2 Kings 12 12f. 22 6; Ezek. 21 16 (11).

b. It has a subordinate whose subject is the object of the first: Exod. 28 3.

c. It is followed by three others, subordinate to it, but coördinate with one another, whose common subject is the object of the first: 1 Chr. 23 13.

d. It is followed by two others in successive subordination, each of which has for its subject the object of the first: Ezek 30 21.

e. It has a subordinate with a subject not previously introduced: 1 Kings 8 16 = 2 Chr. 6 25.

The infinitive with ל is sometimes followed by a simple imperfect denoting a purpose. In such cases the two clauses may or may not be connected by ו.

1. When the connective is omitted, the second clause may be:

a. A substantial repetition of the first: Lev. 16 30; 2 Chr. 4 6.

b. Simply coördinate with the first: Jer. 4 17.

2. When the connective is employed, the second clause may be:

a. A substantial repetition of the first: 1 Sam. 2 8; Isa. 13 9 45 1a 60 13; Prov. 5 2; Job 34 28.

b. In antithesis with the first: Josh. 20 9 22 27; Isa. 45 1 b 49 5; Ruth 4 10; all with לא.

c. Simply coördinate with the first: Num. 14 3; Isa. 10 2; Job 33 17.

d. Subordinate to the first: Num. 8 19 (with לא); 2 Sam. 24 21.

The preposition ל is employed to denote aim or object:

B. With a noun.

The abstract noun, in Hebrew, as in other languages, is nearly related to the infinitive. Many abstract nouns are, in fact, merely infinitives with a feminine ending. It is therefore not strange that, even in this form, they should, like infinitives, be found in final constructions. A concrete term may be used in the same manner. In the latter case the given expression may often be interpreted, as the equivalent of להיות with the noun as its predicate. See Deut. 4 20; 2 Sam. 7 8; etc. The relative frequency of the two classes of nouns in expressions denoting purpose will appear in the following classification, which, exept for this addition and the distinction based on the nature of the final clause, will follow the same lines as that under A.

A noun denoting purpose is employed:

I. After verbs:

1. After verbs denoting a change of place, to indicate the object of the change:

a. When the change is voluntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Come, go &c.:

בוא; Abs.: Num. 4 3 (*for service;* comp. v. 23 where the cognate infinitive is used with the noun), 30, 35 (bis), 39 (bis), 43 (bis); Jud. 5 23 (bis), 2 Sam. 15 2; 1 Chr. 19 7; 2 Chr. 20 1.

הלך; Abs.: Deut. 10 11; 1 Sam. 17 13; Jer. 7 6; Ps. 80 3 (2); Con.: 1 Kings 22 49.

יצא; Abs.: Num. 31 27 (comp. v. 3, where the verb takes the participial form and is followed by the noun in the genitive); Deut. 20 1; Judg. 20 14; 1 Kings 20 18 (bis); Isa. 51 4 (see Kittel); Jer. 37 7; Hab. 3 13 (bis); Ps. 104 23 (bis); Con.: Num. 22 32.[78]

[78] Sam has לִשְׁטָנְךָ.

ירד; Abs.: 2 Kings 10 13; Isa. 31 1.

עבר; Abs.: Gen. 31 52; Num. 32 27; Josh. 4 13.

עלה; Abs.: Josh. 22 12; Judg. 4 5; 1 Kings 20 26; Isa. 7 1 15 2; Con.: Lev. 2 12.

ראה, Ni.; Abs.: Lev. 13 7, in the sense of *come*.

Add, also,

שאג: Ps. 104 21.

(2) Haste, flee, &c.;

בהל, Ni.; Con.: Prov. 28 22.

חוש; Abs.: Ps. 22 20 (19) 38 23 (22) 40 14 (13) 70 2 (1).

נוס; Abs.: Isa. 10 3 20 6.

(3) Approach, depart, &c.:

בקש, Pi.; Abs.: Ps. 63 10 (9), where the noun is of doubtful genuineness; Con.: 2 Sam. 3 17.

נגש; Abs.: Judg. 20 23; 2 Sam. 10 13.

קרב; Abs.: Deut. 20 3; Isa. 41 1; Mal. 3 5.

אסף, Ni.; Abs.: Judg. 16 23; 2 Sam. 23 9.

b. When the change is involuntary, after verbs signifying:

(1) Bring, send, &c.:

בוא, Hi.; Abs.: Exod. 35 21 (bis); Jer. 39 16 (bis); Con.: Exod. 35 21; Lev. 4 32; 2 Chr. 29 32; Ḳal, with ב: Lev. 16 3 (bis).

גרש; Con.: Ezek. 36 5.[79]

יצא, Hi.; Abs.: Neh. 9 15.

עבר, Hi.; Abs.: Ezek. 23 37.

עלה, Hi; Con.: Gen. 22 2, 13.

קרא; Abs.: Isa. 13 3.

שוב, Hi.; Abs.: Num. 17 25 (10).

שמע, Pi.; Abs.: 1 Sam. 23 8.

(2) Cause to approach, depart, &c.:

קרב, Hi.; Con.: Lev. 1 3 4 3 22 21; Num. 6 14 (ter) 15 7 28 27; Ezek. 43 22.

בדל, Hi.; Abs.: Deut. 29 20; 1 Chr. 25 1; Con.: 1 Kings 8 53.

[79] For לבז Toy r., ובוז, a second infinitive after למען.

נהק, Hi.; Abs.: Jer. 12 3.

עזב; Con.: 1 Chr. 16 38.

קדש, Hi.; Abs.: Jer. 12 3.

שאר, Hi.; Con.: Jer. 52 16 (bis).

אסף; Abs.: 1 Sam. 17 1; Zech. 14 2.

קבץ; Abs.: 1 Sam. 28 1.

(3) Give take, &c.

לוה; Con.: Neh. 5 4.

לקח; Con.: Gen. 25 20; Lev. 9 3 (ter); 1 Sam. 8 13 (ter); Job 40 28.

מכר; Con.: Exod. 21 7; Ni.: Ps. 105 17.

נתן; Abs.: Gen. 1 30; Exod. 16 15; Isa. 34 2; Jer. 24 9;[80] Ezek. 15 4, 6 29 5 39 4; Ezr. 8 20; Neh. 9 15 20 10 33 (32); Con.: Gen. 16 3 17 8 23 9; Isa. 8 18 (bis) 49 6; Jer. 17 3 31 35 (bis); Ezek. 16 19 43 19; Ps. 136 21; Neh. 10 34 (33) (5t. with ל; 3t. it is to be supplied)[81]; 2 Chr. 6 27 9 8.

קנה; Con.: Gen. 49 30 50 13.

שלח; Abs.: Gen. 45 5 (comp. v. 7); Num. 31 4 6.[82]

בחר; Con.: Ps. 33 12 135 4; 1 Chr. 28 4, where the construction with להיות also occurs.

2. After verbs denoting a change of position to indicate the object of the change:

a. When the change is voluntary, especially after verbs signifying *stand, sit*:

יצב, Hith.; Con.: Num. 22 22.

כון, Ni.; Abs.: Amos 4 12.

עמד; Abs.: Num. 35 12; Josh. 20 6; Ezek. 44 24 (Ḳre).

קום; Abs.: 2 Sam. 18 32; Jer. 49 14; Zeph. 3 8;[83] Ps. 76 10 (9).

ישב; Abs.: Ps. 122 5; Job 38 40.

גרה, Hith.; Abs.: Dan. 11 25.

[80] לרעה; which, however, 𝔊 probably rightly omits.
[81] In three cases, also, the connective is omitted.
[82] 𝔊 om. לצבא 2.
[83] For לעד r. with 𝔊𝔖, לעד.

b. When the change is involuntary, especially after verbs signifying *raise, set*:

כון, Pi.; Abs.: Ps. 9 8; Hi.: Con.: 1 Chr. 22 3 (ter), 29 2 (quinquiens).

נוח, Hi.; Abs.: Exod. 16 23, 33, 34.

עמד, Hi.; Abs.: 2 Chr. 19 8 (bis).

פקד, Hi.; Con.: 1 Chr. 26 32 (bis).[84]

שום; Abs.: Jer. 21 10 (bis) 24 6 44 11; Amos 9 4 (bis); Hab. 1 12.

משח; Con.: 1 Sam. 15 17; 2 Sam. 2 4.

ראה, Hi.; Con.: Gen. 22 8.

3. After verbs denoting a doing or a making, to indicate the object of such activity:

בנה; Con.: Josh. 22 26 (bis), 29 (ter).

ברא; Abs.: Isa. 43 7.

יצר; Con.: Isa. 49 5.

עשה; Abs.: Gen. 1 16 (bis); Exod. 28 2 (bis), 40 (bis); 1 Sam. 8 16; Ezek. 21 20 36 22 (after למען); Ps. 136 8f. (bis); 1 Chr. 27 26; Con.: Exod. 29 41, where a noun with ל is followed by an appositive without it; Num. 15 24 (bis) 28 6 29 2, 5[85], 6 39 (quater); Josh. 22 28 (bis); Ps. 104 19.

פעל; Abs.: Prov. 16 4; Con.: Prov. 16 4.

4. After any verb describing an operation, to indicate the immediate object of that operation:

Exod. 16 32 (fill, for preservation); Num. 31 3 (equip, for service), 32 20 (equip, for war); Deut. 6 24; Jer. 32 39 (fear, for good); Deut. 10 13 (observe, for good); 2 Sam. 22 40 = Ps. 18 40 (39) (gird, for war); Jer. 25 7 (provoke, for evil), 44 27 (watch, for evil, good); Ezek. 21 20[86], *33* (polish, for slaughter); Ps. 69 *22* (*21*) (give drink, for thirst), 104 14 (make spring, for use); 2 Chr. 3 6 (overlay, for beauty).

Con.: Exod. 29 25; Lev. 3 16 4 31 17 6; Num. 18 17 (burn,

[84] The second ל is to be supplied.

[85] For חטאת r., with Sam. 𝔊𝔖 לחטאת; also vs. 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 35, 38.

[86] For מעטה r. מרטה, as in v. 33.

for a sweet savor); Mic. 7 12 (lie in wait, for blood); Ps. 59 4 (3) (lie in wait, for soul), 104 14 (make spring, for castle), 21 (go roaring, for prey), 105 39 (spread, for covering).

5. After הָיָה, expressed or understood:

a. When it connects the noun with a verb to which the same might have been more directly attached:

Abs.: Gen. 1 29 6 21; Num. 10 2 (bis) 19 9; Con.: Gen. 1 14 (ter), 15 9 13 17 11 31 44; Exod. 30 16; Lev. 24 7; Num. 17 3 (16 38); Ezek. 20 20.

b. When it connects the noun directly with a subject:

Abs.: Exod. 40 15; Lev. 25 6; Num. 14 3; Ezek. 21 37 34 5, 8 (bis), 10, 22. In Lev. 11 39; Jer. 43 11 (ter); 1 Chr. 26 29 the copula is to be supplied.

Con.: Gen. 1 15 47 24 (bis); Num. 35 12, 15; Isa. 23 18; Ezek. 45 5; Ps. 31 3 (2) (bis). In Lev. 5 8; Prov. 17 3 (bis); Eccl. 6 7; 1 Chr. 22 1 26 29 (bis) 28 21 the copula is to be supplied.

c. When the copula (understood) is supplemented by a prepositional phrase:

Abs.: 1 Chr. 25 6 28 21.

II. After nouns:

Abs.: Jer. 18 23; 1 Chr. 23 26, 28 24 19.

Con.: Gen. 22 7; Exod. 25 6 f. (quinquiens), 27: Lev. 3 6 8 21, 28; Num. 7 13, 15, 87 15 24 17 25 (10).

The cases in which a first noun, with לְ, denoting purpose is followed by one or more others in the same construction have been noted, with the number in each passage. It remains to show that, although the final clauses are thus coördinated, their relation to one another is not always the same, and to classify them according to these various relations.

1. The additional clause or clauses may simply increase the number of items in an enumeration; in which case:

a. They are usually connected by וְ:

(1) There are two nouns thus connected: Exod. 28 2; Num. 10 2; Isa. 8 18; Jer. 52 16; 2 Chr. 19 8. In 1 Chr. 26 32 the preposition is wanting with the second noun, and in Josh. 22 26,

28 both items are negative. In Judg. 16 23 and Isa. 23 18 a noun is thus coördinated with an infinitive.

(2) There are three nouns in the series: Gen. 1 14; Exod. 35 21; 1 Sam. 8 13.

(3) There are four items: Num. 29 39.

b. The connective is omitted between the last two of three items: Josh. 22 29; 1 Chr. 22 3.

2. The additional clause is a mere repetition, without the connective: Judg. 5 23; Hab. 3 13 (comp. Kittel).

3. The additional clause is in parallelism to the first, without the connective: Ps. 31 3 (2), with וְ, in the sense of *even*; Ps. 104 23.

4. The additional noun is an appositive, without לְ or the connective: Exod. 29 41; Lev. 24 7; Num 28 6[87]; 29 6.[87]

5. The additional clause or clauses explain the first:

a. There is one such explanatory clause, without the connective: Num. 4 35, 39. There is an infinitive in the place of the second noun: Num. 4 3, 30, 43 35 15; 1 Sam. 28 1; Isa. 20 6 49 6. In Jer. 44 11 the infinitive is preceded by וְ in the sense of *even*.

b. There are two explanatory clauses, connected by וְ: 1 Chr. 26 29.

c. There are eight nouns in the series, three of which want לְ, four וְ, and two both the preposition and the connective: Neh. 10 33 (32) f.

6. The additional clause is in antithesis with the first: Jer. 21 10 39 16 44 27. In Lev. 22 21 an infinitive and a noun are in an alternative relation, with אוֹ.

The construction with לְבִלְתִּי

In the course of the discussion of the preposition לְ as a final particle there has been occasion to call attention to the use of the negative in the same connection. Two distinct cases have occurred. One of them is that of such passages as Lev. 17 4,

[87] 𝔊 om. the second noun.

Bring it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation to offer it to Yahweh. The negative (לא) in this sentence precedes the leading verb, and, in accordance with a principle already stated, denies not only a given purpose, but the act that might have been done with such an end in view, — the whole construction. The other case is that of such passages as Jer. 4 11, *A dry wind from the hills of the desert* (cometh), *not to fan, and not to cleanse.* Here the coming of the wind is asserted; the negative, placed immediately before the infinitive, denies that it comes for a familiar purpose. The actual mission of the wind would naturally be stated in a corresponding positive construction. The prophet, however, chooses a more emphatic form of expression, saying, not *but to scatter*, but, v. 13, abandoning his figure, *Woe unto us, for we are spoiled.* The negative, then, when it immediately precedes the infinitive, denies only the dependent clause. There is, moreover, an antithesis, expressed or implied, between two objects for either of which the given act might have been performed.

There remains to be noticed a third case, that in which a virtual negative is employed with ל to denote purpose: for לבלתי is a compound of the preposition with בִּלְתִּי, the construct of בֶּלֶת, from בלה, *wear out*, the noun having, with the lapse of time, become a mere particle, meaning *not* or *except.* The compound is almost as variously used as the simple preposition. It is especially frequent in the expression of the relations of result and concomitance, when these require a negative; so that one must always be on one's guard against mistaking its real meaning.

When לבלתי is employed in a sentence involving purpose it introduces a dependent clause whose verb may be either an infinitive or an imperfect. The preceding clause is always affirmative. The arrangement is thus the same as that in the second case above described, with the exception that the preposition and the negative change places. This fact explains the distinction that exists between them, the distinction between *not to* and *to not.* The compound particle indicates that the act performed, as described in the main clause, is performed with a view to the avoidance or the prevention of the event of

the dependent clause. The antithesis implied is not between two possible results, but between different attitudes toward the same outcome. The force of the particle, therefore, is much the same as that of an emphatic *not* before the preposition *to*; but it can best be brought out in English by rendering it with an emphatic *prevent* or *avoid*, as will appear from the following list of passages, including all in the Old Testament in which it can with confidence be claimed that לבלתי denotes purpose.

The compound לבלתי, as would naturally be expected, is used:

1. With the Infinitive, both when the subject remains the same and when it is changed.

The following examples have been noted; Gen. 4 15, which may be rendered, either, *that anyone who met him might* not *slay him,* or, *to* prevent *anyone who met him from slaying him,* as he feared; 38 9 *to* avoid *giving seed to his brother,* as he should; Num. 32 9 (comp. v. 7, with מן); 1 Kings 15 17 = 2 Chr. 16 1; 2 Kings 23 10[88]; Jer. 17 23 (bis)[89]: 19 15 32 40; Ezek. 13 22 17 14 20 9, 14, 22 (comp. Isa. 48 11) 24 8[90] 29 15 46 20.

It is noticeable that this construction is most frequent in the book of Ezekiel, where, also, the looseness of the connection between the dependent and the principal clause is most apparent. In Ezek. 17 14 it is coördinated with one having a simple ל, and in 20 9 with למען and a noun. In the same book there are two instances, 13 22 and 46 20, in which it is followed by a dependent infinitive with the simple preposition.

2. With the Imperfect.

In this usage the particle always has a final signification. The examples that occur are: Exod. 20 20; 2 Sam. 14 14; also Jer. 23 14 and 27 18, where the text needs correction.[91]

Note. In modern Hebrew the compound לְבַל is quite common as a final conjunction, with the force of *that not*; but it is not found in the Old Testament, or even in the Mishnah.

[88] Here, for once, the Massoretic text repeats ל, but 4 MSS. omit it.

[89] For שָׁמוּעַ r., with 𝔊𝔏𝔖, שְׁמוּעַ.

[90] According to Kittel an interpolation.

[91] In both cases, through the carelessness of a scribe, the preformative, being the same as the final letter of the particle, was overlooked. See *BDB.*, art. בַּלְתִּי.

The construction with לָמָּה

A further extension of the idea of purpose, when the construction should contain a negative, is furnished by the use of the compound, למה, *for what*, that is, *why*. One can hardly say that this word introduces the apodosis of an intentional sentence. It is employed, oftenest after a voluntative, in a rhetorical question implying negation which may, without changing the quality of the construction, be made the apodosis of such a sentence. The Greek Version, in a majority of cases, renders it by μή, or ἵνα μή, or μήποτε. The English expressions *lest* and *that not* are hardly strong enough to reproduce its meaning. The English Version preserves the Hebrew idiom by using *why* or *wherefore* wherever the combination in question occurs. The interrogative form is a kind of protest against a result regarded as certain if a given action is not taken, a result which the person addressed cannot be supposed to intend.

The construction with למה is found after:

1. An Imperative:

Gen. 27 45, *Why should* (lest) *I be bereft of you both in one day?* 47 15, where the adverb is preceded by ו, to indicate the close relation between the question and the just made demand; 1 Sam. 17 19; 2 Sam. 2 22; 2 Kings 14 10, also with ו; Jer. 27 13, 17; Ezek. 18 31, with ו, 33 11, with ו; Joel 2 17; Cant. 1 7, where ·ש takes the place of the connective; 2 Chr. 25 16, 19. In 2 Sam. 2 22 the clause with למה is followed by one with ואיך (*then how*), which might be rendered, *and I be unable*, &c.

2. A jussive or a cohortative:

Jer. 40 15; Eccl. 5 5 (6); 7 16, 17.

3. A question implying a negative:

There thus results a pair of questions each of which has למה, as in Exod. 32 12; *Wherefore burneth thy wrath against thy people? Why should the Egyptians say*, &c.; which is clearly equivalent to: *Let not . . . . .*, *lest*, &c. See, also, 1 Chr. 21 3.

4. The verb ירא, like פן: Dan. 1 10, where אשר takes the place of ו, as does ·ש in Cant. 1 7.

5. The verb אמר, like פן: 2 Chr. 32 4, where, as in Gen. 26 9, a protasis is to be supplied.

Note. The use of אֵיךְ in a sense similar to that of למה in protests has been noted above. A clearer case is Isa. 48 11, where it is found coördinated with ולא and in an explanatory relation to למען.

The construction with מִן

The preposition מן is often, and properly, contrasted with ל, since these particles are in some respects almost diametrically distinct the one from the other. The contrast, however, is not always perfect; nor is it in all cases of the same character. The latter originally meant *toward*. Out of this signification arose its use to denote purpose. The former has no shade of meaning that exactly corresponds to this; hence it cannot be employed as a strict negative, when ל indicates the immediate object of a given act. It is, by reason of its derivation, precisely adapted to denote the cause, the source, in distinction from the aim, of activity. It is so used in Deut. 7 8. Where ל would denote mere concomitance, מן may be employed to express the reverse of an idea, as it is in Isa. 58 13.[92] It is oftenest, as opposed to ל meaning *to*, used to denote a negative result of a peculiar kind, an excluded result, after verbs of hindering and separating. Thus, Exod. 14 5; Lev. 26 13. These and similar passages are sometimes best translated into English by *from* and the proper verbal noun in *inf.* Closely related to this construction is the intentional. In fact, the intentional construction is the one just described, dependent on a more or less evident expression of the will; one, therefore, denoting that the given result is intentionally excluded. The relation between the two is so close that it is not always easy to decide which idea was in the writer's mind. In such cases one must adopt the interpretation that is most in harmony with the context.

The distinction between the construction with מן and those related to it that have already been discussed is quite apparent. That with פן is the only one with which it is likely to be con-

[92] With 𝔊, r. מעשות twice.

fused. There is, however, between them the difference between a result that will not, and one that can not, issue, if the intention of the agent is fulfilled. Where מן seems to supply the place of פן, the note of anxiety which is heard in the latter is wanting. It is further distinguished from other words used in similar constructions by the fact that, as one would expect, it occurs almost exclusively after verbs of hindering and separating. The following are the most important examples that occur in the Old Testament:

The preposition מן, introducing a result purposely excluded, is used:

I. With the infinitive, both when the subject remains the same and when it is changed:

1. After verbs denoting precaution:

שמר: Ps. 39 2 (1), *I will keep my way, that I sin not;* Ni., with ל: Gen. 31 29 (comp. v. 24, with פן); Exod. 19 12[93]; without ל: 2 Kings 6 9.

נצר: Ps. 34 14.

Here belongs, also, Job 34 30, if in v. 29, for יחד, one should, with Duhm, rend יעֵר or יעִיר.

2. After verbs denoting hindrance, separation, &c.:

נוא, Hi.: Num. 32 7 (comp. v. 9, with לבלתי).

סור, Hi.: Prov. 28 9.[94]

פדע: Job 33 24 (comp. v. 28).

שוב, Hi.: Ps. 106 23.

3. After expressions describing the reverse of natural operations:

אטם (אזן): Isa. 33 15.

אמץ, Pi. (לב): 2 Chr. 36 13.

חשך (עין): Ps. 69 24 (23).

כבד, Hi. (אזן): Zech. 7 11.

נער (יד): Isa. 33 15.

עבר, Hi. (עין): Ps. 119 37.

[93] For עלות r. מעלות.

[94] 𝔊 = מַסִּיר.

עצם (עין): Isa. 33 15.

קשה, Hi. (ערף): 2 Chr. 36 17.

II. With the Imperfect.

There is only one example Deut. 33 11, *that they rise not*, where פן is inadmissible, since the act described is not merely imminent, but in process of accomplishment.

III. With a noun or an adjective.

The examples that occur are similar to those under I. In fact, they may be regarded as elliptical expressions of the same class, since they can hardly be rendered into English without supplying a verb. Thus, in Jer. 2 25 (bis) the clause, rendered literally, *Withhold thy foot from barefoot* must be recast into something like, *Withhold thy foot, that it go not* (מלכת) *barefoot*. See, also, Jer. 48 2 (comp. v. 42); Ps. 83 5 (4). In the last passage the intentional value of מן is attested by the fact that it is coördinated with ולא.

The construction with —פֶּן

The particle that most nearly corresponds to the English *lest* is פן. Fürst, Ewald, and Gesenius agree in deriving the noun of which this word is a remnant from פנה and assigning to it the original signification *Anwendung*. So, also, *BDB.* and König.[95] The derivation is doubtless correct, but there is room for doubt whether the interpretation of the derivative is defensible. The root פנה is intransitive. It means *turn one's self*, then *turn one's self toward* a person or object. It sometimes has the sense of *turn one's self from*, but not as often as has been supposed. The noun פנים, meaning *face*, the side turned toward one (*BDB.*), probably contains a hint of the dominant idea of the root from which it came. The particle must be closely related to this noun. Its signification, therefore, in its original office, must have been *Zuwendung* rather than *Abwendung*. But *Zuwendung*, especially when expressed by פן, is often equivalent to preparation and, finally, readiness to

[95] *LG.*, ii. 334. Comp. Nöldeke, who cites Aram. פּוּן, *etwa*.

approach this or that person or object. This is the attitude in which an undesirable future event would naturally be presented; but its readiness would become *imminence*, and this is the term that best relates the various shades of meaning with which פן appears in the Old Testament. See especially its use with verbs of fearing. The current interpretation of the particle, if, as in Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch, zur Abwendung* is treated as the equivalent of *zur Abschaffung*, ignores the fact that the verb פנה, except in a single phrase, *turn the back*,[96] is intransitive.

The difference between פן and לבלתי is evident. The latter is used when there is a positive effort to prevent or avoid a single definite event, the former when the subject acts, or refrains from acting, to prevent or avoid one of an indefinite number of possible occurrences.

For the sake of completeness the passages containing verbs of fearing, which in Hebrew, as in other languages, take the particle denoting negative purpose, will be included in the following analysis.

The conjunction פן is employed:

I. With the Imperfect, as the proper form of expression for that which is possible:

1. After verbs of fearing:

גור: Deut. 32 27 (bis, without ו).

דאג: Jer. 38 19.

ירא: Gen. 26 7 32 12.

2. After a simple command to exercise precaution:

ראה: 2 Kings 10 23.[97]

שמר: Josh. 6 18; Ni., with ל: Gen. 24 6 31 24 (comp. v. 29, with מן); Exod. 34 12; Deut. 4 33 6 12f. 8 11f. (bis, without ו) 11 16f. 12 13, 19, 30 (bis) 15 9; with לנפש: Deut. 4 15—19 (bis); with ל ושמר נפש: Deut. 4 9.[98]

Here, perhaps, belongs Job 36 18, where, for כי חֵמָה, Kittel would r. חֲמֵה.

[96] Josh. 7 12; Jer. 2 27 32 33.

[97] Kittel r. Ni.

[98] On נשמר, with אל or ואל. See pp. 85, 93.

2 After any verb, declarative or voluntative, that embodies a precautionary measure:

a. When the main clause is declarative it may be either affirmative or negative:

(1) It is affirmative: Deut. 29 12 (13), 17 (18) (bis, without ו), where it is separated from the final clause by a double parenthesis (comp. Driver, *i. l.*); Josh. 24 27; Isa. 27 3 48 5, 7; Mal. 3 24; Ps. 91 12.[99]

In Job 32 13 the final clause itself is parenthetical, the main clause being some such statement as *I make mention of this*, referring to v. 12. Other cases of defective construction are: Gen. 3 22 26 9 31 31 38 11; Num. 16 34; 1 Sam. 13 19; Ps. 38 17 (16). In the first of these examples the main clause, which was doubtless omitted in compilation, may be supplied from v. 24. In all the rest the nature of this clauses is suggested by the preceding context, its form by the expression, *I said*, after which it would be inserted.

(2) It is negative: Gen. 19 19; Exod. 23 29 33 3; Deut. 7 22; Ruth 4 6. Add Gen. 44 34, with a question implying a negative answer, and Judg. 7 2, where *too many for me to give* is equivalent to *so many that I am not able to give.*

In the following examples the main clause is to be supplied after אמר: Gen. 42 2 (comp. 21 16, with אל); Exod. 13 17; 1. Sam. 27 11.

b. When the main clause is voluntative:

(1) The verb is in the first person: Gen. 11 4, where *and a tower . . . . . name* is parenthetical; Exod. 1 10 5 3; 1 Sam. 9 5; all affirmative.

(2) The verb is in the second person, and:

(a) Affirmative: Gen. 19 15, 17 45 9—11, a case similar to 11 4; Exod. 19 21; Josh. 2 16; Judg. 9 54 14 15 15 12, where the English Version has, *that ye will not* (לבלתי); 1 Sam. 4 9 15 6 31 4 (comp. 1 Chr. 10 4); 2 Sam. 12 28 15 14 20 6[100]; Isa. 6 19; Jer. 4 4 6 8 (bis) 21 12 51 45 f.[101]; Amos 5 6; Ps. 2 12 7 3 (2) 13 4

[99] In Prov. 5 6 פן is a mistake for a negative.

[100] For מצא r. ימצא.

[101] For ופן r., with 𝔖, פן.

(3) (bis, the second without וְ) 50 22; Prov. 25 16, 17 26 5 30 8f. (bis); 1 Chr. 10 4 (comp. 1 Sam. 31 4).

(b) Negative, with אַל: Num. 16 26; Deut. 9 27f.; Judg. 18 25; 2 Sam. 1 20 (bis, without וְ) 17 16; Isa. 28 22 36 16 –18, where the subject, Hezekiah, is named in the final clause on account of the distance from v. 16a; Jer. 1 17 10 24; Ps. 28 1 59 12 (11); Prov. 5 8—10 (bis, without וְ) 9 8 20 13 22 24f. 24 17 25 9f. 26 4 30 6, 10.[102]

With לֹא: Gen. 3 3; Lev. 10 7; Num. 20 18; Deut. 7 25 22 9 25 3. In Exod. 34 12—15 the second and third clauses with פֶּן are subordinate to the first, which has the force of a prohibition. The third, without וְ, is explanatory of the second resuming the thought interrupted by vs. 13f. It would, therefore be best to render v. 15, *lest if thou shouldst make a covenant with the inhabitant of the land*, &c.

(3) The verb is in the third person, and:

(a) Affirmative: Exod. 19 22; Deut. 19 5f. 20 5, 6, 7 (comp. v. 8); Hosea 2 5. The last four are jussive in form as well as in meaning.

(b) Negative, with אַל: Exod. 19 24 20 19; 1 Sam. 20 3; Prov. 31 4f. where the copula is to be supplied.

With לֹא: Exod. 23 33; 1 Kings 11 2.[103]

II. With the perfect, as the natural form of expression for that which may have happened.

There is but one genuine example, 2 Kings 2 16, *lest a strong wind have borne him away*, and the precautions taken in this case are rather against the consequences than against the occurrence of the accident described. On 2 Sam. 20 6, see p. 140.

The particle פֶּן is sometimes repeated, with or without וְ, in the same construction. The instances in which the clauses so introduced are coördinate have already been noted. There are not many of them, because, unless there was a reason for the repetition, for example, the preservation of rhythmical balance in poetry, the Hebrew writers preferred a less precise form of expression. This they produced by simply attaching the various

102 In Prov. 25 8 פֶּן is a mistake for כִּי.

103 For אֹכַן r., with 𝔊, פֶּן.

other members of a compound final sentence more or less closely to the first clause. In Ps. 13 5 (4) a second clause follows the first without a connective, In this instance, therefore, the second verb is an imperfect; but the rule is that the connective be employed, and that the verb following conform to the law for the succession of the tenses. The result is that the imperfect of the initial final clause is followed by from one to seven perfects consecutive, or, if negatives or emphatic words intervene, by imperfects or a mixed succession of perfects consecutive and simple imperfects. Examples of the briefer kind are found in Gen. 19 19 and Deut. 20 5. The length of some of these sentences is explained by the looseness of construction which enabled the Hebrews to use their ו with clauses whose relations are indicated in English by adverbs or other conjunctions. Thus, a literal translation of Deut. 8 12—14 would be: *lest thou eat* (impf.), *and be satisfied* (pf. cons.), *and goodly houses build* (impf.), *and dwell* (pf. cons.) *therein, and thy herd and thy flock multiply* (impf.), *and silver and gold multiply* (impf.) *to thee and all that thou hast multiply* (impf.), *and be uplifted* (pf. cons.) *thy heart, and thou forget* (pf. cons.) *Yahweh thy God;* but the English Version has: *lest, when thou hast eaten . . . . . then thine heart be lifted up and thou forget the LORD thy God:* in other words, this rendering puts seven of the (in Hebrew) nine coördinate clauses into a distinctly circumstantial relation. See, also, Deut. 11 16 f., where two of the eight clauses have the imperfect after a negative. In the single passage in which פן takes the perfect the second verb is naturally an imperfect consecutive.

The law for the succession of the tenses is almost always observed, but there are a few exceptions. The three following have been noted: Jer. 51 46 and Ps. 2 12, where the second verb is an imperfect with ו conjunctive, and Prov. 31 5, where a third verb, as well as the second, is in this construction. See Driver, *Tenses*, § 116.

The construction with לְמַעַן

The most complete development of the idea of purpose in the Hebrew language is denoted by the particle למען. The word is compounded of the preposition ל and the noun מען,

which, like מענה, is a derivative of ענה, *answer*, *respond*. Its original meaning, therefore, must have been *response*; from which the transition to *purpose* is simple and easy, as appears from Prov. 16 4, where מענה, which elsewhere has the sense of *response*, way be rendered *end* or *purpose*. The compound למען indicates a bearing. The difference between it and the simple preposition, when used in its intentional sense, is just that which corresponds to the distinction between bearing and direction. The former denotes a constant, the latter a transient purpose. Hence, while, as has been shown, the purpose denoted by ל exhausts itself in a single act, that denoted by למען may give rise to an unlimited number of efforts. It is evidently impossible to classify the examples of the use of the latter under divisions with reference to the signification of the verb of the main clause, and equally so to find in the construction as a whole any intimation concerning the prospect of the fulfilment of the purpose set forth.

An example of the use of each of these constructions will best illustrate their respective peculiarities. The brothers of Joseph, in reply to the question, *Whence come ye?* said, Gen. 42 7, *From the land of Canaan, to buy food.* This is a good instance of the use of ל with the infinitive to denote the immediate object, without emphasis, of a given act. An emphatic form of the same construction is found in v. 9 of the same chapter, where Joseph, inverting the order of the clauses, says, *To see the nakedness of the land are ye come.* The idea in each case is that a single act is performed from a single impulse in a given direction. Compare with these passages 1 Sam. 17 28. Jesse had sent David to the camp to carry provisions to his brothers and inquire after their health. The young shepherd, on his arrival, fell into conversation with the soldiers concerning Goliath. Eliab, overhearing his outburst of indignation, that a heathen should defy the armies of the living God, angrily replied, *I know thy pride and the naughtiness of thy heart. For the sake of seeing the battle hast thou come down.* Had the speaker wished only to deny the ostensible object of David's visit by substituting another, he would have employed, a Joseph did, ל with the infinitive. He chose rather to

represent his brother's purpose as a characteristic one, grounded in certain traits which he did not scruple to call by most offensive names, a purpose that might operate at any time and as often as an opportunity offered; and, to do this, he used למען.

The familiar passage, Gen. 12 13, is a second illustration of the force of this interesting particle. Abram, in urging Sarai to say that she is his sister, uses the argument, *that it may be well with me*, thus appealing to her affection for him, which may well be regarded as a constant motive. In like manner, the fifth commandment of the Decalogue, Exod. 20 12, is based on an appeal to the universal love of life. Finally, Deut. 8 14-16 reads, *Yahweh, thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, . . . who led thee through that great and terrible desert, . . . who brought thee water out of the flinty rock, who fed thee in the desert with manna, for the sake of humbling thee,* where no fewer than four coördinate protases, representing as many distinct divine acts, are connected by למען with a single apodosis denoting the purpose of each and all of them.

These examples will suffice to confirm the statement that למען denotes a constant purpose, corresponding very nearly to the German *auf daß*[104] and the English *for the sake of* in its strict sense. They indicate also that the element of constancy common to them may take a variety of forms. The following analysis will show whether these are really representative passages, and how extensive is the variety in their unity.

The particle למען is employed with both the infinitive and the finite verb. The rule is that the perfect, or its equivalent, the imperfect consecutive, in the protasis is followed by the infinitive in the apodosis, while the imperfect, or its equivalent, the perfect consecutive, and the imperative require the imperfect in the dependent clause. There are, to be sure, exceptions to both of these statements, but not enough to invalidate either

[104] This combination is found 159 times in the German Old Testament, 92 times for למען, 35 for ל, 20 for ו, 4 for בעבור, twice for עד, and once for על־דברת אולי, and פן, while in 3 cases it has no Hebrew equivalent.

of them.[105] There is greater freedom, it will be found, with reference to the subject of the infinitive after למען than after the simple preposition. The relative אשר occurs twelve times after למען with the imperfect, once in each of the books, Genesis, Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua, Samuel, and Jeremiah, twice in Deuteronomy, and four times in Ezekiel; in five of these occurrences, once in each of the books, Numbers and Deuteronomy, and three times in Ezekiel, with a negative. The negative occurs seven times without the relative.

The particle למען is used to denote a constant purpose:

I. With the Infinitive:

1. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a universal purpose.

There are no examples to cite under this head. The absence of them, however, seems to be accidental, since, with the finite verb, they are very numerous.

2. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a characteristic purpose.

A good example of this kind 1 Sam. 17 28, has already been quoted. No other, with the infinitive, happens to occur.

3. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a deliberate purpose.

There is a large number of passages illustrative of this variety. They may be divided into two classes, according as the purpose is manifested by a single act or a course of action. In some of these examples, at first sight, it seems as if ל might have been used instead of למען; but there are

[105] The infinitive occurs with למען: after an imperfect: Exod. 11 9 (with לא); Deut. 17 16; 1 Kings 8 59 f.; Jer. 11 4 f.; Zech. 13 4 (with לא); after a perfect consecutive: Gen. 18 19 b; Deut. 29 18 (19); Jer. 7 10; Ezek. 38 16 39 12; after an infinitive: Isa. 30 1; Jer. 7 18, 44; Ezek. 22 27; after a participle: Deut. 8 16; Jer. 27 10; Hab. 2 15; after a nominal clause: Prov. 15 24. The imperfect occurs with this particle: after a perfect: Gen. 18 19 a; Exod. 10 2; Deut. 29 5 (6); Hosea 8 4; Ps. 30 12 (11) 51 6 (4) 119 11; Neh. 6 12 f.; after an imperfect consecutive: Num. 17 4 f. (16 39 f.); Ezek. 19 9 (b *a* being an interpolation; Toy) 20 26 b *a*; after an infinitive: Deut. 6 2a 17 20 (with לבלתי); Ps. 78 6; 2 Chr. 31 4 32 18; after a participle: Jer. 44 29; after a nominal clause: Isa. 43 10; Ps. 130 4.

reasons for maintaining the contrary. In the first place, a writer does not naturally use a longer for a shorter form of expression; and, secondly, on closer examination it is possible to find an appropriateness in the employment of למען in a given connection.

a. When the purpose is manifested by a single act. This act may be done:

(1) In furtherance of an avowed plan; in which case one may further distinguish between the human and the divine.

(a) A human policy is illustrated by Exod. 1 11, where the English Version reads, *They did set over them taskmasters to afflict them*, as if the final particle were ל. It actually is למען, because, according to v. 10, the appointment of these overseers was part of a plan to check the increase of the Hebrews; and this nuance should be brought out in the translation. In Deut. 17 16 a policy is forbidden, and then an act in pursuance of that policy. For other examples, see 1 Sam. 15 15; Ezek. 36 5[106]; Joel 4 6; Amos 1 13.

b. A divine plan is given as the explanation of an act of God in Gen. 50 20, where ל introduces the immediate object of a long premeditated act; Exod. 9 16, where a steadfast purpose of Yahweh is contrasted with a subsidiary and temporary design introduced by בעבור; 10 1 f., where a second למען takes the imperfect; Josh. 4 24, where a second (subordinate) clause with למען reveals a plan[107] behind the one disclosed in the first; Jer. 50 34; Ezek. 21 15 (10) (bis)[108], 19 (14) f. with two coördinate infinitives; 40 4, where the apodosis precedes. In the last three the verb of the main clause is passive, but there can be no doubt that the agent is Yahweh. In Deut. 8 18 the motive for the divine action is the establishment or fulfillment of a covenant, and the same is true of 9 5 29 12 (13); 1 Kings 11 36.

In all the passages cited under the last two heads the given purpose is openly pursued. The same construction is employed when an act is done.

[106] For מגרשה, an Aram. Inf. (*BDB.*), Toy r. רְשָׁתָה, and for ובזה—לבז. Kittel, for the whole final clause, substitutes לְלַעַג וְלָבַז.

[107] For וְיִרְאָתָם r. יִרְאָתָם.

[108] For היה r., with 𝔊, היה.

(2) In furtherance of a secret plan. It may be:

(a) A human scheme: Gen. 37 22, where the force of למען may be compared with that of ל, which follows; Deut. 29 18 (19), where the fatal result of a secret resolution is represented as deliberately produced: 2 Kings 10 19; Jer. 27 10, 15 43 3; Hab. 2 15; Zech. 13 4.

(b) A divine counsel: Josh. 11 20 (bis); 1 Kings 12 15 = 2 Chr. 10 15; Ezek. 14 4 f. 2 Chr. 25 20.

b. When the purpose is manifested by a course of action.

The only difference between the passages that come under this head and those that belong under a is found in the fact that, when למען introduces a purpose after a course of action, the constancy of that purpose is more manifest than when it has to be inferred from a single act. It should be noted that the same apodosis may occur, that is, the same purpose be predicated, in both cases; also, that the activity described in the protasis may be continuous or consist of a series of acts of the same, or different kinds.

(1) The action is continuous: Ezek. 39 12; Prov. 15 24. A divine plan prompts to such action in Deut. 8 2.

(2) The action is customary or habitual: Lev. 20 3; Jer. 32 35; Ezek. 22 6, 9, 12; Amos 2 7. In 1 Kings 8 59 f. the actor is Yahweh. The likeness of these examples to those cited under the head of characteristic purpose is easily discernible. In most of the passages to be cited

(3) The action is various, It springs form a human purpose: Gen. 18 19 b; 2 Kings 22 17 23 24; Isa. 30 1; Jer. 7 18, where למען follows two infinitives, one construct, the other absolute, denoting immediate objects; 32 29 44 8 [109]; Ezek. 22 27; Mic. 6 16; 2 Chr. 34 25. In Jer. 7 10 the purpose seems to be a secret one. It is Yahweh whose acts are described in Deut. 2 30 6 23 8 3, 16 (bis); Jer. 11 4 f.; Ezek. 38 16; Mic. 6 4 f.

4. When acts are represented as omitted in accordance with a constant purpose.

There is none of the particles heretofore discussed that can be employed to denote a positive purpose for the omission of a

[109] Omit, with Kittel, למען הכרית לכם ו.

given act. The use of למען in such constructions is not an anomaly. The potential agent refrains from an act that he might perform because it is not in harmony with a fixed principle or resolution existing in his mind before the act was suggested. In Jer. 25 7 the purpose is one entertained by (potential) human agents. In Judg. 2 21 f. Yahweh is the subject in both clauses, but in Exod. 11 9 a man (Pharaoh), by refusing to act, unintentionally prepares the way for the accomplishment of a divine purpose.

II. With the Imperfect:

1. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a universal purpose.

By a universal purpose is meant a purpose that is grounded in human nature, one that appeals to any normal person. It is to such a purpose that an appeal is oftenest made when a person urges another to any course of action. It has the force of a sanction of the given command or request. Here belong final clauses in which an appeal is made to:

a. The love of life. The verbs used in the final clause are:

ארך, Hi., with יום; trans.: Deut. 4 40 11 9; intrans.: Exod. 20 12; Deut. 5 16 6 2b 25 15.

חיה: Deut. 4 1 5 30 8 1 16 20 30 19; Jer. 35 7 (plus *many days*); Amos 5 14.

רבה, with יום: Deut. 11 21.

ישע; Ni.: Jer. 4 14.

b. The desire of well-being. The verbs employed are:

יטב: Deut. 5 16, 26 (comp. v. 30) 6 18 12 28 22 7; Jer. 7 23 42 6.

שכל, Hi.: Deut. 29 8 (9); 1 Kings 2 3 f. (bis).

ברך, Pi.: Gen. 27 25, where the blessing is represented as something universally desired with a view to which an act is to be performed, and not as a consequence of that act (comp. vs. 5 8). For other examples, see Deut. 14 29 24 19.

Add, also:

בוא, of entrance into Canaan: Deut. 27 3.

ירש: 1 Chr. 28 8.

חזק: Deut. 11 8, followed by the two preceding.

It should be noted that, in almost all the passages here cited, a course of action is recommended, especially the observance of the commands of God, for the sake of a universally recognized good.

2. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a characteristic purpose:

Gen. 12 13 has already been quoted in the introduction to this chapter. In Job 40 8 the purpose is an unworthy one. Add Ps. 60 7 (5) = 108 7 (6), where the natural order is reversed.

3. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a deliberate purpose:

a. When the purpose is manifested by a single act:

(1) In furtherance of an avowed plan:

(a) A human policy: Num. 27 20; Deut. 6 2a; Isa. 43 26; Jer. 36 3, where למלן takes the places of ו after a clause with אולי; Ezek. 12 12[110], where, as well as in Ps. 119 11, the purpose is a negative one; 2 Chr. 31 4. In Exod. 4 5 and 8 6 the protasis is wholly or partly to be supplied.

(b) A divine plan: Gen. 18 19a; Exod. 10 2 16 32; Isa. 5 19 43 10 45 6; Jer. 44 29; Ezek. 12 16 20 26[111] 25 10; Ps. 78 6. In Ezek. 36 30 and Zech. 12 7 the purpose is negative.

(2) In furtherance of a secret plan. The single example noted, Neh. 6 12f., has two final clauses, the second being subordinate to the first.[112]

b. When the purpose is manifested by a course of action:

(1) The action is continuous: Exod. 33 23; Ps. 119 80.

(2) The action is customary or habitual: in a series of passages concerning required observances: Exod. 13 9 23 12; Lev. 17 4f. 23 42f.; Num. 15 40 36 8; Deut. 14 23 16 3 20 18, where

110 For יען r., with 𝔊, למען.

111 Kittel, with $\mathfrak{G}^B$, om.

112 Om. שכרו למען and, for שכור הוא, r. שְׂכָרוּהוּ; or, for שכרו, r. שכרוהו and om. שכור הוא.

the purpose is negative, 31 12 (bis). Add, also, Deut. 17 19; Josh. 1 8; Isa. 28 13[113]; Amos 2 7; and the less evident examples in Ps. 130 4 and Job 19 29.

(3) The action is various: Exod. 9 29, where Moses says, *I will spread my hands to Yahweh, the thunder shall cease, and the lightning shall no longer be, in order that thou mayst know that the earth is Yahweh's.* Other similar passages are: Deut. 31 19; Josh. 3 3 f., where the protasis is to be sought in v. 3b; 2 Sam. 13 5 (comp. v. 6); Isa. 23 16 66 10 f. (bis); Jer. 32 14; Ezek. 12 19 f. The last, like Ezek. 4 16 f., cited below, is a case in which the real apodosis is so short that a part of the protasis is attached to it and the sentence thus given the desired equilibrium. The whole may be rendered into English. *They shall eat their bread in affliction and drink their water in astonishment, in order that, when their land is emptied of everything in it, on account of the violence of all that dwell therein, when the peopled cities are destroyed and the country desolated, ye may know that I am Yahweh.* Add, Hosea 9 4, with its description of persistent godlessness; Hab. 2 2; Ps. 48 14 (13) 51 6 (4); Prov. 2 20, whose protasis is the gist of the preceding verses, especially 12 and 16, 19 20; Neh. 6 13b; 2 Chr. 32 18, where למען follows two infinitives with ל. In Num. 17 4 f. (16 39 f.), and Ezek. 19 9 the purpose is negative.

In the foregoing examples the agent is human, but he sometimes acts under divine instruction; the following are expressions of God's purpose in acting or appeals to motives by which he is supposed to be governed. The familiar apodosis with למען occurs: Exod. 8 17 f.; 1 Kings 8 43; Isa. 41 19 f. 45 2 f. Other examples of the same class are: Exod. 16 4; 1 Kings 8 40; Jer. 10 18 51 39; Ezek. 4 16 f. 6 6 f., another example of the introduction of the final particle into the midst of the proper protasis;[114] 11 19 f. 16 53[115] 62 f. 20 26b *a* 24 10 f.; Amos 9 11 f.; Obad. 9; Ps. 9 14 (13) f., the only instance of a voluntative immediately after למען, 30 12 (11) f. 68 23 (22) f.; 2 Chr. 6 30 f., 33. In the

[113] For וכשלו אחור r. אחור וכשלו.

[114] Three of the six verbs in the Massoretic text are wanting in the Greek Version.

[115] For ושבית שביתיך r., with 𝔊𝔖. ושבתי, and, with some *MSS* 𝔊𝔖 שבותך.

following passages the purpose is negative: Ezek. 14 10f. 26 20 31 13f.

4. When acts are represented as omitted in accordance with a constant purpose:

a. The purpose is positive: Exod. 11 7[116]; Deut. 5 14 12 25 13 18 (17) 17 20 23 21 (20) 29 5 (6); Isa. 44 9; Ezr. 9 12.

b. The purpose is negative: Ps. 125 3. In Josh. 1 7 3 4; Amos 5 14 the particle immediately follows a negative clause; but in these cases the negative clause is parenthetical and negligible.

Thus far in the study of למען account has been taken only of the form of construction in the immediate connection. In many cases this is sufficient, since the apodosis contains but a single verb or only one that denotes purpose. There are, however, some in which other verbs are added to the first, generally in coordination with it, but sometimes in a subordinate final relation. These will repay examination.

1. When למען takes the infinitive:

a. A coördinate clause has:

(1) An infinitive:

(a) With למען: Deut. 8 16, after ו; Josh. 11 20.

(b) With ול: Lev. 20 3.

(2) A perfect consecutive: Jer. 27 10 (bis)[117] 15.

(3) An imperfect separated from the connective: Num. 6 16, a doubtful passage.

b. A subordinate clause has:

(1) An infinitive:

(a) With למען: Josh. 4 24.

(b) With ל: Gen. 37 22 50 20; Deut. 6 23 8 16. In Jer. 43 3 there are two additional clauses subordinate to the first, in Deut. 8 2 a third dependent on the second.

2. When למען takes the imperfect:

a. A coördinate clause has:

[116] For תרעון r., with Sam. 𝔊, תרע.
[117] Omitted by 𝔊.

(1) An imperfect with ולמען: Deut. 4 40 5 16 6 2 8 11 31 12; 1 Kings 2 3 f.

(2) An imperfect with which למען is understood: Ps. 9 14 (13) f. 51 6 (4) 68 23 (22), where the copula, also, is to be supplied.

(3) A verb that conforms to the law for the succession of the tenses:

(a) One or more perfects consecutive: Gen. 12 13 18 19 a; Exod. 10 2; Lev. 17 5 (bis); Num. 15 40 (bis); Deut. 4 1 (bis) 5 30 (bis) 6 18 (bis) 8 1 (bis) 11 8 (bis) 13 18 (17) (bis) 16 20 22 7 31 12 (bis); 2 Sam. 13 5; Isa. 28 13 (quater) 66 11 a, b; Jer. 36 3 51 39 (bis); Ezek. 4 16 f. (bis) 12 16 16 53 f.; Ezr. 9 2 (bis). Here belongs, also, Ezek. 6 6 f., where an imperfect seems to have been interpolated. Comp. the Greek Version.

(b) One or more imperfects separated from their connectives: Num. 17 4 f. 36 8; Ezek. 14 10 f. 26 20 31 13 f. (bis); Ps. 30 12 (11) f.; Prov. 2 20, in all of which, except the last, the disturbing word is the negative לא.

(c) A mixed construction of perfects consecutive and imperfects separated from their connectives: Ezek. 11 19 f. (impf., 2 pfs., impf.) 12 19 f. (2 impfs., pf.), 16 62 f. (pf., impf.).

The examples thus far cited may be called regular. There are a few cases of irregularity, due to the neglect of the law for the succession of the tenses.

(4) An imperfect, with or without ו conjunctive in a series of perfects consecutive: Ezek. 6 6 f.[118] 24 10 f. (without ו)[119]; Neh. 6 12 f. (see p. 149).

(5) The imperfect, with or without ו conjunctive, for the perfect consecutive throughout a series: Exod. 23 12[120]; Isa. 41 20 (ter) 43 10 (bis); Amos 5 14, with a jussive. In Ps. 78 6—8 (sexiens) the connective is wanting with the first additional imperfect. Comp. the Greek Version.

b. A subordinate clause has למען: Ezek. 20 26, where, however, the whole is probably an interpolation.[121]

[118] Kittel, with 𝔊, om. the second verb.

[119] 𝔊 has a connective.

[120] Sam. has a reading without the second verb.

[121] It is found in $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$, but not in $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$.

III. With a Noun or a Pronoun.

The explanation of the particle למען given at the beginning of the chapter applies as well to its use with nouns and suffixes as with verbs, whether imperfects or infinitives. There are, in fact, many instances in which the former construction is evidently an abbreviation of the latter. The rendering *for the sake of* may, therefore, be retained, especially with the names of persons and attributes. The same divisions may also be made as have twice already served in this analysis.

1. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a universal purpose.

A perfect example of this usage is found in Deut. 30 6 in the expression, *for the sake of thy life.* For the corresponding verbal form, see Deut. 4 1.

2. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a characteristic purpose.

A good example is Gen. 18 24, where Abraham, interceding for Sodom, says *Wilt thou not . . . . . spare the place for the sake of the fifty righteous that are in it?* adding, *Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?* Comp. v. 26, where the particle is בעבור. In this passage the appeal is made to God's righteousness. So, also, in Isa. 42 21; but in Ps. 6 5 (4) 44 27 (26) it is made to his grace.

3. When acts are represented as done in accordance with a deliberate purpose.

The distinction between the simple and the complex protasis, which was emphasized under II. and III., will here be neglected, for the sake of bringing into prominence the use of למען with certain nouns and suffixes; but that between human and divine agency will be observed.

a. The agent is human: Jer. 7 19 (comp. Isa. 44 9); Ezek. 21 33 (28), where the text is doubtful.[122] Further: 1 Kings 8 41 = 2 Chr. 6 32; Isa. 49 7 55 5; Ps. 122 8, 9, in both of which the final phrase precedes. Finally, see Isa. 66 5, where *for my name's sake* is equivalent to *for the sake of dishonoring my name.*

122 For להכיל למען בָּרָק Toy suggests למען הָהֵל בָּרָק, Kittel להחל למען בְּרֹק.

b. The agent is divine in a much larger number and variety of examples. See, first, Judg. 3 2, where the final sense of למען is evidenced by the infinitive with ל that follows.[123]

The most common expression of this kind, giving the purpose of a divine act, is *for my own sake*, which occurs for the first time 2 Kings 19 34 and which is equivalent to the equally frequent verbal apodosis, *that . . . . . may know*, &c., Exod. 8 18, and similar expressions. See, further, 2 Kings 20 6 = Isa. 37 35; Isa. 43 25 48 11 (bis), where the final phrase precedes; Dan. 9 19, is an appeal to God.

The sense is the same when the form of expression is *for my name's sake:* Isa. 48 9; Ezek. 20 9, 14, 22, 44; Ps. 23 3 106 8; or, in petitions, *for thy name's sake:* Jer. 14 7; Ps. 25 11 31 4 (3), where the final phrase precedes; 79 9 109 21 143 11, also with the reverse arrangement. In Dan. 9 17 Θ′ has this reading, but the Massoretic text has *for the Lord's sake.* In Ezek. 36 22, where this positive purpose has ל, the negative with which it is contrasted has למען. See, also, v. 32.

Among the verbal expressions cited in the proper connection were, *that he may establish his covenant,* and the like, especially frequent in Deuteronomy and the succeeding historical books. There are corresponding nominal expressions. Thus, 2 Kings 13 23 has *for the sake of his covenant with Abraham,* &c., and 2 Chr. 21 7 *for the sake of the covenant which he made with David.* The first of these covenants is more briefly indicated: Isa. 43 14 45 4 63 17 65 8. The second is referred to in the same way: 1 Kings 11 32, 34 15 4 (comp. 11 36) 19 34 20 6 = Isa. 37 35. Twice, 1 Kings 11 13, 32, the city chosen by Yahweh for his abode is coupled with David as a beneficiary under the same covenant.

The Hebrews thought of Yahweh as pledged, not only to help them, but to defeat and punish their enemies. It is this hostile intention with reference to the gentiles to which appeal is made: Ps. 5 9 (8) 27 11 69 19 (18). In Ps. 8 3 (2) they are his enemies.

[123] Om., with 𝔊, רעת after למען.

Here belongs, also, Job 18 4, where, although no agent is named, Yahweh, without doubt, is intended.

4. When acts are represented as omitted in accordance with a constant purpose:

1 Kings 11 12, 13; 2 Kings 8 19; Isa. 62 1 (bis, with the reverse order); Jer. 14 21; Ps. 25 7[124]; 2 Chr. 21 7.

The passages in which למען is used with nouns or suffixes have now almost all been passed in review and found to agree in supporting the interpretation given to it in verbal clauses. There remain to be examined four—really but three—in which the particle seems to have a different meaning. The first in order is Deut. 3 26, for which, when compared with Deut. 1 37 (with בגללכם), 4 21 (with על דבריכם), and Ps. 106 32 (with בעבורכם), on *account of* seems to be the required rendering. The question arises, whether למען properly has this value, or, in this instance, is incorrectly so employed. The former supposition would imply that the Hebrews did not always clearly distinguish between cause and purpose, the latter that they did not always correctly express themselves in their own language. The foregoing discussion must have shown that they did make this distinction, and that they consistently used a particle to denote the latter of the two relations. The safest explanation of the passage cited, therefore, is that it is incorrect, that, instead of למען, one of the words found in the other references to the same incident should have been chosen: an explanation that is favored by Bertholet's suggestion that למענכם is an interpolation.

The case of 1 Kings 11 39, where למען takes the place of the יען אשר of v. 33, is still clearer; for this whole verse, with the last clause of the one preceding, is wanting in the Greek Version.

It is not impossible that the phrase, *on account of thy judgments*, also, in Ps. 48 12 (11), is a gloss, as it is in 97 8. In any case, it is of late origin, and, therefore, like the other two examples of the use of למען in a causal sense, may be treated as a mark of linguistic deterioration.

[124] Om., with Duhm, line 2.

The construction with בְּעֵבוּר

The particle בעבור is a compound of the preposition ב and the noun עֵבוּר, from the root עבר. The meaning of the verb is undisputed, but that of the noun is a matter on which authorities disagree. In Josh. 5 11 it evidently has the force of *fruit, produce*; and there are those who insist that, therefore, the compound with ב should be rendered, literally, *as fruit, in consequence*. So Fürst. Gesenius, in the *Thesaurus*, renders the particle *in transitu*, for which the *Handwörterbuch* has *in Veranlassung*. Ewald[125], who claims that the verb means "übergehen, sowohl in die Höhe als in die Länge", makes the noun equivalent to *vorüber* and the particle to *in wegen*, that is, *wegen*.

The key to the proper understanding of בעבור as a final particle seems to be found in 2 Sam. 12 21, where there is not the slightest trace of purpose. This passage can only be rendered, *While the child lived thou didst fast and weep*. The idea here expressed is that of concomitance, the acts described being represented as performed during the existence of a certain condition of things. In this case the concomitance it unnatural. Hence the protest of David's servants, which, of course, implies that there are acts and states naturally, or at least properly, associated. There is no reason why a purpose may not have a concomitant as well as any other form of thought or expression; and there is nothing in בעבור to prevent it from introducing this by-purpose. In fact it is, by its derivation, fitted for precisely that office, and it cannot properly be employed to denote the sole or prime purpose of a given act. The main purpose is sometimes expressed and sometimes implied in the context. The idiom by which the particle should be rendered depends on the presence of the main purpose.

In Gen. 27 10 בעבור is supplemented by אשר, and in 2 Chr. 19 3 by ל. In Exod. 20 20; 2 Sam. 14 20 17 14 the preposition is prefixed to it.

The passages in which בעבור has final force are here given

[125] *Lehrb.*, 789.

in three groups, according to the form of expression by which it is followed. It is employed to denote a by-purpose:

I. With the Infinitive.

The first example of this construction excellently illustrates, not only the peculiar force of בעבור, but the distinction between it and למען, which occurs in the same connection. The passage is Exod. 9 16, which, literally translated, would read, *In passage of this have I maintained thee, in passage of showing thee my might, and for response to publishing my name in the whole earth;* which, being interpreted, means, *By way of this have I maintained thee, that I show thee my power, while publishing my name in the whole earth.* Thus it appears that God's dealings with the king were only incidental to the pursuit of his eternal purpose to reveal himself in his glory to the world. In 2 Sam. 10 3 בעבור is similarly associated with ל. David had sent certain envoys to condole with Hanun, king of the Ammonites, on the occasion of the death of his father. The Ammonite princes, suspecting mischief, said to their royal master literally: *Doth David honor thy father in thy eyes in that he hath sent to thee condolers?*[126] *Is it not by way of exploring the city, and to spy it out and to overthrow it that David hath sent his servants to thee?* These courtiers, be it observed, do not, like Joseph in Gen. 42 9, deny the ostensible object of the embassy; they simply suggest that condolence was not its only object. Their meaning would be more evident if the latter part of the verse were rendered, *Is it not meanwhile to explore the city..... that he hath sent,* &c. Thus rendered בעבור becomes virtually an adverbial modifier of the final clause to which it belongs, as if the first verb of that clause, as well as the second and third, had ל prefixed to it. It is not strange, therefore, to find that, in 1 Chr. 19 3, all three actually have this preposition.

In the three instances in which ל is prefixed to the particle the verb following is naturally in the infinitive. In neither of them is the main object clearly presented, but it can be supplied from the context. Thus, in Exod. 20 20, where Moses says, *Fear not, for to in passage test you, is God come,* he means

[126] The participle for the infinitive. See v. 2; also p. 123.

that God came incidentally, and in the manner described, to test and awe his people, the prime object of the theophany being, of course, the publication of the Decalogue. In 2 Sam. 14 20 the prime object is the ostensibe one, but Joab secretly sought *to in passage change the aspect of the matter,* that is, incidentally the woman, while telling her story, or during the discussion that would doubtless follow, was to introduce the case of Absalom. In 2 Sam. 17 14 there are really two objects, for, although Hushai seemed to oppose Ahithophel in the interest of Absalom, the real aim, meanwhile, of Yahweh, under whose instructions he was acting, was *to bring evil* upon the reckless prince.

There remain two more passages in which בעבור is followed by the infinitive. The first, 2 Sam. 18 18, is puzzling, but not inexplicable. One has only to remember that Absalom died young to perceive why he used this form of expression. He could not, at his time of life and in his circumstances, have despaired of ever having a male child, if he lived. There was always, however, the possibility that his life might be cut short, as indeed it was. It was therefore probably this contingency for which he wished to provide when he reared his pillar *"in the king's dale"*, and his remark with reference to it should be translated, *I have as yet* (בעבור) *no son to recall my name.* It is not so easy to dispose of 1 Sam. 1 6. In fact, it seems to defy explanation. The English rendering, *for to make her fret,* is questionable, the verb רעם not having the meaning thus given to it in Hebrew. If it is here used in its Aramaic signification, Budde is doubtless justified in treating the whole verse as an interpolation, and it may well be that the author of it used בעבור without regard to its peculiar force.[127]

II. With the Imperfect.

The fact, just established, that בעבור with the infinitive denotes a by-purpose, gives ground for expecting that, when

[127] Klostermann sees in הרעמה a corruption of וה רחמה, and in the latter of these two words a gloss to explain the former. But 𝔊, on which this conjecture is based, is so free and careless at this point that one cannot safely follow it.

used with the imperfect, it sometimes, at least, has the same meaning. There are several passages in which this expectation is realized. The first is Gen. 21 30, where Abraham's reply to a question concerning some lambs that he had put aside as a second present for Abimelech may be rendered, *These seven ewe-lambs thou shalt take from me, that, at the same time, it*[128] *may be a witness for me, that I have digged this* (a new) *well.* In 27 4 this particle is used in conjunction with the ו of intended result, where Isaac says, *Bring it to me, that, while I eat, my soul may bless thee.* A similar expression is found in vs. 10, 19, and 31. Compare v. 25, with למען, which, if, as seems to be the case, it is an intentional variation, presents the blessing, not as an incidental expression of sensual gratification, but as an inheritance that any worthy son might covet. The meaning of 46 34 cannot be fully brought out by translating the final clause, *that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen.* Joseph intended that his brothers, while answering the king with seeming simplicity, should play on the Egyptian repugnance for shepherds and herdsmen, and thus get the best pasturage in the country without directly asking for it. For the sequel, see 47 4. If Exod. 9 14 stood by itself, it would require למען, like 8 6 (10), which it closely resembles; but, anticipating, as it does, v. 16a, it takes the same construction. On 19 9, see 20 20. It is doubtful whether, in Ps. 105 45, בעבור has a final force. In the first place, the idea that God's people obtained possession[129] of (the fruit of) the toil of the gentiles, that they might keep his statutes, is a reversal of the common Hebrew conception; and, secondly, the verse is wanting in both the Greek and the Syriac Version. When these facts are considered it becomes more than probable that the case is one in which a punctilious scribe, remembering that his people had lost their inheritance, reminded himself and his readers why they had thus suffered by adding, *while they kept his statutes and observed his laws.*

III. With a Noun or a Pronoun.

The analogy of למען suggests that בעבור, also, may be used with nouns or pronouns to denote purpose. There are, in fact,

[128] 𝔊𝔙, *they.* [129] For ירש r., with 13 *MSS.*, ירש.

a number of cases of this kind. The most convincing is that of Exod. 9 16, where the phrase בעבור זאת, being immediately followed by the explanatory clause, *that I might shew thee my power*, must, of course, be given final significance. Another good example is found in 2 Sam. 7 21, which, according to Budde, should read, *For the sake of thy servant hast thou wrought, to make known to thy servant all this greatness.* In both of these passages the fundamental idea of the particle, used as a preposition, is that of concomitance or association. It is more apparent in Gen. 3 17, where *along with* fits the connection almost as well as *for the sake of*; but, since the cursing of the ground must be regarded as a means to an end, the latter is a justifiable rendering. See, also, Gen. 8 21 12 13, 16 18 26; 1. Sam. 23 10. In Gen. 18 26 בעבור takes the place of the למען of v. 24, because the emphasis is shifted from *the righteous* in Sodom to *the whole place.* In vs. 29, 31, and 32 it takes the place of *if I find* in vs. 28 and 30 after a negative statement. In these passages it might be rendered *while there are*, or, in v. 29, for example, the construction might be treated as an elliptical one for *I will not destroy it, if I find there forty and five, but spare it for their sakes.* Here, again, it is the incidental deliverance that is prominent; hence the choice of בעבור. Comp. v. 24. The use of the same particle in 1 Sam. 12 22 is perhaps to be explained in the same way, but it is more probable that, in this instance, it has usurped the place of למען.

There are a few other passages in which בעבור is employed, although in similar connections למען is the more common construction. See Gen. 26 24; 2 Sam. 5 12 = 1 Chr. 14 2; 2 Sam. 9 1, 7; Ps. 132 10. Comp. 1 Kings 11 32.

The force of בעבור in Am. 2 6 and 8 6 is a matter on which expositors differ. Thus, Harper, although he translates it, as he does the ב in the parallel clause, by *for*, makes it the equivalent of *on account of.* Marti, on the other hand, regards the *pair of shoes*, or their value, not as a cause of litigation, but, like the *silver* just mentioned, as an object of judicial cupidity; and this interpretation, being the simpler and more natural, is to be preferred.[130]

[130] On 2 Sam. 12 25, see Kittel.

The passages thus far cited have shown that בעבור, with nouns and pronouns as well as verbs, may, and often does, have a final significance. But there is no reason why concomitance may not imply cause as well as purpose. Hence it is not strange that there should be some examples in which בעבור not only may, but must, be rendered in this way. There is an excellent example in 2 Chr. 28 19, where the narrator says that Yahweh *brought Judah low on account of Ahaz*. For others, the 2 Sam. 6 12 13 2; Mic. 2 10; Ps. 106 32; Job 20 2.[131]

[131] Read, with Bickell, בעבור זאת. On Exod. 13 8 and Jer. 14 4, see Kittel *i. l.*

The Salutation of Barnabas

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE salutation at the beginning of the Epistle of Barnabas, "Hail, sons and daughters (Χαίρετε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες), in the name of the Lord who has loved us, in peace" has always seemed rather at variance with the epistolary title and the occasional epistolary touches in the letter, e. g. "I have hastened to send you a short (letter)", 1 5. "Sons and daughters" is not a usual way of designating the recipients of a letter in the salutation: it is too vague for Greek epistolary feeling, and it should be the dative, not the vocative. But the latter is required here by the accompanying imperative, Χαίρετε. The expression "Hail" or "Rejoice" (Χαίρετε) followed by a vocative "Sons and daughters" is properly a form of direct address, used by persons face to face with each other. Thus Telemachus addresses Athene, "Hail, stranger!" (Χαῖρε, ξεῖνε, Od. 1 123). Judas says to Jesus, "Hail, rabbi!" Χαῖρε ῥαββεί, Mt. 26 49, cf. Lk. 1 28). Rhoda says to Hermas, "Hermas, hail!" (Ἑρμᾶ, χαῖρε, Vis. 1 1, 4); Trypho to Justin, "Philosopher, hail!" (Φιλόσοφε, χαῖρε, Dial. 1 1). The parallels suggest that Barnabas begins more like a sermon than an epistle.

On second thought, however, it is not altogether natural for a preacher to address his hearers with this ancient "How do you do?" or "Good morning". The ancient models are "Brethren", "My brethren", "Beloved" in the homily-epistles, and in the Acts, "Brethren and fathers", or "Men of Athens". But the fact remains that "Hail, sons and daughters" even if it be no proper way to open a sermon is a most unusual manner of beginning a letter.

The New Testament epistolary forms, of course, stand rather apart from Greek usage. Paul at least shows what is apparently Jewish influence in his habitual "Grace to you, and peace". The epistles of Peter accompany these words with the optative "be multiplied" (πληθυνθείη). Jude uses the same construction: "Mercy to you and peace and love be multiplied", while 2 and 3 John have only the names of writer and recipient: "The Elder unto Gaius the beloved whom I love in truth". "Grace, mercy, peace" is used in 1 and 2 Timothy, and "grace and peace" in Titus. Only James shows the usual Greek epistolary form: "James . . . to the twelve tribes . . . greeting" (χαίρειν). The letter of the Jerusalem church to the Greek churches given in Acts 15, also begins in true Greek style: "The apostles to the brethren . . . greeting" (χαίρειν 15 23). That the New Testament letters most truly Greek in form should be these two, is strange and significant.

Of the Apostolic Fathers, Clement, like Peter, uses "Grace and peace be multiplied to you", and Polycarp, "Mercy and peace . . . be multiplied to you". Ignatius, however, uses the strict Greek formula πλεῖστα χαίρειν („Ignatius . . . to Polycarp . . . heartiest greeting"), though sometimes a good deal embroidered.

With or without πλεῖστα, this is the form of salutation found in hundreds of papyrus letters of both Ptolemaic and Roman periods. "Zois to Ischyrion her brother, greeting" (χαίρειν) is the ever recurring type, varied now and then with "heartiest greeting" (πλεῖστα χαίρειν or rarely πολλὰ χαίρειν, O. P. 1296). Sometimes "and perpetual health" (καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν) is added (O. P. 294, *A. D.* 22). Sometimes there is no greeting: "Sarmates to his own Dioscorus" (O. P. 1297); "To Stephanus from Hephaestion" (O. P. 1065). Once εὐψυχεῖν (O. P. 115) occurs for χαίρειν, recalling the Platonic εὖ πράττειν. But these exceptions are decidedly rare. The ordinary mechanism of salutation in the papyrus letters is "Theon to Tyrannus χαίρειν".

But some letters among the papyri offer striking parallels to the construction in Barnabas. The Marburg papyrus letters published by Eisner (Papyri Iandanae, fasc. 2, 1913) in-

clude one, no. 12, of the third or fourth century after Christ, beginning

Χαίροις Ἀφυμοῦ παρὰ Σωιρίδος.

Here as in Barnabas the verb is second person instead of infinitive, but it is in the optative not the imperative. This is very like O. P. 933, of the second century:

Χαίροις, κύριέ μου Ἀπολινάριε παρὰ Διογένους φίλου.

O. P. 1063, of the second or third century, is much closer to Barnabas:

Χαίροις, τέκνον Ἀμόι.

"Greeting, my son Amois!" Here the writer does not mention his own name, and does not need to, as he is writing to his own son. The address on the *verso* may have contained it. A still closer resemblance to the Barnabas salutation appears in the Berlin *Griechische Urkunden,* 821, of the second century:

Χαῖρε, κύριέ μου πάτερ, Ἡραίσκος σε ἀσπάζομαι

"Hail, my lord father! I Heraiscus salute thee!"

The chief peculiarities in the epistolary salutation of Barnabas are interestingly met by these two letters. As in the former of them the writer of Barnabas leaves himself unnamed but would be identified to his readers by the relationship to them, of course spiritual, that he claims. As in the latter, the direct imperative is used, and the recipients are designated only in terms of relationship. It will be remembered that Africanus' famous letter to Origen begins with Χαῖρε. But perhaps the best parallel of all to Barnabas is afforded by Fayum Papyri 129, of the third century:

Χαῖρε, κύριε τιμιώτατε.

Here the salutation names neither writer nor recipients and consists simply of the imperative Χαῖρε with the vocative "honored sir". This is structurally at least precisely as in Barnabas. The *verso* has Σερήνῳ ἐπίδος, "Deliver to Serenus", and in like manner the real address probably stood on the *verso* of the original roll of the Epistle of Barnabas. On the whole these letters satisfy the epistolary peculiarities of Barnabas surprisingly well. They belong to the same general period with it,

coming from the second or third century, while it was written about 130 *A. D.* And if, as many have thought, Barnabas was written in Egypt, the evidence of these Egyptian letters is all the more competent.

Some scholars have explained these uses of χαῖρε and χαίροις in letter salutations of the Roman period as due to want of culture on the part of the writers.[1] Eisner thinks them rather intimate modes of salutation, natural between father and son or between brothers. Most though not all of the letters of this kind are from one member of a family to another. With this explanation the use of this form in Barnabas falls in very well. The Christian teacher addresses his disciples as his children, and the informal domestic salutation is a natural incident to this address. It is furthermore a strong hint of the genuinely epistolary character of the document, for if the salutation were an accretion or a pretence, a more conventional form would certainly have been employed.

On the whole it seems clear that the salutation at the beginning of Barnabas, so far from being a sermonic or homiletical touch, is genuinely and demonstrably epistolary, and fits perfectly with Egypt and the second century.

[1] Ziemann has collected examples of the Χαῖρε type, from the second to the fourth century after Christ (De epistularum Graecarum formulis, 1911). From the second come Lond. III p. 208, no. 899 (Χ[αῖρε τ]έκνον Ἄρειε ἀπὸ Ἑρμαίου πατρός); B. G. U. III, 821; Rein. 48, and Barnabas; from the second or third B. G. U. II 435 (Χαῖρε Οὐαλεριανὲ παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ); from the third, Fayum 129, and Julius Africanus to Origen; and from the third or fourth O. P. 122.

The 'Order' of the Lukan 'Interpolations'

I. General Survey

B. W. BACON
YALE UNIVERSITY

OUR conception of the nature of the Second Source of Synoptic tradition must largely depend on what are called the Lesser and Greater 'Interpolations' of Luke; that is, the two masses of agglutinated material interjected into the course of narrative borrowed from Mark in Lk. 6 20—8 3 and 9 51—18 14 respectively; for in the two groups our third evangelist has massed by far the larger part of his Ⓠ[1] material. If therefore that material had the order of a narrative (*διήγησις*) in chronological sequence, or in fact even a topical order, we should expect to find the clearest traces of it here.

The striking phenomenon of the two agglutinations is that in spite of the evangelist's avowed effort to tell his story *καθεξής*, thus improving upon those who before him had "undertaken to draw up narratives (*διηγήσεις*)" his "order" is here so nearly indistinguishable from utter disorder. Is the Second Source to blame for this; or have Matthew and Luke interfered with the order of their common source, or sources? — Our answer will largely depend on the practice of Luke elsewhere.

[1] The symbol Ⓠ in this article is used in a strict sense, and not as identical with "the Second Source", still less the (theoretical) Logia. It means simply what is designated by some English critics "the Double Tradition", in other words that portion of Matthew and Luke which after subtraction of Mark is found to be coincident, and is therefore attributed to a 'Second' source — Mark being 'first'. By the use of the bare algebraic sign question-begging assumptions as to the nature of the source (or sources) of the Ⓠ material are avoided.

In the rest of the Gospel Luke follows Mark. There are supplementary chapters at beginning and end (Lk. 1—2 and 24), and there is one important omission, but otherwise Mark's outline is reproduced almost without interruption or transposition. The very massing of the non-Markan material looks in the same direction. For one of Luke's main objects in rewriting Mark is to give a more adequate idea of Jesus' teaching by drawing from the Second Source. Yet even the 'Interpolations', by combining nearly all the added material in two great blocks supplement the Markan narrative at the least possible cost of disturbance of its order. We may lay it down with great confidence as a first and important principle that Mark's order is for Luke of great authority.

The first agglutination is inserted at that point of Mark where the Twelve are set apart from the multitude of Jesus' followers, and are taught in parables "the mystery of the kingdom of God" (Mk. 3 7—4 34). But substituting the so-called Sermon on the Mount for the Markan chapter of parables (Mk. 4 1–34) Luke accomplishes a considerable part of his purpose of supplementation of the teaching factor. But teaching and anecdote are not intermingled as in the second agglutination. The Sermon is followed by a series of anecdotes exhibiting the nature of Jesus' ministry and its fruits. This series is somewhat similar to the series already given from Mark in Lk. 4 31—6 11 (= Mk. 1 21—3 6) which also has Capernaum for its starting point; but in its first part (Lk. 7 1—8 3) it is *wholly non-Markan*. Its latter part (Lk. 8 4–56) is simply a transcript of Mk. 4 1—5 43, and may therefore be dismissed from present consideration with the mere note that the evangelist cancels the parables which follow the first (The Seed on good Soil) and transfers the saying: "My mother and brethren are they that hear the word of God and do it" (Mk. 3 31–35) from immediately before to just after the parable, where the application of "hearing and doing" will be more obvious.[2] The succeeding series of faith-wonders (8 22–56) leads up to the Mission of the Twelve, as in Mk. 4 34 ff., but with better con-

2 Note the change of reading from Mk. 3 35 and the constant recurrence of the phrase "hear the word" &c. in verses 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18 and 21. As to Luke's special emphasis on "hearing and doing", see below.

nection through the cancellation of the Preaching in Nazareth (Mk. 6 1–6), which Luke had already given in 4 16 ff. from another source. It appears thus as a second characteristic of Luke's order in his account of the Galilean ministry, that in his principal supplement to Mark he masses the non-Markan material, whether discourse or narrative, by itself (6 20–8 33), leaving the Markan (8 4 - 9 50) to follow without interruption.

Our present concern is with the series of anecdotes (7 1 – 8 3) which constitute the second part of this great supplement; the first of which (Centurion's Faith, 7 1–10) may be designated Q, for it is identical with that which in Matthew also (Mt. 8 5–13) stands next but one after the Sermon. Indeed the larger part of the series (7 18–35) consists of that Q pericope which contrasts Jesus' ministry with the ministry of John.

To students whose minds are not already committed to the current doctrine that the Second Source was a mere agglomeration of *logia* without narrative order, the fact should have some significance that not Luke alone but Matthew also had *narrative* material of greater or less extent to add from the Second Source, and that some of it was added by both evangelists at this particular point. The natural inference would be that in the Source also a transition was made at this point from an account of Jesus' teaching to scenes from his ministry of healing. Now this inference is borne out by the nature of the colophon which in both Gospels marks the close of the Sermon. The colophon employed by Matthew at the close of each of his five *pereqs* of teaching appears after that Sermon for the first time, and has the form καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους. It thus marks a transition from λεχθέντα (ἐτέλεσε τοὺς λόγους) to πραχθέντα. But, as Sir John Hawkins has pointed out (*Oxford Studies*, p. 121) Mt. 7 28 is the equivalent of Lk. 7 1, Matthew having followed his favorite method of turning one of the phrases of the Source into a recurrent refrain (cf. Mt. 8 12 13 42, 50 22 13 24 5 25 30 with Lk. 13 28). Thus *the* Q *material itself* gives some indication of transition after the Sermon from discourse to narrative. To this extent we have reason to believe that the Second Source was a true διήγησις, however greatly its proportion of discourse to narrative may

have exceeded that of Mark. It had an order, and to some extent the order of a complete story of Jesus' ministry, however largely characterized (like the Book of Acts) by great bodies of discourse. The treatment of their Q material by both Matthew and Luke, so far as we have gone, is indicative of this; for the main difference between Matthew's group of the Mighty Works (Mt. 8 1—9 34) and Luke's (Lk. 7 1—8 56) is that Matthew draws nearly all his material from Mark placing it in an artificial order of his own; whereas Luke reserves the Markan material not already employed in 4 31—6 19 for 8 4–56, placing before it the non-Markan. Whether he has been as careful to preserve the original order of the Second Source as that of Mark is the question before us.

Of the non-Markan material (7 1—8 3) only 7 1–10, 18–35 is paralleled by Matthew and can therefore be designated Q. The remainder may, or may not, be derived from the Second Source; but the tendency already observed of both the supplementers of Mark to go slightly beyond the limits of purely teaching material, and to include at least one non-Markan narrative becomes the more noteworthy when we observe that *Mark also*, at the same point as Matthew (Mk. 1 9, 22 = Mt. 4 22 7 29), proceeds from his account of the beginning of Jesus' teaching to a series of anecdotes of Mighty Works (1 40—3 6). Supposing this common tendency to be due to influence from the Source we should naturally look first to the non-Markan series in Lk. 7 1—8 3 for indications of an underlying source order. Luke's general method falls first to be studied.

Apart from the two 'Interpolations' and some minor supplements (e. g. 4 16–30 5 4–9 19 1–28) Luke's order is, as already noted, substantially the order of Mark. Transpositions (so far as they exist) tend to 'prove the rule'. Lk. 3 19f. e. g. transfers an outline of the story of the Baptist's Fate (Mk. 6 14–29) to the point in the narrative where it comes nearest to chronological sequence. At the same time the actual death of the prophet is omitted, and the date of his imprisonment left undetermined. No obstacle therefore remains to the reader in Lk. 7 18 ff. to understand that "John was not yet cast into prison". Indeed since it is only by an illegitimate side glance at Mt. 11 2 ("in

the prison") that we escape the natural impression from 7 18f. that the Baptist's work is still in uninterrupted progress, we should probably conclude with Spitta[3], that Luke himself (whether justly or unjustly), had received this impression from the Source. It is even possible that Lk. 3 20 (*καπέκλεισεν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν φυλακῇ*) here represents the original source, since Mk. 1 14 implies a knowledge of the facts not presupposed in 6 17. It is tempting to imagine, especially in view of the Johannine parallel, that Luke had documentary authority for this order. But Mk. 6 17–29 so obviously throws back the whole story of the Baptist's Fate to a date only vaguely indicated as later than 1 14 that the inference would scarcely be justified. Subsequent historians, if aiming to write *καθεξῆς*, would be driven, even without documentary authority, to do just as Luke has done. The case would then be simply that in Mt. 11 2 and Lk. 3 19f. we have respectively two divergent attempts to combine Mark with the Second Source. Mk. 1 14 made the imprisonment of the Baptist precede the beginning of Jesus' ministry. The Second Source (as understood by Luke) implied that John remained for some time thereafter at liberty. Luke therefore sets quietly aside as erroneous the statement of Mk. 1 14, and is followed herein by the fourth evangelist who makes the correction explicit.[4] Matthew on the other hand supports Mark. He interjects in Mt. 11 2 by a characteristic editorial touch the words *ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ*, thus harmonizing the chronology with Mk. 1 14, though at the expense of some incongruity with the context.

In this transposition of Lk. 3 19f., whether by conjecture only, or on source-authority, the first point to be noticed is the extreme slightness of Luke's improvement, or in other words the

[3] "Die Sendung des Täufer's zu Jesus", *Th. St. u. Kr.*, 1910, 534–51.

[4] Jn. 3 24. The fourth Gospel leaves of course no room for a Baptist who can be "stumbled" in Jesus or surprised at the character of a ministry which is precisely that of the Isaian "Lamb of God". Hence the "disciples of John" who report to him in "Aenon near to Salim" are merely enlightened by their master on the relation of the Bridegroom and his friends to the predecessor (cf. Mk. 2 18-20). Nevertheless Jn. 6 22-30 must be regarded as a 'Johannine' parallel to Mt. 11 2-19 = Lk. 7 18-35 standing between Q and Mk. 27 18-20.

great caution of hit attempt. This is curiously at variance with the very early tradition attested by Papias. Were the Elder's estimate of Mark's 'order' representative we should expect that Luke, in attempting to improve in this respect upon the διηγήσεις of the διάκονοι τοῦ λόγου who had preceded him, would have used great freedom. In reality he clings to Mark's order as though no other clew existed, his supplements being made with the least possible derangement, and his rare transpositions being usually made as it were on Mark's own suggestion.

This timidity of Luke is usually accounted for by the absence of chronological order in his sources. We must indeed recognize the *ultimate* dependence of the tradition upon disconnected sayings and doings. Papia's idea of the preaching of Peter must be *on the whole* correct. But whether the Second Source represented by our Q material had this totally incoherent character is another question, and can be determined only by its own internal evidence. For while Matthew and Luke have neither of them been guided by the order of Q, but have regarded Mark as authoritative, this preponderance of Mark need not be so much due to real superiority in order, as to the tradition which connected it from very early times (though perhaps only based on 1 Pt. 5 13) with the leader of the Twelve. As matter of fact Mark's order is highly unchronlogical, but its supposed apostolic derivation might easily produce complete distortion of the much better order of some other source brought by later hands into combination with it.

Thus Matthew in combining the Second Source with Mark displays no more of real independence than Luke. He does make up, as we have seen, an agglutinatination of Ten Mighty Works corresponding to the narrative part of Luke's Smaller Interpolation, employing for the purpose an order of his own, which is manifestly not intended to be chronological but topical. This may perhaps be considered to show as much boldness as Luke's omission of Mk. 6 45—8 26 in favor of a fuller and better treatment of the issue in his second treatise.[5] But where actual narrative is attempted by Matthew (as against mere tabulation)

[5] See Bacon on "The Treatment of Mk. 6 45—8 26 in Luke" in *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, XXVI 2 (1907), pp. 122—150.

there is little to choose between him and Luke. To both Matthew and Luke the order of Mark is practically inviolable. When, therefore, in his two 'Interpolations' Luke is suddenly freed from the control of Mark for a succession of no less than 434 verses the result naturally attracts the attention of critics. It seems to afford a glimpse at conditions as they were before Mark as first *authoritative* biographer took up the task of reporting the whole course of the ministry. But the result is very disappointing to our hopes. Little order is to be found whether chronological or topical. No wonder modern critics have despaired of recovering any order from Q, and maintained that the Second Source was "a heap of ruins", a mere agglutination of sayings destitute of narrative connection.

Still, as every critic will admit, there are abundant traces both in Mark and Q that not even these writers were first in the effort to agglutinate. Groups such as Wendt[6] notices in Mk. 2 1—3 6, and 12 13–37 and Bousset[7] in Lk. 10 13–16, 21 12 1–12 22–34 13 18–21, 24–30, &c. are survivals in their present editorial framework of still older attempts at τάξις. For the topical order, wherein subject matter (often mere catch-words) links saying to saying and anecdote to anecdote, marks a period antecedent to complete accounts of the ministry; whereas the chronological order (or the attempt at it) marks, of course, the later period of complete διηγήσεις—narratives of "all things which the Lord began both to do and to teach (ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν; cf. Papias: ἢ λεχθέντα, ἢ πραχθέντα) until the day that he was taken up."[8]

In studying Luke's 'Interpolations' the presumption must of course be that he has preserved (as in the case of Mark) the order of his source (or sources). But there will be much to qualify this presumption. The very exaggeration of his respect for the order of 'Petrine' Mark may have wrought havoc with the order of his Second Source. We may suppose that the Second Source as well as Mark had the τάξις of a full narrative of the ministry (διήγησις). But if Luke found in it material

[6] *Lehre Jesu*, Bd. I, p. 22 f.
[7] *Kyrios Christos*, 1913, p. 46.
[8] Acts 1 1 f.

duplicating, or appearing to duplicate, what he had already taken from Mark, it would inevitably be cancelled. The severed parts would thereafter be readjusted according to the evangelist's best judgment, not always with happy results. If Mark's order seemed to require transpositions of the Second Source, these too would be made; for they are made even in the Markan material. Unfortunately we cannot argue from the infrequency of Luke's transposition of his Markan material to a like treatment of the order of the Second Source. Rather the contrary. The greater his respect for the order of his principal narrative, the more unsparing would he be of any which to him appeared to conflict with it. New materials from extraneous sources both oral and written would surely require more or less readjustment when added. And what we can see would be inevitable for Luke, assuming him to have employed only the minimum number of sources, would confront every similarly placed evangelist. Matthew, we know, has sacrificed other 'orders' to that of Mark quite as completely as Luke, though with a different object. How many unknown predecessors of Matthew and Luke had tried their destructive hands at the same problem, inevitably, as respects 'order', subordinating the source mainly occupied with teaching to that which (besides perhaps enjoying a quasi-apostolic authority) was mainly given to the much-desiderated outline of the ministry? This we can only dimly imagine; but it will be well at least to reckon with the possibility that the Second Source had already undergone through the influence of Mark and other *διηγήσεις* various distortions of its original order, as well as additions and changes of wording, in the variant forms of it which came into the hands respectively of Matthew and Luke.

It is fortunate for our study of the 'Interpolations' that so large a part of the material is also given by Matthew; also that it is so generally agreed when his non-Markan material stands alone. This may be accounted for in one or all of three ways. Either (1) Luke has subtracted from his Second Source whatever seemed to him to duplicate material already given from Mark; or (2) he has added to it, disrupting its order; or (3) he has transposed. Perhaps all three processes concur. The alternative will be to admit that the material had no intelligible

order, in other words did not constitute an evangelic *διήγησις* in the proper sense of the word.

Let us return for a moment to the point already established. Our third evangelist is really desirous of writing *καθεξής*. And by this attempted order he means *chronological* sequence. This is shown not alone by the general structure of his work as a complete *διήγησις* of "all that Jesus began both to do and to teach until the day that he was taken up" (Acts 1 1), but from the nature of his dependence on, no less than his independence of, the *διήγησις* of his predecessor Mark. He seems to feel the need of "order" expressed by "the Elder" in the Papias fragment, which we know to be chronological because its absence is explained (*a*) by the fact that "Mark had not been himself a follower of the Lord", and (*b*) by the fact that Peter whom he did follow "had no design of giving a complete *σύνταξις* of the Lord's oracles" (or "discourses" *λογίων* var. *λόγων*). Reason *a* at least can only have reference to chronological sequence. Reason *b* might include reference to topical orders such as Matthew's; but to just the extent we admit this we strengthen the already cogent evidence that the statement reflects the ideas not of "the Elder", but of Papias himself.

The interest of Papias is in the "commandments given by the Lord to the faith" and handed down in their genuine meaning by "the elders"; whereas they have been perverted by "the false teachers", and the "teachers of alien commandments". These are the *κυριακὰ λόγια* of which he undertakes in his title to give an authentic *ἐξήγησις*. In supplementing "the Elder's" statement that Mark had been a *ἑρμηνευτής* of Peter, who put down in writing "some things as he heard them", but "not in order", Papias shows by the phraseology of his explanation that he himself is tacitly comparing Mark with Matthew. To Papias, as to all other ecclesiastical writers of the period, Matthew had furnished the standard, apostolic *σύνταξις τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων*, both complete and orderly. Mark had done the best that could be expected of a mere "follower", but relatively to Matthew was neither complete nor orderly.

We are by no means justified in assuming that "the Elder" cherished any such reverence for the authority of the Greek

Matthew as Papias exhibits in his comment. For "the Elder's" testimony ends with the words "not, however, in order". The explanatory supplement, beginning: "For he (Mark) was not himself a follower of the Lord, but afterward, *a I said*, of Peter" is shown to be Papias' own by the use of the first person ("as *I* said"). Why 'the Elder' disparaged the τάξις of Mark wo do not known. It may have been by comparison with the oral tradition of "the elders" represented by himself. It may have been from knowledge of the general lack of agreement on this point which a mere ἑρμηνευτὴς would have no means of correcting. It may be that he knew other διηγήσεις, whose order he preferred to Mark's. He may even have had a 'Johannine' tradition which showed that "John was not yet cast into prison" when baptism and the ministry of Jesus were brought into critical comparison. In short the Matthaean σύνταξις τῶν λογίων, so decisive for Papias, need not at all have been the type of τάξις with which 'the Elder' compared that of Mark. All we can be sure of is that even at 'the Elder's' very early date (*ca.* 110?) Mark's 'order' was already disparaged by some, however reverentially followed by both Matthew and Luke.

The fact remains that Luke, whether aware of this criticism, or only convinced of the need by a survey of earlier διηγήσεις, is clearly attempting like any other historian to put his material in chronological order. Only his attempts at improvement are noticeably weak, and rest (as we shall see reason to believe) very largely on inferences and conjectures of his own drawn from the material itself that he incorporates. We can account for this where the predominance of Mark overbore the τάξις of other narratives, and must allow for the removal of the narrative skeleton in much of the remainder by cancellation of anecdotes already given from Mark. Still the material of the 'Interpolations' may be expected to retain some evidence of its pre-canonical sequence, and to this enquiry we now address ourselves.

We shall hold in our hands the most important means of disentangling the confusion of the Lukan 'Interpolations' if we clearly observe the distinction in type of τάξις exemplified in our canonical first and third Gospels respectively. The general

modes of procedure of these two later synoptists give us characteristic examples of two fundamentally different ideals, both of which were actually at work from a very early period for the grouping of the disjointed material. On the one side we see the process of topical agglutination adapted to the practical purposes of church teaching. It is already well developed in such groups of sayings as Mk. 4 1–34 Mk. 9 33–50 and Mk. 13. This kind of τάξις is carried to its completion in the five great *pereḳs* (as they have well been called) of Matthew. For these *pereḳs* are not taken over by the first evangelist from any source, but are framed by himself largely on the basis of Mark[9], and form, as is well known, the substance around which the evangelist has fitted Mark's narrative as a containing framework, much as the Mosaic codes are fitted into a framework, of older narrative by the Pentateuchal redactor. Pereḳ I is the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5—7); Pereḳ II the Mission of the Twelve (Mt. 10); Pereḳ III the Parables of the Kingdom (Mt. 13); Pereḳ IV the Rule of the Brotherhood (Mt. 18); and Pereḳ V the Coming of the Son of Man (Mt. 23—25). In these five agglutinations Matthew has given us his five books of Christian *Torah*, each subscribed with his formal colophon: καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ιησοῦς, κτλ.

Luke, on the other hand, exemplifies the effort a narrative (διήγησις). It is explicitly avowed in his preface and involves a τάξις of which we have Mark as an earlier example. In fact it is more fully exhibited in Mark than the topical agglutination of discourses. It attains, however, its maximum in the Gospel of Luke, characterised as this Gospel is by elaborate synchronisms and careful adjustment of the whole story to the general advance of the history of revelation. The internal evidence corroborates in general the early tradition of Peter's preaching. Anecdotes, like sayings, were at first grouped only according to subject-matter, as in Mk. 2 1—3 6. Ultimately the attempt was made to relate the whole story of the ministry in its true sequence.

Ancient tradition by classifying evangelic material as λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα (Papias) or ὅσα ὁ Ιησοῦς ἐποίει καὶ ἐδίδασκε (Acts 1 1), and by admitting its difficulties with the "order",

[9] See the convincing demonstration by B. H. Streeter in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 241 ff.

thus places in our hands an invaluable key. We know that efforts had been and were still being made shortly after the publication of Mark to coördinate the material according to each of these two conflicting principles. The otherwise unintelligible order of the Lukan Interpolations becomes much easier to understand when we perceive that it rests upon the superimposition of one principle of coördination upon the other, and that the later τάξις is the τάξις of chronological sequence. In both the Smaller and the Larger Interpolation the *material* is largely agglutinated in masses which have only a topical connection. Particularly in the Larger the connection is often more verbal than real, as in the Markan agglutination on 'receiving' and 'stumbling' (Mk. 9 37–50). This we may probably regard as older in most cases. The editor, on the contrary, seeks (however timidly) a *chronological* sequence, though he seems to rely for this purpose on internal evidence of an obvious kind. We have seen how he does this in the case of Mark. In the Greater Interpolation a similar procedure is observable. Thus Lk. 9 51 gives the scenic framework for the whole. It seems to be a somewhat mechanical note of the mention of passing through "cities and villages" that serves to make up this "travel-document of the former treatise" (as Sir J. C. Hawkins has appropriately called it), rather than intrinsic connection of subject. So the theme "passing through" or "being received" in "cities and villages" controls from 9 48 ("whosoever receiveth me") on. But there is a marked difference after chapter 10, which can best be explained by the fact that Luke found 9 5—10 42 already grouped according to a somewhat similar theme (hospitality to the messengers of Christ), and simply extended it to cover the rest of his addition. Thus in 9 51–55 the *motif* is the "villages which received—or did not receive—him" and is of course suggested by the Markan complex on Stumbling *vs.* Receiving (δέχεσθαι) in 9 46–50 (= Mk. 9 33–40), especially in ver. 48 the clause: "Whosoever *receiveth me* (δέχηται), *receiveth* Him that sent me". The saying is used *by Mark* in the sense of Rom. 14 1, 3; but it is easy to see how Mark's employment of this saying, however different the sense he gave it, would tend in the case of Luke to draw in an ag-

glutination on 'receiving' (δέχεσθαι) wandering evangelists. Thus in 9 57–62 the theme continues with the *Homeless Wandering of Jesus*. In 10 1 ff. it is the *reception* of the seventy "in *every city and place* whither he himself was about to come". Next there is attached to the direction to denounce "whatsoever *city receives* you not" (10 10–12) the Denunciation of the *Cities* of Galilee which "*received not*" Jesus (10 13–15). Finally in 10 38–42 the travel-theme is resumed after some paragraphs on the authority of the disciples' teaching (10 17–37) with "a certain village" where "Martha *received him* into her house", here the Travel-theme reaches a temporary conclusion. But it is not forgotten. After a long interruption of material fundamentally unrelated it reappears at 13 22. The new form of the *motif* ("went on his way through cities and villages") is borrowed (according to the constant habit of redactors) from adjoining source-material (cf. ver. 33). For the travel-*motif* in 13 33 shows in another way how it has caught the editor's attention. At 11 49–51 and 13 34f. Luke introduces in two separate fragments what Mt. 23 34–39 clearly proves to have been in the Source a single quotation from some unknown 'Wisdom' writing. Why, then, does Luke break it into two parts? The motive for introducing in 11 49–51 the charge against "this generation" of "killing the prophets" is of course the mention of the "killing of the prophets" in ver. 47f., though the interpolation destroys the symmetry of the third 'Woe'. But the motive for indroducing the Appeal to Jerusalem guilty of the blood of the prophets (Lk. 13 34f.), is obviously Jesus' answer to the threat of Herod: "I must *go on my way* . . . for it cannot be that *a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem*" (Lk. 13 33). It is this latter verse which we have just recognized as source for the editorial setting of the section (13 22): "And he *went on his way* through cities and villages, teaching and *journeying on to Jerusalem*".

The travel-*motif* is again interrupted at 14 1 ff. by one wholly different—the Banquet of the kingdom—which begins in 13 23–30 and is continued in 14 1–24. "Eating bread" "eating bread in the kingdom of God", "marriage-feast", "making a feast", are phrases which occur from beginning to end. Many critics have observed how inappropriately 13 23–30 is broken off from its

sequel in 14 16–24. But the banquet-*motif* is subordinate. The travel-*motif* has been superimposed. It dominates in 13 22. It dominates in 31–35. It reappears lightly in 14 25, and again at 17 11, where "Samaria" seems to be inferred from the context (Samaritan Leper). Here the Great Interpolation rejoins the thread of Mark at 18 15 without further indication of place, and is is apparent that such as are thus given are far from adequate. Thus the editorial scheme of Luke's Greater Interpolation, while it does not explain all, is itself sufficiently clear. Moreover it is certainly artificial, superimposed upon an underlying order more primitively topical in character. We may also say with confidence in view of the disruption and transposition of Q material in the quotation from "the Wisdom of God" that it is *certainly later than that of the Second Source.* As a device of our third Evangelist it serves well to bring in a large part of the non-Markan discourse material with the least possible disruption of Mark's outline. How much disruption it has entailed of the Second Source we cannot say. Much of the interpolated material is scarcely adapted to the travel-framework at all. It may have been affected in its order by (*a*) subtraction, or (*b*) addition, or (*c*) transposition; or by all three. This remains to be determined. At all events the order this material now occupies in Lk. 9 51—18 15 is not a truly geographical or historical order. This has been forced upon it. The material itself quite overflows the narrow limits of the editorial framework. This preliminary survey of the Greater Interpolation of Luke should pave the way for a more careful study of the Smaller in Lk. 6 20—8 3.

(To be continued.)

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The Hebrew expression בָּאַמָּה after numerals

THE word אַמָּה 'cubit', when modified by a cardinal numeral, is treated in two ways in the Old Testament passages in which it occurs. It may follow the regular construction of a noun modified by a numeral, standing in singular or plural, or before or after the numeral like any other noun[1], e. g.,

אַרְבַּע אַמּוֹת 'four cubits' (Ezek. 43 14).
חֲמִשִּׁים אַמָּה 'fifty cubits' (Ezek. 40 21).
חֲמִשִּׁים אַמּוֹת 'fifty cubits' (Ezek. 42 2).
אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים 'twenty cubits' (II Chr. 3 3).

Or the definite singular governed by the preposition ב may be used after the modifying numeral, e. g.,

אַרְבַּע בָּאַמָּה 'four cubits' (Exod. 26 2).
חֲמִשִּׁים בָּאַמָּה 'fifty cubits' (Exod. 38 12).

A similar construction with *ba* occurs in Ethiopic, though here it is not confined to the word for cubit, e. g. *ba-'ĕmat* (cubit), *ba-saql* (shekel), &c. (cf. Dillmann-Bezold, § 191, 1). Here this is apparently a circumlocution for an accusative of specification, perhaps due to a mixture of such an accusative after higher numerals (as in Arabic) with a prepositional phrase with ב used as an equivalent of a partitive genitive.[2] This theory, however, does not explain the article or the absence of such a construction with other nouns of measure in Hebrew.

[1] Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*[28] p. 453ff. also my article on *Comparative Semitic Syntax*, *JAOS.*, vol. xxxii, p. 204ff.

[2] Cf. König, *Syntax der Heb. Sprache*, Leipzig 1897, §§ 312c, Anm.; 333b; 279.

The Hebrew construction has apparently originated in an ellipsis, e. g., חֲמִשִּׁים בָּאַמָּה, אַרְבַּע בָּאַמָּה stand in all probability for חֲמִשִּׁים אַמָּה בָּאַמָּה, אַרְבַּע אַמּוֹת בָּאַמָּה, meaning 'four cubits, fifty cubits, (measured) according to *the* cubit',—'*the* cubit' being the ordinary cubit אַמַּת אִישׁ.

That the preposition ב may have the force here ascribed to it is shown by the expressions

בְּאַמַּת אִישׁ '[measured] according to the ordinary cubit [a man's arm or cubit]' (Deut. 3 11).

בְּשֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ '[counted] according to the sacred shekel' (Exod. 30 13 38 24; Num. 3 47 18 16).

בָּאַמּוֹת[3] '[measured] in cubits' (Ezek. 43 13).

Nouns of measure and weight are quite frequently omitted, as assumed in the case of אַמּוֹת, אַמָּה above, especially when followed by a noun of material or sort, e. g.,

עֲשָׂרָה שְׁקָלִים זָהָב = עֲשָׂרָה זָהָב 'ten shekels of gold' (Gen. 24 22).

אֶלֶף שֶׁקֶל כֶּסֶף = אֶלֶף כֶּסֶף 'a thousand shekels of silver' (Gen. 20 16).

עֲשָׂרָה כִכָּרִים לֶחֶם = עֲשָׂרָה לֶחֶם 'ten loaves of bread' (I Sam. 17 17).

אַרְבָּעִים אַמָּה אֹרֶךְ = אַרְבָּעִים אֹרֶךְ 'forty cubits in length' (Ezek. 46 22 *bis*; cf. 48 8 ff.).

While the exact form of expression which is assumed to be the source of such phrases as אַרְבַּע בָּאַמָּה occurs nowhere in the Old Testament, in two passages we have closely analogous constructions, viz.,

תֵּשַׁע אַמּוֹת אָרְכָּהּ וְאַרְבַּע אַמּוֹת רָחְבָּהּ בְּאַמַּת אִישׁ 'its length nine cubits and its breadth four cubits according to a man's arm or cubit' (Deut. 3 11).

וּבְיַד הָאִישׁ קָנֵה הַמִּדָּה שֵׁשׁ אַמּוֹת בָּאַמָּה וָטֹפַח 'and in the man's hand a measuring rod, six cubits [long, measured] according to *the* cubit' + a palm [i. e. the sacred cubit, which = 1 ordinary cubit + 1 palm]' (Ezek. 40 5).

[3] The use of the article with the plural after ב is probably due to some analogy with the singular after ב, where the article is regularly used.

In the first example we have instead of בַּאַמָּה the phrase בְּאַמַּת אִישׁ, which is its equivalent, and in the second בָּאַמָּה וְטֹפַח הָאַמָּה וְטֹפַח = 'the sacred cubit' stands in the same construction as הָאַמָּה *'the* cubit'.

In the case of the noun of weight שֶׁקֶל, we have, on the other hand, one passage in which it is omitted before a designation of the kind of שֶׁקֶל, similar to the phrase בָּאַמָּה, viz.,

עֲשָׂרָה עֲשָׂרָה הַכַּף בְּשֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ 'each spoon [weighing] ten [shekels counting] according to the sacred shekel' (Num. 7 86).

Here the full expression would be

עֲשָׂרָה עֲשָׂרָה שְׁקָלִים" בְּשֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ.

The phrase בָּאַמָּה, therefore, may be regarded as an abbreviation for אַמּוֹת בָּאַמָּה or אַמָּה בָּאַמָּה after a numeral. Probably the ellipsis began in the later form, the repetition of the singular appearing especially superfluous.

Johns Hopkins University Frank R. Blake

Hosea's Birthplace

According to Christian tradition, Hosea was born at *Belemoth* or *Belemon* (see Simson's *Hosea*, 1851, p. 2; Nowack's *Hosea*, 1880, p. ix; *cf.* EB 2126, 9; EB[11] 13, 784, n. 1).[1] Pseudepiphanius (RE[3] 5, 421, 16) says of Hosea: *οὗτος ἦν ἐκ* Βελεμωθ *τῆς φυλῆς* Ισσαχαρ; *cf.* Nestle, *Marginalien und Materialien* (Tübingen, 1893) II, p. 22, below. This place has never been identified, but it seems to be a corruption of *Ibleam* which appears in 1 Chr. 6 55 as בלעם and in Judith 8 3 as Βελαμων or Βαλαμων (*cf. ibid.* 4 4: Βελμαιν or Αβελμαιν, Βαιλμαιν, and in 7 3: Βελβαιμ, Αβελβαιμ). 𝔖 has in 8 3 בית בעלמון (EB 527). Hosea is said to have been an Issacharite, and *Ibleam* belonged to the district of Issachar (RE[3] 17, 426, 7). Josh. 17 11 and Jud. 1 27 do not prove that *Ibleam* was a Manassite town. It was included in the Plain of Jezreel, and the Plain was regarded as Issacharite territory. In Jud. 1 27 𝔊[V] has Βαλακ,

[1] For the abbreviations see above, p. 41.

$\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ Βαλααμ for יבלעם ($\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ Ιεβλαμ). In 2 K 9 27 we find in $\mathfrak{G}^{V}$ Εκβλααμ = $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ Ιβλααμ, $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ Ιεβλααμ.

Johns Hopkins University Paul Haupt

The Semitic root *lak*, to press

Im my paper on Heb. *melkh*, counsel, I stated (above, p. 55) that the stem *malak*, to deliberate, was derived from the root *lak* which appears in Arab. *lâka*, *ḫalûku*, to chew (or *champ*, as a horse on his bit) so that *malak*, to deliberate, is originally *to chew* or *ruminate* in the sense of *to deliberate*. The primary meaning of the root is preserved in Arab. *malaka 'l-ʿajîna*, to knead (i. e. *to press, squeeze, thump*), the dough. But *alaka 'l-lijâma* stands for *ʿalaka*, whereas *alaka*, to send, is a transposition of *la'aka*, to send, from which we have *mal'ak*, ἄγγελος.

To chew = to press between the teeth. The original meaning of the root *lak* is *to press*. This may mean also *to thrust, push, strike* or *to urge, strive eagerly*. We find these meanings in the Arabic stems *lakka, laka'a, lakaṭa, lakaḥa, lakada, lakaza, lakaša, lakaḍa, lakaʿa, lakama, lakina, lakiḫa*, and in the modern Arabic *laklak* and *lakaf*. Also *tahâlaka ʿalâ šaḫ'iⁿ* (cf. *laki'a* or *lakiḫa bi-šai'iⁿ* = *ḫaliʿa bihi aḫ lazimahu*) must be derived from this root. *Cf.* also Ethiop. *lak'a*, to impress, inscribe. For Heb. *hišlîk* (from *šalak*, a causative of the root *lak*; see GB[16] 795[a], below) cf. Arab. *laqiḥa* and *laqifa*.

Allied roots are *laq, laḥ, lax*; also *laṭ, laṭ, laẓ*. The root *laq* appears in *lâqa, laqqa, laqiḥa, laqaza, laqisa, laqaṭa, laqaʿa, laqifa, laqlaqa, laqima, laqiḫa, ḫalaqa, halaqa, halqama, šalaqa*. Also *laqina*, to understand readily, means originally *to swallow*; cf. French *il faut lui mâcher tous ses morceaux*, i. e. you must explain to him the simplest thing. Heb. *ḫâlq*, locust, is derived from the same root.

The root *laḥ* appears in *alâḥḥa, laḥaba, laḥaza, laḥḥaça laḥaṭa, alḥafa, laḥana fi-'l-qirâ'ati*. Heb. *lĕḥî*, jaw, means originally *mâchoire* (cf. JBL 33, 292). For the root *lax* cf. *laxxa fi-kalâmihi, laxaba, laxafa, laxama*.

Derivatives of the root *lat* are *latta, lata'a, lataba, lataḥa, lataxa, latada, lataza, latagga, latama.* For the modern *latlat* = *ratrata* cf. *lakina* which means originally to *chew* the words. In German, *Worte* or *Silben kauen* means *to utter* or *pronounce with hesitation* or *imperfectly*, to articulate indistinctly (French *mâchonner ses paroles*).

The root *laṭ* is found in *laṭṭa, laṭaṭa, laṭaḥa, laṭasa, laṭa'a, laṭama, laṭiia.* For *laz* cf. *lazza* and *laẓaha.* See my remarks in AJSL 22, 205. 257; 23, 241. 248. 252; GK[28], p. 107, n. 1.

Johns Hopkins University Paul Haupt

Heb. *zed*, haughty = Assyr. *sîttu*, remnant

In GB[16] Heb. זוד or זיד is combined with Assyr. *çâdu* (impf. *içûdu*) to glow; but this etymology (suggested by Jensen, KB 6, 390) is untenable. It is true, the ז instead of צ might be due to partial assimilation as in Syr. זדיק, *righteous* = צדיק (JAOS 28, 116) or זדה, *echo* in the Siloam Inscription (ZDMG 65, 565, 1) = صدى, but the etymological equivalent of Heb. זיד = Arab. زيد in Assyrian is *sîttu*, remnant.

I pointed out above (p. 56) that Heb. הסית, *to induce* or *seduce* is a byform of הסיד, from סוד, whereas GB[16] *s. v.* סות refers to Delitzsch's theory that הסית means *to induce a person to change his mind*, alter his opinion (*he altered him* = he converted him, persuaded him). According to AL[5] 172[a] *sîtu* (which would be a form like *mîtu*, dead, or *nîxu*, quiet = *maṷîtu, naṷîxu*) means *other*, plur. *sîtûti*, the others, and *sîttu* (a feminine form of *sîtu*) denotes *remnant*, remainder; but this explanation is unsatisfactory.

Nor can we assume that *sîttu* stands for *sîrtu* = *si'ratu* = سادر, although we have for דרמשק (ZDMG 69, 168, 21) the form דמשק; سر appears in Hebrew as שאר, consequently we must have a ש in Assyrian (JAOS 28, 115). For the same reason Schrader's explanation that *sîttu* corresponds to ست (KAT[2] 576) is impossible, since است appears in Hebrew as שֵׁשׁ.

Assyr. *sîttu*, remnant, stands for *sîdtu*, just as אתי, with me = *idtî* (ידתי) my side (GB[16] 77[a], l. 6). In Arabic this stem סיד appears, with partial assimilation of the ס to the ד, as زيد, just as we have Assyr. *zabâlu*, to carry = Heb. סבל, or Ethiop. *zabáṭa*, to strike, instead of *sabáṭa* = Assyr. *šabâṭu* (ZDMG 64, 708, 20). Arab. زِيَادَة means *increment, excess, surplus, residue*. In legal parlance *surplus* denotes the *residuum* of an estate after the debts and legacies are paid. In Assyrian, *sîttu* means exclusively *residue, remnant, remainder, rest*.

On the other hand, Assyr. *atâru* (= *ụatâru*) means *to increase, to exceed*, whereas Heb. נותר = *to be left over, remain*; יֶתֶר = *abundance, excess* and *remainder, remnant*. Heb. יתר and Arab. زيد have originally the same meaning (overflow, *surplus*). The caudate lobe of the liver is in Hebrew יֹתֶרֶת הַכָּבֵד; in Arabic زِيَادَة لكبد. The primary meaning of both terms is *excrescence*. HK 125 thinks it remarkable that no one has called attention to the Syr. חצר כבדא; he has evidently overlooked my note in ZDMG 61, 195. In Hebrew, זיד means *to be excessive*, i. e. *overbearing* = *overwhelming* (cf. *Mic.* 76,*) or *haughty*; it means also *to overflow, boil over, boil, seethe*.

For the plural with preservation of the fem. ת, Assyr. *sîttûti*, *sîttâti* or (with إمالة *sîttêti*) cf. *littûtu*, progeny, from *littu* = *lidtu*, offspring = לדת (ولد) or *birtûtu*, fortification, from *birtu*, fortress (*Est.* 7) or *lîtâti*, victories, plur. of *lîtu*, strength, power, fem. of *lê'u*, strong (stem לאי; *cf.* ZAT 29, 282; JAOS 32, 17). Similar formations in Hebrew are קשתות, דלתות, שפתות instead of Assyr. *qašâti, dalâti, šapâti* (HK[28] § 87, k; § 95, f; AG[2] § 95, note).

Johns Hopkins University Paul Haupt

Semachonitis = Jungled Region

In my address on *Armageddon* (JAOS 34, 419; *cf.* WF 208, n. 60) I have shown that both *Meroz* and *Merom* (in the *Waters of Merom*) are corruptions of *Megiddo* (cf. GB[16] xvii[b],

below). The *Waters of Merom* (i. e. *Megiddo*) denotes the *Kishon*, not *Lake Hûlah* (Talmud. ימא דחולתא). The meaning of this name may be *sand*, especially a sandy region exposed by the fall of the water; cf. the *Solway Sands*, also Σύρτις and θίς (plur. θῖνες) = *dune, sand-bank, sea-shore* as well as Talmud. חולת של אנטוכיא, חולת של ובנה. In *Meg.* 6ª (BT 3, 550; *cf.* EB 618) we read: קסָרי בית אדום שהיא יושבת בין החולות. In Jastrow's dictionary ימא דחולתא is supposed to denote, not *Lake Ḥûlah*, but *the navigable portion of the Orontes up to Antioch.*

Josephus calls the region around *Lake Ḥûlah* Σεμαχωνῖτις (EB 3038). This cannot be identified with *Šamxuna* of the Amarna Tablets (see Weber in Knudtzon's edition, p. 1299; *cf.* GB[16] *s. v.* שִׁמְרוֹן) but represents the Heb. סבכי, *jungly*, alluding to the impenetrable jungle of papyrus-reeds north of the lake (*cf.* Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, 1896, p. 113; contrast RB 999ª).

In *Bâbâ Bathrâ* 74ᵇ (BT 6, 1138) we read ירדן יוצא ממערת פמיים[2] ומהלך בימה של סיבכי ובימה של טבריא. Dalman points סִבְכֵי or סֻבְכֵי (*cf.* Jastrow's dictionary, p. 975ª; Levy 3, 546ª *s. v.* סַמְכוּ). The original form of the name must have been שׂוֹבְכִי, derived from שׂוֹבָךְ, *thicket, tangle* (cf. above, p. 59). Also the place-name *Shôbak*, i. e. الشوبك (Bædeker, *Palästina*[7], p. 164) may mean *thicket.* In the form סופכי for סובכי we have partial assimilation of the *b* to the *k*; cf. חפשית = חבשית, *reclusion* = محبسة, *hermitage*; see *Kings* (SBOT) 251. For the interchange of *b* and *m* cf. ZA 2, 268. *Samak* in *Wady as-Samak* does not represent the Greek name Σεμαχωνῖτις, but the Arabic word *sámak*, fish. There is a *Wadi as-Samak* on the eastside of the Sea of Galilee (Bædeker, *Pal.*[7], p. 237).

[2] That is بانياس; see the picture in RB 772.

Johns Hopkins University Paul Haupt

Some Greek Fragments in the Freer Collection

The four fragment, of which I am going to treat in this article, are not of exceptional importance in themselves, but owe some of their interest to the company in which they were found or rather bought.

Greek Fragment 1 is a parchment leaf of lost codex. It now measures 23.5 cm. by 15 cm., that is, about nine by six inches. The parchment is about .17 mm. thick. The leaf is now rather irregular in shape and somewhat torn. It was doubtless both dirty and crumpled when found, and was washed and pressed flat by the finder or some early purchaser. It was bought by Mr. Freer in the early summer of 1908 from the dealer Ali Arabi of Gizeh near Cairo. There were bought at the same time a fragmentary Coptic Psalter[1] of the sixth century and a small wooden holder or seat[2] having a curved top inlaid with ivory. The three were said to have been found, together in the same place where the famous Biblical MSS now known as the Washington MSS, had been dug up two years before.

The ink was originally a dark brown, but is now faded and blurred; doubtless part of this indistinctness is due to the modern washing it suffered. It is written in a large sloping uncial hand of the style known as Slavonic uncial. Some letters as ϵ o σ θ are narrower and all are heavily shaded, though not otherwise overadorned. It is probably to be dated in the eighth century, though early ninth is also a possibility. Breathings of the square form and accents were inserted by the first hand, though probably not in all cases. I failed to see the breathing in thirty cases, while some thirty five accents were not discernible. The most of the latter were in the dimmest lines, so I am inclined to think that the accents were more regularly written than the breathings. I noted one case of the incorrect use of an accent in the portion read with certainty.

The writing is in one column and there are twenty-six lines to the page. The average length of the lines is sixteen letters.

[1] To be published in Vol. X of the University of Michigan Studies.
[2] See University of Michigan Studies, Vol. IX p. 3.

In the text that follows I have given everything as read, except that the words are separated. No missing accents or breathings have been supplied.

Page 1.

επωμβρησα ποτε και
τω ιηλ̄ μαννα. και ετοι
μον εξ ουνοῡ αρτον κα
τέπεμψα ἀκοπιάτως
αλλ᾽ ἠθετησεν τὸ θαῦ
μα· και ἀπελάκτιζεν
ὁ ηγαπημένος. και ιηλ̄
με οὐκ ἔγνω. και ο λα
ός μου ἐμε οὐ συνῆκεν
Αλλ᾽ ουκ ὡς εκεῖνοι φάγον
τες τὸ μάννα ἐν τῇ ἐ
ρήμω ἀπέθανον. οὕ
τως ἐγω ὑμῖν παρέχω
τὸ σῶμα μου· ὁ γαρ τρώ
γων τοῦτον τὸν αρτο
ζήσει εἰς τὸν αιωνα·
Αρα συνήκατε ταῦτα
αγαπητοὶ. ἀρα διαρκῶς
αποδέδεικται τῶ κυ
ριακῶ λόγω. περι τ̣ων
απορρήτων τ̣ης ἁγι
ωτατης ημερας μυ
στηρίων ἢ[..]ν [βουλε]
σθε ευπρε̣[πεστερως]
τα ενδοξ̣[α ταυ]τ̣η̣[ς κατ]ο̣
μαθειν.

Page 2.

αναπτύξωμεν γὰρ προ
θυμώτατα καὶ θήσω
μεν εἰς τουμφανὲς τοῖς
γνωρίμοις τῆς ἀληθεί
ας. εἰς ἃ, επιθυμοῦσιν
ἀγγελοι παρακύψαι·
Οὐχ᾽ ὡς ἀκυροῦντες ἢ
παραλογιούμενοι· τα
θειοδῶς προδιηγγελ
μένα. αλλ᾽ ὡς εκ προγε
νεστέρας αρχαιογονί
ας. προς ἅ, τούτοις ἡ συν
γένεια διασαφηνίζον
τες: καὶ γοῦν
Επεύξασθέ μοι ὠ ευγνώ
μονες παῖδες ἀντιβο
λῶ. κεκμηκότι μεν
τῶ βίω. ρικνῶς δε και
κεκυφότως εχοντι
πρὸς την ἄναντι, πο
ρεῖαν. ὁπως μοι δώη
ὁ κ̄ς̄ ἐιπεῖν κατὰ γνώ
μην. καὶ ενθυμηθῆ
ναι. ἀξ[ι]ως τῶν λεγο
μενων. καὶ ἄραν
τες με καθαπερ οἱ εξ ιηλ̄

The fragment is found in Cyril of Alexandria, Homiliae Diversae, X, 374 (Migne, vol. 77, p. 1021). There are several Bible citations in the passage, of which three are noted in Migne: p. 1, ll. 7–8 are from Isaiah 1 3, Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω, καὶ ὁ λαός με οὐ συνῆκεν; ll. 10–16, from John, 6 58–59, οὐ καθὼς ἔφαγον οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν τὸ μάννα καὶ ἀπέθανον· ὁ τρώγων τοῦτον τὸν ἄρτον ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. In this quotation ὑμῶν is omitted with the N. T. MSS ℵ B C L T 3^{pe} Cop. Or, yet μάννα is added with MSS Γ Δ Λ Π unc. 7 etc. but in the order of MS M Theodoret *et pauci*, namely after ἐκεῖνοι φάγοντες (for ἔφαγον οἱ πατέρες of all MSS); also ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ from verse 49 is added as likewise in the minuscule MSS X^c 245 348 al ff^2 Syr^j ^{mg} Theodoret Nonn &c.; furthermore ζήσει is read with B C E G L S T V Δ Λ al Or Chr Cyr (a second passage); Cyril breaks the passage by inserting in the middle a passage of his own, which however reminds one of Matthew 26 26, and its parallels. On the second page, ll. 5–6, are taken without change from I Peter 8 12, εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι.

To these we may add that on p. 1, ll. 1 and 2 may be roughly compared with Psalm 77 24, καὶ ἔβρεξεν αὐτοῖς μάννα φαγεῖν καὶ ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς. ll. 2–4 are from the Wisdom of Solomon 16 20, καὶ ἕτοιμον ἄρτον αὐτοῖς ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἔπεμψας ἀκοπιατῶς.

This is plainly a quotation from memory or has been intentionally adapted to the context of the passage. Note the omission of αὐτοῖς, the compound verb for simple, and the change in person. Lines 6—7 are from Deuteronomy 32 15, καὶ ἀπελάκτισεν ὁ ἠγαπημένος.

Compared with the Migne edition (copied from the Antwerp edition of 1618, which was based on a Vatican MS) our fragment shows the following variants: 1) p. 1, l. 4 ἀκοπιατῶς for ἀκοπιαστῶς; 2) l. 6 ἀπελάκτιζεν for ἀπελάκτισεν; 3) l. 7 -δε; 4) l. 9 μου ἐμε for με; 5) l. 16 ζήσει for ζήσεται; 6) l. 18 διαρκῶς for ἐναργῶς; 7) l. 22 -ταύτης; 8) l. 26 [κατ]αμαθεῖν for κατιδεῖν; 9) l. 23 add . . ν after ἢ; 10) p. 2, l. 1 ἀναπτύξωμεν for ἀναπτύξομεν; 11) l. 1 προθυμώτατα for προθυμότατα; 12) l. 2 θήσωμεν for θήσομεν; 13) l. 5 ἐπιθυμοῦσιν for ἐπιθυμήσουσιν; 14) l. 8 παραλογιούμενοι for παραλογιζόμενοι; 15) l. 9 θειοδῶς

for θειωδῶς; 16) l. 9 προδιηγγελμένα for προηγγελμένα; 17) l. 20 ἄναντι for ἄναντες; 18) l. 22 ὁ κς for Κύριος; 19) l. 26 -ῶ φίλτατοι.

Most of these nineteen variants represent an improvement in the text and some are quite interesting. In the first, fifth, and thirteenth variants the text of the fragment agrees with the best MSS of the corresponding passages of the Bible, while in the fourth it has a combination reading made by uniting μου of Aquila-Theodotion with εμε for με of the Septuagint. The second variant is a change in the Deuteronomy text, not elsewhere supported. The 16th is a new word, but a double compound characteristic of late Greek.

The seventeenth variant ἄναντι is also very interesting as it is an easy itacism for ἀνάντη which I assume is correct. It furnishes a natural explanation for the variants of the early editions (ἄναντες πορεῖαν and ἀντιπορεῖαν). The sixth variant has the support of the Vatican MS against the editions; it should be restored to the text. The eighth, fourteenth, and eighteenth variants fit either context or style of the author better and could not have easily arisen from corruptions of the accepted text. Thus in about half of the cases the fragment certainly has a better text than the editions. That four of these variants fall in Bible quotations is eloquent testimony on the danger of using uncritical editions of the Church Fathers in settling text questions of the Bible.

Greek Fragments 2, 3 and 4 were bought of a priest in Cairo in 1909. The more important part of the purchase consists of ten miniatures published by Professor Morey in volume XII of the University of Michigan Studies. The small bundle doubtless came as plunder or gift from some existing monastery, not necessarily located in Egypt or even near it. None of these fragments have any connection with the famous MSS in the Freer Collection.

Greek Fragment 2 is a piece of thick parchment, apparently taken from a binding. Its present size is $5^1/_2$ inches by $8^1/_2$ inches. It came from an old lectionary, which was written in double columns of 17 lines to a page and about ten letters to the line. One column and a few letters from the line ends of another are preserved on each side of the leaf.

The ink is brown and much faded; punctuation and reading marks are in red; accents and breathings are in brown and by the first hand; the writing is in large upright capitals rather plainly but heavily written; ε, ο and σ are narrower, but other letters are of good width. It may be dated in the tenth century or possibly a little later.

The text covers Matthew 15 23–26 and Luke 18 11–13, while on the two sides of the other half of the double leaf there are recognizable fragments of Luke 15 19–20 and 24–27. The regular order of lectionary readings shows that Luke 18 13–14; 20 46—21 4, and 15 11–19, came between the two halves of this double leaf fragment. There are thus seventeen verses missing, and as about two verses are needed for a column there must have been eight columns or four pages between the two parts of the fragment; four verses are each time missing between the fragments which come on opposite sides of the same half of the leaf. We have therefore a portion of the third and sixth of an eight leaf quire and the outer columns of each leaf are missing.

The text of these brief passages is in the main of the Antioch type, but one or two good readings occur, which point to a better ancestor: in Matthew 15 25 *προσεκύνει* with ℵ* B D M 1 15 33 124 al OL Arm Or and *αὐτὸν* for *αυτῷ* with Δ alone. In Luke 18 13 we find *ἀπὸ μακρόθεν* with 050$^{v.\ Sod}$ 15 27 42 49 124 157 229 270 280 351 482 489 700 1252$^{v.\ Sod}$.

Greek Fragment 3 also quite certainly came from an old binding. It was perhaps pasted on to the inside of a cover, as only one side has been injured. It is still a large leaf of thick parchment, $10^{3}/_{4}$ by $7^{1}/_{4}$ inches. The writing is in two columns of 21 lines each and there are about fifteen letters to the line. The ink is brown, inclining to fade. Accents and breathings are in the same color, but titles and reading marks are in red. The writing is an advanced type of the Slavonic unciel. Letters are large, slope to the right, and incline to be narrow. Ornamentation is not excessive though θ ψ τ δ show conspicuous dots at the ends of cross strokes. The MS is not later than early tenth century.

At the bottom of the front side of the leaf is the number 185

in black ink. The numerals, though Arabic, do not assist in fixing the date, as the MS was certainly preserved in Mohammedan territory, where the modern numerals were in use from the tenth century on.

The fragment contains one lection and parts of two others; it was once a part of an ordinary church lectionary. The passages preserved are Matthew 9 6–8; 10 37—11 1; and 9 27–33. The text is rather interesting, though much disfigured by itacisms and similar misspellings. The following readings are noteworthy: 9 8 *δόξαζον* for *ἐδόξασαν*; cf. Syr^{sc} (= *ἐδόξαζον*); 9 27 *τῶ* $\overline{\text{ιω}}$ for *αὐτῶ* sol (a few good MSS omit); 9 28 add [*καὶ*] before *προσῆλθον* = D a b c g^1 k; add *οἱ δὲ* before *λέγουσιν* sol; 9 29 first hand omitted *γενηθήτω ὑμῖν* sol; 9 30 om *ὁ* before $\overline{\text{ις}}$ = D (Latin); 9 32 om *ἄνθρωπον* = B Δ 71 892 &c. Sah Boh Syr^{cg} Eth; 10 42 *ποτήσει* (indicative for subjunctive) = L 33 al; 11 1 *τοὺς μαθητὰς* for *τοῖς δώδεκα μαθηταῖς* (cf. the minuscules 1 280 1194 and Von Soden's 185 and 1349, both from Athos, which omit *δώδεκα*, and MS 118, which has *τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς*); 11 1 *ἐντεῦθεν* for *ἐκεῖθεν* sol.

Greek Fragment 4 is also a single leaf of a parchment lectionary. It now measures $10^1/_2$ by $7^3/_4$ inches. The parchment is strong and of medium thickness. The bottom has been trimmed into the shape of an heraldic shield, causing the loss of a few letters on the bottom lines. The leaf was probably at one time hung in the cell of a monk or had a similar mystical, semi-religious use.

There are two columns of thirty lines each to the page. The average length of line is about fifteen letters, though there is much variation. The ink is mostly brown, but initials, reading marks, and punctuation crosses are red. Lections are separated by a long ornament in red and blue ink. The writing is a fairly neat, compact minuscule of the twelfth century. The two lections preserved are Matthew 26 64—27 2 and John 13 31—14 1. The text seems to be of the Antioch type, but there are a few interesting readings: Matthew 26 64 om *συ* sol; 26 75 om *τοῦ* before $\overline{\text{ιυ}}$ against the Antioch group and a few others; John 13 33 transpose *ἐγὼ ὑπάγω* = ℵ A B C D K L M Π al^{50} OL Go

Chr; 13 36 add ἐγὼ after ὅπου = ℵ D S^2 U X 13 33 69 118 124 157 346 al^{70} OL Go Cop Arm Syr^h Or Chr.

In conclusion it may be observed that fragment 2, 3, and 4 show no relationship to the miniatures bought with them. We have above noted the same freedom of relationship of fragment 1 towards the Washington MSS in the Freer Collection. The most that can be said in either case is that the fragments are of such age that they might have been owned by the same monasteries, which possessed their more famous companions.

Ann Arbor, Mich. Henry A. Sanders.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER 1914

THE fiftieth meeting of the Society was held in room 307 of the Library of Columbia University, New York, beginning Monday, December twenty-eighth, at 2:15 P.M., with President Schmidt in the Chair. The records of the last meeting were read and approved. The Corresponding Secretary read his annual report, which was discussed, accepted, and placed on file. The Recording Secretary read his annual report, which was accepted and placed on file. The Chair appointed as a Committee to nominate officers, President Brown, Professor Haupt, and Professor Paton. President Brown being unable to serve Professor Barton was appointed in his place. Professor Prince read the Treasurer's report and the recording Secretary read his financial statement. The reports were referred to Professor H. P. Smith and Professor Sanders as an Auditing Committee. Professor Gottheil reported for the Committee of Arrangements. It was voted to extend the session this afternoon to six o'clock.

At 2:45 Professor Schmidt gave the President's address. Subject: "The Story of the Flood an the Growth of the Pentateuch".

From 3:10 to 4, papers were read and discussed:

By Professor Bacon: "The Ephesian(?) Imprisonment of Paul".
By Professor Berry: "The Authorship of Ezekiel chapters 40 to 48".

Professor Haupt, from the Committee of Nominations, presented the following list of officers:

Prof. C. C. Torrey	*President.*
Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr.	*Vice-President.*
Rev. William H. Cobb	*Recording Secretary.*
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince	*Treasurer.*
Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt Pres. Francis Brown Prof. B. W. Bacon Prof. Richard Gottheil Prof. James H. Ropes	*Associates in Council.*
Dr. John P. Peters Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt Prof. Warren J. Moulton	*Directors of Jerusalem School.*

These were all unanimously elected.

From 4:5 to 6:5, papers were read and discussed:

By Professor Haupt: "Hosea's Erring Spouse".

By Professor Barton: "Milk and Honey".

By Professor Torrey: "The Original Language of the Revelation of St. John".

By E. S. Buchanan: "Some Recent Advances toward recovering the Text of the Evangelists' Autographs".

By H. J. Cadbury: "Luke the Physician and the Baconian Heresy",

Adjourned for supper and social hour.

Monday evening, Dezember 28. The Society met in Havermeyer Hall. Professor George L. Robinson gave an oral report of the American School in Jerusalem, and an illustrated paper on "Recent Excavations in Palestine". Professor Henry A. Sanders gave an illustrated paper on "Some Greek Fragments in the Freer Collection". Professor Warren J. Moulton gave an illustrated paper "Archaeological Notes".

Adjourned at 10 P. M.

Tuesday morning, December 29. The Society met at 9:25. In the absence of the President, Professor Haupt was chosen pro tempore. The Council reported that the next meeting would be held at Columbia University, December 28 and 29, 1915, with Professors Prince, Fagnani, and Gottheil as the Committee of Arrangements. The Council reported the election of Professor Max L. Margolis as Corresponding Secretary and of Professor Frank C. Porter and William H. Cobb as the other members

of the Publishing Committee. They recommended for active membership in the Society:

Prof. Israel Davidson, Jewish Theological Seminary, N. Y. City.
Prof. Wallace B. Fleming, D. D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, (N. J.).
Rev. Samuel Fredman, B. A., Philadelphia, Pa.
Prof. Lucien Gautier, Cologny près Genève, Switzerland.
Prof. Joseph B. Ibbotson, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
Prof. Kirsopp Lake, D. D., Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. C. C. McCown, Ph. D., Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, (Cal.).
Joseph Reider, Ph. D., Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa.
Prof. J. Ritchie Smith, D. D., Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.
Prof. Laura H. Wild, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O.
Prof. Thomas Porter, Campinas, Brazil.

These were all unanimously elected.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Columbia University for the accommodations furnished for this meeting.

From 9:30 to 12:30, papers were read and discussed: By Professor Porter "The Course of Thought in I Corr. 1-3". By Professor Margolis, "Two Syriac Misreadings; *r* for *d* and *re* for *are*." By Professor Paton, "The Conception of the Love of Jehovah in the Old Testament". (At this point President Schmidt arrived and took the Chair.) By F. C. Harding, "The origin of the term *'hag-ha-sukkoth'*". By Professor Haupt, "The Hebrew noun *'malkh'*, counsel". "To know = *'to have sexual intercourse'*". "Assyrian atmu, Fledgling, in the Old Testament". By Dr. Guthrie, Plotinos as Preparer for Christian Theology". Professor Margolis read an abstract of Professor König's paper, "The Samaritan Pentateuch and Pentateuchal Criticism".

Adjourned at 12:20. *Recording Secretary.*

MEMBERS DECEASED

Professor Charles Rufus Brown. Died February 1st. His youthful years were spent in the U. S. Navy, from which he resigned at the age of 25, after reaching the rank of Master. He afterwards graduated from Harvard University and from Newton and Union Theological Seminaries, and studied two years in Berlin and Leipzig. For thirty years he was a Professor in Newton Theological Institution, and during all that

period a member of this Society, which he served as Recording Secretary in 1889-90. He was the author of the well-known Aramaic Method in the Harper series.

Professor Robert Francis Harper. Died August 6th. He was clearly predestined to fame as a Semitic scholar. It may be mentioned in this connection that at the age of nineteen he assisted Professor Brown in preparing the Aramaic Grammar just mentioned. Among his best known works are the editions of the Assyrian and Babylonian letters in the British Museum and of the Code of Hammurabi. By the generous gift of fifty dollars, Professor Harper became the first (and thus far the only) life member of this Society. In that respect, as in others, he has set a worthy example.

Professor Samuel Rolles Driver. Died February 26th. He was elected an honorary member of this Society: June 4, 1896. His letter of acceptance, dated June 30th is as follows:

> "Please convey to your Society my cordial thanks for the high compliment which they have paid me by electing me as an honorary member. I need hardly say that I regard it as a great privilege to be connected in this way with a Society which does so much for the advancement of biblical studies and whose 'Journal' publishes so many valuable papers".

Assuredly the greater privilege is ours, in being associated with one who was an authority of the first rank in so many departments of Old Testament research; in its grammar (The Use of the Tenses), in its lexicography (the Hebrew Lexicon), in lower criticism (The Text of Samuel), in higher criticism (the Leviticus), in exegesis (the Deuteronomy), in biblical literature (the Indroduction); and this is to name only one work in each department, and to omit the various articles in Encyclopaedias and Bible Dictionaries, together with popular books like "Isaiah, his Life and Times", or "Modern Research as illustrating the Bible".

By example, even more than by precept, he has fulfilled the idea of the Teacher.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

Assets

Carried forward	$ 178 61
Dues	612 30
Initiation fees	136 00
Sales by Dr. Cobb	100 00
Plates by Dr. Pratt	28 00
	1,054 91

Disbursements

1912		
Dec. 30,	Dr. Cobb	$ 35 00
1913		
Jan. 9,	Buskirk Co., stationery	12 90
„ 20,	W. F. Roberts, envelopes	10 70
„ 29,	Lord Baltimore Press	19 33
May 19,	Astor Trust Co., for Drugulin vol. xxxii,1 M. 751.21	179 58
July 15,	Astor Trust Co., for Drugulin vol. xxxii,2 M. 605.11	144 47
Sept. 25,	Astor Trust Co., for Drugulin vol. xxxii,3 M. 750,43	179 63
Oct. 23,	Envelopes from S. F. Flinton	2 10
Nov. 28,	J. A. Montgomery, Secretarial expenses	25 86
Dec. 10,	John D. Prince, 400 envelopes	8 40
Dec. 20,	Exchange	10
		618 07
	Cash on hand	436 84
		1,054 91

The above account respectfully submitted December 29th, 1913.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

The above account audited and found correct.

HENRY THATCHER FOWLER,

ELIHU GRANT.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

OF

RECORDING SECRETARY

Assets

Balance, Dec. 26, 1912	$ 15 07
Sales of Journal	213 15
Offprints (Paton-13.85: Haupt-6.00)	19 85
	248 47

Disbursements

1913		
Jan. 4,	Thomas Todd, printing notes and envelopes	$ 4 60
June 11,	Unsold Journals from Drugulin (carriage)	8 99
„ 28,	Distributing Journal, vol. xxxii, part 2 (3 items)	8 18
July 1,	Carter, Rice & Co., envelopes for wrapping Journal	5 81
„ 18,	Thomas Todd, printing envelopes	2 35
„ 18,	Jordan, Lovett & Co., insurances	10 20
„ 21,	Drugulin, mailing offprints	2 58
Sept. 25,	Distributing Journal, vol. xxxii, part 3 (4 items)	10 66
Oct. 17,	Remittance to Treasurer	100 00
„ 31,	G. E. Stechert, freight and expressage	2 50
Dec. 18,	Stamped envelopes	2 11
„ 24,	Postage and exchange for the year	8 05
„ 24,	Expressage, and typewriting for the year	4 26
	Balance in Old Colony Trust Co., Boston	78 18
		248 47

Audited and found correct, 29. Dec. 1913.

HENRY THATCHER FOWLER.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY[1]

HONORARY MEMBERS

Prof. K. Budde, D.D., Marburg.
Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin.
Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg.
Prof. William Sanday, D.D., Oxford.
Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford.
Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen University.
Prof. Bernhard Weiss, D.D., Berlin.
Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge.
Prof. Ernst von Dobschütz, Halle.
Prof. Marie Joseph Lagrange, Jerusalem.
Prof. Julius Wellhausen, Göttingen.

ACTIVE MEMBERS[2]

(496) '13 Miss Charlotte H. Adams, 135 East 52d St., N. Y. City.
(242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 North Broad St., Phila., Pa.
(466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, Gettysburg, Pa.
(482) '12 Prof. Alfred E. Alton, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
(415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton, Centre, Mass.
(425) '08 Prof. John B. Anderson, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
(462) '10 Rev. Abraham S. Anspacher, 561 W. 163d St., N. Y. City.
(341) '00 Rev. William P. Armstrong, Jr., Library Place, Princeton, N. J.
(305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., 25 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass.
(184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.
(373) '04 Prof. Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific Theol. Sem., Berkeley, Cal.
(469) '11 Phillips Barry, A.M., Felton Hall, Cambridge, Mass.
(210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
(211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., Gen. Theol. Seminary, Chelsea Sq., N. Y. City.
(310) '97 Rev. R. H. Beattie, M.A., 321 N. Central Ave, Austin Station, Chicago, Ill.
(51) '81 Prof. I. T. Beckwith, Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.
(326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.

[1] This list has been corrected up to Nov. 5, 1915. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

(343) '00 Prof. Walter R. Betteridge. Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N.Y.
(318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
(398) '07 Prof. Francis B. Blodgett, Gen. Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, Ohio.
(423) '08 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
(130) '84 Rev. C. F. Bradley, D.D., 90 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
(370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Jr., Ph.D., 281 Fourth Ave., N.Y. City.
(352) '02 Prof. Caroline M. Breyfogle, 16E. 14th Ave., Columbus, O.
(311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, 124 Third St., Lakewood, N. J.
(20) '80 Pres. Francis Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem,, N.Y. City.
(301) '96 Prof. Wm. A. Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(102) '84 Prof. M. D. Buell, D.D. Garrison Hall, Boston, Mass.
(351) '02 Arthur Bumstead, Ph. D., 314 Nicollet Ave, Minneapolis, Minn.
(91) '83 Prof. E. D. Burton, D.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(22) '80 Pres. H. A. Buttz, D.D., Madison, N. J.
(471) '11 Henry J. Cadbury, Ph. D., Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
(514) '13 Prof. Hall Laurie Calhoun, Lexington, Ky.
(472) '11 Prof. Henry Beach Carré, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
(392) '06 Prof. Shirley J. Case, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(222) '91 Rev. James L. Cheney, Ph.D., Hebron, O.
(277) '95 Prof. Francis A. Christie, D.D., Theological School, Meadville, Pa.
(369) '03 Prof. Calvin M. Clark, Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(414) '07 Prof. Albert T. Clay, Ph.D., 401 Humprey St., New Haven, Conn.
(68) '82 Rev. W. H. Cobb, D.D., Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
(468) '11 Prof. Camden M. Cobern, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
(523) '14 Mr. C. P. Coffin. Commercial National Bank, Chicago, Ill.
(390) '06 Rev. Wm. M. Crane, Ph.D., Richmond, Mass.
(296) '96 Prof. Harlan Creelman, Ph.D., Theol. Sem., Auburn, N. Y.
(497) '13 Earl Bennett Cross, Ph.D., Dover, N.H.
(498) '13 Prof. D. E. Culley, Ph. D., 70 Kennedy Ave, N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(483) '12 Miss Ethel Cutler, B.D., 610 Lexington Ave., N.Y. City.
(401) '07 Miss M. Elizabeth Czarnomska, 88 Hilton Ave., Hampstead, N.Y.
(499) '13 Prof. Geo. Dahl, Ph.D., Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
(526) '15 Prof. Israel Davidson, Jewish Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(451) '10 Prof. Richard Davidson, Ph.D., University College, Toronto, Can.
(500) '13 Prof. Frank Leighton Day, Ashland, Va.
(458) '10 Prof. Thomas F. Day, 710 Lexington Ave, Syracuse, N.Y.
(524) '14 Prof. Irwin Hoch Delong, Ph. D., 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa.
(121) '84 Prof. F. B. Denio, D.D., Bangor, Me.
(417) '07 Prof. Winfred N. Donovan, Newton Centre, Mass.
(382) '05 Prof. E. Olive Dutcher, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

(402) '07 Prof. Burton S. Easton, Ph. D., 2726 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
(464) '10 Prof. Charles C. Edmunds, Gen. Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
(364) '03 Prof. F. C. Eiselen, Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
(515) '13 Prof. Aaron Ember, Ph. D., Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
(278) '95 Rev. Frederick E. Emrich, D. D., Brighton, Mass.
(403) '07 Prof. Henry Englander, 904 Lexington Ave, Cincinnati, O.
(279) '95 Prof. David F. Estes, D. D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
(263) '94 Prof. Milton G. Evans, D. D., Crozer Theol. Sem., Chester. Pa.
(280) '95 Prof. Charles P. Fagnani, D. D., Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
(436) '08 Rev. Wm. R. Farmer, 1000 Western Ave., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(388) '06 Prof. Wm. W. Fenn, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
(26) '80 Rev. Henry Ferguson, LL. D., 123 Vernon St., Hartford, Conn.
(467) '11 Rev. A. W. Fismer, Ph. D., Bloomfield, N. J.
(527) '15 Prof. Wallace B. Fleming, D. D., Drew Theol. Sem., Madison, N. Y.
(431) '08 Prof. Geo. C. Foley, D. D., 1117 So. 46th St., Phila., Pa.
(441) '08 Prof. H. E. W. Fosbroke, 9 Acacia St., Cambridge, Mass.
(501) '13 Rev. Orrin D. Foster, Ph. D., Y. M. C. A. College, 5315 Drexel Ave, Chicago, Ill.
(298) '96 Prof. Henry T. Fowler, Ph. D., Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
(312) '97 Prof. James E. Frame, Broadway and 120th St., N. Y. City.
(418) '07 Prof. D. J. Fraser, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Can.
(450) '09 Prof. Israel Friedländer, Ph. D., 531 W. 123d St., N. Y. City.
(528) '15 Rev. Samuel Fredman, B. A., 6054 Catherine St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(366) '03 Prof. Kemper Fullerton, Oberlin Theol. Sem., Oberlin, O.
(84) '83 Prof. F. A. Gast, D. D., 505 N. Lime St., Lancaster, Pa.
(529) '15 Prof. Lucien Gautier, Cologny près Genève, Switzerland.
(95) '83 Prof. J. F. Genung, Ph. D., Amherst, Mass.
(198) '89 Prof. George W. Gilmore, 360 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City.
(340) '00 Prof. Edgar J. Goodspeed, Ph. D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(502) '13 Rev. Warren F. Gookin, 6 Phillips Place, Cambridge, Mass.
(447) '09 Prof. Alex. R. Gordon, Litt. D., Presbyterian College, Montreal, Can.
(162) '86 Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, Ph. D., Columbia Univ., N. Y. City.
(384) '05 Prof. Elihu Grant, Ph. D., 24 Massasoit St., Northampton, Mass.
(433) '08 Rev. Julius H. Greenstone, Ph. D., 915 No. 8th St., Phila., Pa.
(138) '85 Prof. C. R. Gregory, D. D., Leipzig, Germany.
(381) '05 Prof. W. W. Guth, Ph. D., Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.
(442) '08 Rev. Kenneth S. Guthrie, Ph. D., 182 Monroe St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
(179) '88 Rev. A. D. Hail, M. D., D. D., 33 Kawaguchi Cho, Osaka, Japan.
(209) '91 Prof. Thomas C. Hall, D. D., Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
(484) '12 Rev. F. C. Harding, Scarsdale Ave., Yonkers, N. Y.
(119) '84 Prof. J. R. Harris, Litt. D., LL. D., Chetwynd House, Selly Oak (near Birmingham), England.

(53) '81 Prof. Samuel Hart, D.D., Berkeley Divinity Sch., Middletown, Conn.
(385) '05 Prof. Wm. H. P. Hatch, Ph. D., Gen. Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
(215) '91 Prof. Paul, Haupt, Ph.D., Longwood Circle, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.
(367) '03 Prof. Doremus A. Hayes, Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
(322) '98 Rev. Henry Harrison Haynes, Ph. D., Derry Village, N. H.
(503) '13 Prof. Charles B. Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
(355) '00 Prof. A. D. Heffern, 4519 Kingsessing Ave., Phila. Pa.
(124) '84 Rev. C. R. Hemphill, D.D., Louisville, Ky.
(429) '08 Edward A. Henry, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(444) '09 Rev. James M. Henry, Am. Presb. Mission, Fa-ti, Canton, China.
(454) '10 Prof. W. Bancroft Hill, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
(147) '86 Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, Ph. D., Leopoldstrasse 8, München, Germany.
(79) '83 Prof. E. Y. Hincks, D.D., 58 Washington Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(434) '08 Prof. Wm. J. Hinke, Ph.D., 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y.
(363) '03 Prof. Charles T. Hock, Ph.D., Bloomfield, N. J.
(354) '02 Rev. Richard M. Hodge, D.D., 552 W. 113th St., N. Y. City.
(427) '08 Rev. Ivan Lee Holt, Cape Girardeau, Mo.
(479) '11 Miss Sarah F. Hoyt, Pulaski, N. Y.
(304) '96 Rev. Hiram R. Hulse, 215 Tompkins Ave., New Brighton S. I., N.Y.
(439) '08 Prof. Mary I. Hussey, Mt. Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
(452) '10 Prof. Henry Hyvernat, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D.C.
(530) '15 Prof. Joseph B. Ibbotson, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
(231) '91 Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D., Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia, Pa.
(386) '05 Prof. James R. Jewett, Ph. D., 67 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass.
(485) '12 Miss Harriet E. Johnson, 32 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass.
(413) '07 Isya Joseph, Ph.D., Matamoras, Pa.
(151) '86 Prof. M. L. Kellner, D.D., Cambridge, Mass.
(338) '00 Prof. James A. Kelso, Ph. D., Western Theol. Sem., Allegheny, Pa.
(448) '09 Prof. John B. Kelso, Ph.D., Wooster Univ., Wooster, O.
(438) '08 Prof. Eliza H. Kendrick, Ph.D., Wellesley College, Mass.
(287) '96 Prof. Charles F. Kent, Ph.D., New Haven, Conn.
(460) '10 Rev. Raymond C. Knox, Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.
(406) '07 Prof. Albert C. Knudson, D.D., 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
(518) '14 Rev. Emil G. H. Kraeling, 132 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
(473) '11 Rev. M. G. Kyle, D. D., 1132 Arrott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.
(531) '15 Prof. Kirsopp Lake, D.D., 18 Hawthorne St., Cambridge, Mass.

(519) '14 Elbert C. Lane, B. D., Hartford Theol. Sem., Hartford, Conn.
(395) '06 Robert Lau, Ph.D., 404 Kossuth St., Union Hill, N. J.
(486) '12 Rev. Robert F. Lau, A.M., Mendham, Morris Co., N.J.
(371) '03 Prof. Adelaide I. Locke, Wellesley College, Mass.
(372) '04 Prof. Lindsay B. Longacre, Ph.D., University Park, Denver, Col.
(71) '82 Prof. D. G. Lyon, D.D, Cambridge, Mass.
(536) '15 Prof. C. C. McCown, Ph.D., Pacific Theol. Sem., Berkeley, Cal.
(474) '11 Rev. Alex. B. Macleod, Millis, Mass.
(319) '98 Prof. John E. McFadyen, D.D., United Free Church College, Glasgow, Scotland.
(300) '96 Prof. Arthur C. McGiffert, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(424) '08 Prof. John G. Machen, Ph.D., Princeton Theol. Sem., Princeton, N.J.
(516) '13 Prof. Max L. Margolis, 6501 Wayne Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
(219) '91 Prof. W. R. Martin, Ph.D., 581 W. 161st St., N. Y. City.
(327) '99 Prof. Shailer Mathews, D. D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(505) '13 Rev. Walter A. Matos, Swarthmore, Pa.
(506) '13 Rev. John Meighan, 1256 No. 57th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(336) '00 Rev. Henry C. Meserve, Danbury, Conn.
(507) '13 Rev. John Miller, A.M., Shippensburg, Pa.
(407) '07 Prof. Lucius H. Miller, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N.J.
(35) '80 Prof. H. G. Mitchell, D. D., 36 Pinckney St., Boston, Mass.
(475) '11 Prof. Conrad H. Moehlmann, 51 Mulberry St., Rochester, N.Y.
(236) '92 Prof. J. A. Montgomery, Ph. D., 6806 Greene St,, Germantown, Pa.
(449) '09 Prof. Lilla F. Morse, S. T. M., Mt. Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
(331) '99 Prof. Warren J. Moulton, Ph.D., Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(170) '87 Rev. P. S. Moxom, D.D., 83 Dartmouth Terrace, Springfield, Mass.
(419) '08 Mrs. Juliet E. O. Munsell, Chestnut Hill, Mass.
(241) '92 Rev. C. S. Murkland, D.D., 301 W. 96th St., N.Y. City.
(214) '91 Prof. W. Muss-Arnolt, Ph.D., Public Library, Boston, Mass.
(508) '13 Rev. Wm. M. Nesbit, A. M., 477 Main St., Orange, N. J.
(490) '12 Prof. Wm. R. Newbold, Ph.D., 212 St. Mark's Square, Philadelphia, Pa.
(478) '11 Miss Helen Nichols, Ph.D., Ogontz School, Ogontz, Pa.
(346) '00 Rev. James B. Nies, Ph.D., Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
(476) '11 Miss Ellen S. Ogden, Ph. D., Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt.
(517) '14 Prof. Ernest William Parsons, Ph. D., Rochester Theol. Sem. Rochester, N. Y.
(240) '92 Prof. L. B. Paton, Ph.D., 50 Forest St., Hartford, Conn.
(459) '10 Rev. Carl S. Patton, 162 E. 14th Ave., Columbus, O.
(154) '86 Prof. Wm. L. Pearson, Ph.D., Friends Univ., Wichita, Kan.
(323) '98 Prof. Ismar J. Peritz, Ph.D., Syracuse, N. Y.

(87) '83 Rev. J. P. Peters, D.D., 225 W. 99th St., N. Y. City.
(491) '12 Prof. Llewellyn Phillips, Bushnell Univ., Lewisburg, Pa.
(46) '81 Rev. Bernhard Pick, D.D., 140 Court St., Newark, N. J.
(378) '05 William Popper, Ph.D., Univ. of Cal., Berkeley, Cal.
(254) '93 Prof. F. C. Porter, D.D., New Haven, Conn.
(432) '15 Prof. Thomas Porter, Rue Padre Vieira, Campinas, Brazil.
(525) '14 Prof. D. Butler Pratt, D.D., Howard Univ., Washington, D. C.
(509) '13 Prof. Waldo S. Pratt, Hartford Theol. Sem., Hartford, Conn.
(176) '87 Prof. Ira M. Price, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(245) '92 Prof. J. Dyneley Prince, Ph.D., Columbia Univ., N. Y. City.
(361) '03 Prof. Harry L. Reed, Auburn Theol. Sem., Auburn, N. Y.
(533) '15 Joseph Reider, Ph.D., Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa.
(510) '13 Prof. Frank Harris Ridgeley, Lincoln University, Chester Co., Pa.
(83) '83 Rev. J. F. Riggs, D.D., 53 Halstead St., E. Orange, N. J.
(105) '84 Prof. J. S. Riggs, D.D., Auburn, N. Y.
(455) '10 Prof. A. T. Robertson, D.D., Southern Bap. Theol. Sem., Louisville, Ky.
(389) '06 Prof. Benj. W. Robinson, Ph.D., Chicago Theol. Sem., Chicago, Ill.
(284) '95 Prof. Geo. L. Robinson, Ph.D., 2312 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
(180) '88 Prof. R. W. Rogers, D.D., Drew Theol. Sem., Madison, N. J.
(285) '95 Prof. James H. Ropes, D.D., 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass.
(387) '05 Prof. Elbert Russell, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
(183) '88 Prof. W. H. Ryder, D.D., Andover, Theol. Sem., Cambridge, Mass.
(456) '10 Prof. J. R. Sampey, LL.D., Southern Bap. Theol. Sem., Louisville, Ky.
(187) '88 Pres. F. K. Sanders, D.D., 25 Madison Ave, N. Y. City.
(511) '13 Prof. Henry A. Sanders, 1820 Hill St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
(377) '05 Prof. Wm. C. Schaeffer, D.D., Lancaster, Pa.
(477) '11 George V. Schick, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
(190) '88 Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Ph.D., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
(457) '10 Rev. Samuel Schulmann, D.D., 55 East 92d St., N. Y. City.
(463) '10 Prof. E. F. Scott, Queen's Univ., Kingston, Can.
(520) '14 Prof. Wm. G. Seiple, Sendai, Japan.
(408) '07 Prof. Charles N. Shepard, Gen. Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
(337) '00 Prof. Charles F. Sitterly, D.D., Drew Theol. Sem., Madison, N. J.
(55) '81 Prof. H. P. Smith, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
(534) '15 Prof. J. Ritchie Smith, Princeton Theol. Sem., Princeton, N. J.
(409) '07 Prof. John M. P. Smith, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(360) '03 Prof. Wm. B. Smith, Ph.D., Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
(328) '99 Prof. Wallace N. Stearns, Ph.D., Fargo College, Fargo, N. D.
(481) '12 Rev. Nathan Stern, Rabbi, Ph.D., Hotel Lucerne, 201 W. 79th St., N. Y. City.
(90) '83 Prof. Jacob Streibert, Gambier, O.
(422) '08 Rev. Harry Le Roy Taylor, So. Edmeston, N. Y.

(111) '84 Rev. Roderick Terry, D.D., Newport, R.I.
(342) '00 Rev. Charles S. Thayer, Ph.D., 66 Forest St., Hartford, Conn.
(293) '96 Rev. John R. Thurston, Bayberry Road, Worcester, Mass.
(397) '06 Benjamin A. Tintner, 1242 Madison Ave., N.Y. City.
(440) '08 Prof. Olaf A. Toffteen, Ph. D., 4819 Langley Ave., Chicago, Ill.
(257) '93 Prof. C. C. Torrey, D. D., New Haven, Conn.
(32) '80 Prof. D. H. Toy, LL.D., 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass.
(480) '11 Rev. Harold H. Tryon, Union Theol. Sem., N. Y. City.
(492) '12 Prof. J. Milton Vance, Wooster Univ., Wooster, O.
(493) '12 Rev. H. B. Vanderbogart, Berkeley Div. School, Middletown, Conn.
(453) '10 Frederick A. Vanderburgh, Ph. D., 53 Washington Square, N. Y. City.
(309) '96 Prof. C. W. Votaw, Ph. D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(512) '13 Louis Wallis, 5855 Ellis Ave, Chicago, Ill.
(33) '80 Rev. W. H. Ward, D.D., *The Independent*, N. Y. City.
(521) '14 Prof. Le Roy Waterman, Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
(494) '12 Miss Katrine Wheelock, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
(495) '12 Rev. Wm. Curtis White, Aurora-on-Cayuga, N.Y.
(445) '09 Prof. Edward A. Wicher, D. D., San Francisco Theol. Sem. San Anselmo, Cal.
(535) '15 Prof. Laura H. Wild, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O.
(465) '10 Prof. Charles B. Williams, Seminary Hill, Fort Worth, Texas.
(513) '13 Rev. Clarence Russell Williams, Ph. D., 1816 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
(233) '91 Rev. Moseley H. Williams, D. D., 1816 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(275) '95 Rev. Leighton Williams, D.D., Marlborough-on-Hudson, N.Y.
(113) '84 Prof. R. D. Wilson, Ph. D., Princeton, N. J.
(522) '14 Rev. Charles F. Wishart, D.D., Alleghany Theol. Sem., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(487) '12 Miss Eleanor Densmore Wood, M. A., Wellesley College, Mass.
(272) '94 Prof. Irving F. Wood, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
(488) '12 Rev. W. Carleton Wood, Ph. D., Pickering College, Newmarket, Ontario, Can.
(320) '98 Pres. Mary E. Woolley, D. Litt., Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
(134) '85 Prof. G. F. Wright, D.D., Oberlin, O.
(412) '07 Rev. Royden K. Yerkes, D.D., 3437 Woodland Ave. Phila., Pa.
(358) '02 Abraham Yohannan, Ph. D., Columbia Univ., N.Y. City.
(428) '08 Prof. Blanche Zehring, Miamisburg, O.

LIBRARIES AND INSTITUTIONS

WHICH SUBSCRIBE FOR THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

Andover Theological Seminary,	Cambridge, Mass.
Auburn Theological Seminary,	Auburn, N. Y.
Bangor Theological Seminary,	Bangor, Me.
Beloit College,	Beloit, Wis.
Berkeley Divinity School,	Middletown, Conn.
Bowdoin College,	Brunswick, Me.
British Museum,	London, Eng.
Brown University,	Providence, R. I.
Bryn Mawr College,	Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Bucknell Library,	Chester, Pa.
Carnegie Library,	Allegheny, Pa.
Carnegie Library,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Catholic University of America,	Washington, D. C.
Chicago Theological Seminary,	Chicago, Ill.
Colgate University,	Hamilton, N. Y.
Columbia University,	N. Y. City.
Congregational Library,	Boston, Mass.
Cornell University,	Ithaca, N. Y.
Drake University,	Des Moines, Ia.
Enoch Pratt Free Library,	Baltimore, Md.
Episcopal Theological School,	Cambridge, Mass.
Free Library,	Philadelphia, Pa.
General Theological Seminary,	N. Y. City.
Gettysburg Theological Seminary,	Gettysburg, Pa.
Harvard University,	Cambridge, Mass.
Hibbard Egyptian Library,	2726 Washington Bvd., Chicago, Ill.
Johns Hopkins University,	Baltimore, Md.
Library of Congress,	Washington, D. C.
McCormick Theol. Seminary,	Chicago, Ill.
Manchester College,	Oxford, Eng.
Meadville Theological School,	Meadville, Pa.
Mount Holyoke College,	South Hadley, Mass.
Newberry Library,	Chicago, Ill.
Newton Theological Institution,	Newton Centre, Mass.

Northwestern University,	Evanston, Ill.
Oberlin College Library,	Oberlin, O.
Pacific Theological Seminary,	Berkeley, Cal.
Pacific Unitarian School,	Berkeley, Cal.
Philadelphia Div. School,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Public Library,	Boston, Mass.
Public Library,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Public Library,	Buffalo, N. Y.
Public Library,	Chicago, Ill.
Public Library,	Cleveland, O.
Public Library,	Denver, Col.
Public Library,	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Public Library,	Jersey City, N. J.
Public Library,	Milwaukee, Wis.
Public Library,	N. Y. City.
Public Library,	St. Louis, Mo.
Public Library,	St. Paul, Minn.
Public Library,	Seattle, Wash.
Public Library,	Worcester, Mass.
Queen's University,	Kingston, Ontario, Can.
Royal Library,	Berlin, Germany.
Sage Library,	New Brunswick, N. J.
St. Charles Borromeo Library, Overbrook,	Philadelphia, Pa.
St. Joseph's Seminary,	Yonkers, N. Y.
State Library,	Albany, N. Y.
State Library,	Concord, N. H.
State Library,	Lansing, Mich.
State Library,	Sacramento, Cal.
Theol. and Rel. Branch, Public Library,	Cincinnati, O.
Trowbridge Reference Library,	New Haven, Conn.
Union Theological Seminary,	N. Y. City.
University Club,	Chicago, Ill.
University of Michigan,	Ann Arbor, Mich.
University of Toronto,	Toronto, Canada.
University of Wisconsin,	Madison, Wis.
University of Zurich,	Zurich, Switzerland.
Vanderbilt University,	Nashville, Tenn.
Wellesley College,	Wellesley, Mass.
Wesleyan University,	Middletown, Conn.
Western Theological Seminary,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Williams College,	Williamstown, Mass.
Woodstock College Library,	Woodstock, Maryland.
Yale University,	New Haven, Conn.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

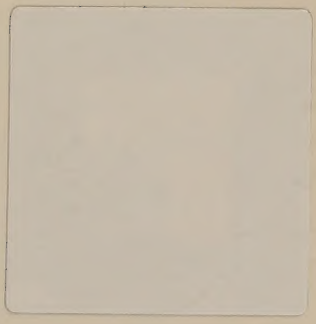
IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

2811



United Theological Seminary Library

FOR REFERENCE

Do Not Take From This Room

DEMCO